

# IMPERIAL FEDERATION



1888







JANUARY 1, 1889.]

[SUPPLEMENT TO "IMPERIAL FEDERATION."

# IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

The Journal

OF THE

IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.

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VOLUME III.

*JANUARY TO DECEMBER, 1888.*

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PUBLISHED FOR THE  
IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE,  
30, CHARLES STREET, BERKELEY SQUARE, LONDON, W.,

By CASSELL & COMPANY, LIMITED,  
LA BELLE SAUVAGE, LUDGATE HILL, LONDON, E.C.





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# Imperial Federation.

JANUARY, 1888.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE HON. JAMES SERVICE has been elected a member of the Executive Committee of the League. MR. SERVICE is one of the most distinguished Colonial statesmen we have. He is now about to return to Victoria, and it is anticipated he will resume an active part in politics, when the weight of his influence upon all matters of Imperial concern will be invaluable. He is an ardent Federationist, and his presence in Victoria will lend fresh impetus to the movement towards Australian Federation, which so many causes are combining to promote. The objection is sometimes raised that Imperial Federation must be visionary until Australian Federation has been accomplished. Without adopting such a view as our own, we will venture to hazard a prophecy that this objection will before long vanish away, and that nothing will more certainly hasten the time than the restoration of MR. SERVICE to his place in the Victorian Parliament.

THERE was an interesting discussion after the Constitutional Union dinner on December 14th upon the vexed question of fiscal reform. For members of the League the interest did not lie in the various plans advocated by different speakers, but in the fact that in spite of the utmost diversity of opinion upon all other points, there was one thing which was admitted by every speaker to be beyond argument and to command universal assent. Whatever fiscal policy were adopted, those present were unanimous, so far as could be judged, in asserting the rights of our Colonial fellow-citizens to receive more favourable treatment than the foreigner. One gentleman went so far as to advocate a duty on foreign imports, not for the sake of revenue or to protect home industries, but for the express purpose of enabling a distinction to be drawn between the Colonies and foreign States. His argument was that nothing would more surely tend to promote the unity of the British Empire than such a distinction, for the Colonies would then feel that they had something to gain by belonging to the Empire, something to lose by leaving it.

WE congratulate MR. A. J. MACGREGOR, Secretary to the Oxford University Branch of the League, upon his election as President of the Union. As most of our readers are aware, the Oxford Union is the Great University Club and Debating Society at which many of the leading politicians of the day have won their first laurels. The election of President usually turns upon the political views of the candidates, but in this instance MR. MACGREGOR, who is a strong Liberal, received a majority of over 200 votes, which is certainly utterly disproportionate to the comparative strength of parties in the University. We cannot help suspecting that MR. MACGREGOR'S avowed interest in the Imperial Federation League had something to do with his success, and that he enjoyed the reflection of the widespread popularity that everywhere attends our principles, and nowhere more conspicuously than at Oxford.

CAPTAIN J. C. R. COLOMB, M.P., has reprinted his speech on the Naval Estimates last Session, dealing especially with the question of Admiralty subsidies for the retention of merchant steamers in time of war. Taking the ten vessels proposed to be retained at a cost of £5,000 a

year each, he argues strongly against the scheme as both expensive and inadequate. Ten vessels would, in his opinion, be a mere drop in the bucket as regards transport service; their retention would not prevent a large number of steamers almost as speedy being sold to foreign Governments when war became imminent, to guard against which an enormous vote would be necessary, unless pains and penalties were inflicted for such unpatriotic conduct upon our shipowners; nor would this subsidy to a few vessels form any appreciable counterstroke to the foreign bounties on shipbuilding. But, least of all says CAPTAIN COLOMB, is it wise to trust to these vessels as cruisers. That would necessitate their being removed from their regular lines of communication at the very time when only the fastest steamers could be trusted to maintain the mail services and the commerce among those lines. The right policy is, he believes, to arm all the fastest merchant steamers, as the old East Indianmen were armed, and keep them on their routes; and, above all, not to let the vitally important work of providing sufficient naval cruisers be disregarded through a false impression that their duties can be performed by the mercantile marine without utterly dislocating the commerce of the Empire.

PROFESSOR WALLACE, who is on the Committee of the new Edinburgh Branch of the League, has lost no time in coming forward to advocate our cause. On December 5th he gave an able address to the London Farmers' Club, in which he spoke of Federation as "absorbing a growing interest in the minds of those concerned with the future of our Empire." But the thing of all others, he said, that would seal and confirm it would be Commercial Union between Great Britain and her Colonies. Proceeding in an eloquent peroration to the wider aspects of Federation, PROFESSOR WALLACE concluded his address with these stirring words:—

"Let us form with our Colonies one mighty family, powerful in the knowledge of our strength. If the time does come when there shall be no more wars, it must be when one Empire has grown so mighty that the knowledge of its power is a sufficient guarantee of universal peace. Are we, the only nation which could ever possibly hold that place, to neglect the golden opportunity? Are we, while wrangling about trifles, going to lose the chance? Are we deliberately to fall into a premature dotage and spend the latter years of our national existence bewailing our lost opportunity?"

WE are able to announce that SIR RAWSON RAWSON, K.C.M.G., Chairman of the Commercial Committee of the League, has nearly completed a most important work of investigation into the Tariffs and Trade of the Empire. The result of his labours will form an invaluable contribution to the study of our fiscal policy, which has of late attracted universal attention. SIR RAWSON RAWSON has drawn up a number of tables, which will, for the first time, enable the tariff arrangements of all the Colonies to be presented in a single comprehensive survey. He shows the duties charged upon different articles in different Colonies, compares the various proportions of revenue derived from customs, and supplies a large amount of information which cannot be found grouped together in any existing work, but which is indispensable to an adequate appreciation of commercial and economical problems.

SIR RAWSON RAWSON'S work will be issued by the Imperial Federation League, and will constitute the most important publication that has been produced under its auspices.

PERHAPS the most remarkable statement contained in the interesting paper on emigration read by MR. HAZELL at the Colonial Institute was the following:—"Two years ago



it was ascertained that the total number of persons annually assisted to emigrate by all the societies that could be found amounted to only about 3,000 souls, and the assistance given cost about £13,000." We venture to think that it will be a surprise to most of our readers that of the two or three hundred thousands of Britons who leave our shores every year, little more than one per cent. are indebted to charitable assistance for the means of doing so. Those who have fancied that the Australian Governments have ceased to aid emigration will probably be hardly less surprised at the figures given by Sir J. GARRICK. The Queensland Government have, he said, first and last, taken out 185,000 persons at a cost of over three millions sterling. Even in the last six months he has spent on their behalf £100,000 on this object. MR. CHILDERS, who summed up the discussion in an interesting speech, told his hearers that his first important public office was to preside over the Emigration Department in Victoria, now thirty years ago. At that time, he said, there was a Government crisis because only 80,000 persons had been brought out. Nowadays he feared there would be a Government crisis in the same Colony if any minister proposed to introduce one half of the number.

MR. KIMBER, M.P., who is a member of the League, spoke strongly in favour of systematic colonisation. The formula he would have impressed upon every one was "You must emigrate capital as well as labour." He mentioned the fact that the property of the settlers on the DUKE OF MANCHESTER'S estate, to whose success we refer elsewhere, had recently been valued at not less than £200,000. On the other hand, SIR JAMES GARRICK uttered a useful word of warning to those who are over-sanguine of success in this direction. Colonisation, he said, and we have had occasion before now to point out the same thing ourselves, might no doubt be successful, but in any case it would be enormously costly. Further, we should do well to bear in mind that an English farm labourer might be a first-rate agriculturist, and yet fail utterly as a farmer on his own account. A farmer had need not only to know how to grow crops and how to fatten stock, but also how to buy and sell to the best advantage, and for what crops and what class of stock there is the most demand in the markets with which he deals. In a word, a farmer who is to succeed needs to be a trader quite as much as an agriculturist.

THOSE who know MR. MACKENZIE'S book on "Austral Africa" must have been glad to listen to the author in person. Those, on the other hand, who heard MR. MACKENZIE speak, could hardly fail to be tempted to read the deliberate opinions of one who in an extempore speech combined so much wisdom and so much humour. Bechuanaland, said MR. MACKENZIE, and after a quarter of a century's residence there he ought to know, could afford room for hundreds of thousands of immigrants. True, it was within the tropics, but the country lay 4,000 feet above sea-level, and the climate was both healthy and pleasant. But if an immigrant went there he must have a proper-sized farm, no mere puny allotment. A Dutchman would refuse to accept anything less than 6,000 acres, and for his part he failed to see why what was not good enough for a Dutchman should be thought good enough for an Englishman. He thought that it was for our interest as a nation to encourage not so much high farming as expansion of England over a wide area. MR. MACKENZIE drew an amusing picture of the hesitation of the authorities in Downing Street, ever dreading at each fresh step in advance that a hole had been dug before their feet, and that they were on the point of plunging into it. He hoped, however, that we had seen and repented of our past errors in Eastern Africa.

THIS is how the great Poplar meeting on November 30th, which we report elsewhere, is described by the *East End News*. We are assured by eye-witnesses that the account gives a perfectly accurate impression of what took place on that eventful evening:—

Many enthusiastic and successful meetings have been held at various times in the Poplar Town Hall, but, taking all things into consideration, the meeting held under the auspices of the Imperial Federation League last Wednesday evening was the most satisfactory of all from every point of view, and is likely to leave a permanent impression in the district. The meeting was called for the purpose of considering the question of Imperial Federation, and acquainting the electors with the subject, as before long it is probable Imperial Federation will take a prominent position in the questions of the hour. It is a matter for congratulation that this all-important matter is not to be made—at any rate in Poplar—a party question, as the presence of Mr. Buxton and Major Welby, together with a large number of their respective supporters, fully proved. . . . To say that the hall was crowded in every part is to give but a weak idea of the size of the gathering. Either political party at Poplar can at a day's notice fill the Town Hall, and when both parties combine, with a week's notice, to organise a meeting, the crushing and squeezing can be better imagined than described. However, the inconvenience was taken good-humouredly, and the unanimity and brotherly feeling exhibited on Imperial matters by the two parties was remarkable, especially remembering how great political feeling has been in the district.

MR. BUXTON is the Liberal member for the Poplar Division of the Tower Hamlets, and Major Welby was the Conservative candidate at the last election. This gratifying submersion of party differences in the cause of Imperial Federation is one of the most hopeful symptoms in connection with the movement. Our readers will remember that a meeting at Alderley Edge, reported in our last issue, was organised, like the one at Poplar, by the joint efforts of the two political parties, with equally successful and harmonious results. Nor can we resist referring to MR. LABILLIÈRE'S happy experience at Enfield, where one of the members of the Radical Club to which he had been lecturing, stated, at the conclusion of the meeting, that he should ask the Conservative working men in the town to join with them in promoting a combined demonstration in favour of Imperial Federation.

FIVE years ago a proposal to give a farewell banquet in London to a Colonial statesman visiting England would have been received with a mild surprise; yet so well has the work of arousing the sense of unity in the Empire been carried out of late that the suggestion of such a compliment to MR. SERVICE was received with enthusiasm, and for some days before the event the Committee were unable to supply the demand for seats, the limit having been reached. The company, moreover, was by no means local or Victorian, but included men from nearly every Colony, as well as a large contingent resident in the United Kingdom. A more hearty and spontaneous tribute than that to MR. SERVICE it would be difficult to conceive.

THE speeches lost none of their point from the fact that they were not prolonged. The words of LORD ROSEBURY are always a pleasure, as well as an instruction. MR. SERVICE, after acknowledging with some feeling the honour which was being done him, could not refrain from a reference to the New Hebrides question, which was, in his opinion, only diplomatically settled "by LORD SALISBURY'S convention with the French Government," though he fully acknowledged that LORD SALISBURY had done the best that was possible. SIR HENRY HOLLAND promised that expressions of Australian feeling upon matters affecting them should be kept out of "pigeon-holes," and on his own table. The references to the Imperial Conference



were of the most satisfactory nature, and MR. SERVICE spoke warmly of the work done by the League.

ONE of the stock of arguments against Imperial Federation is that the Colonies have no wish to be drawn into the entanglements of Old World politics. Recently the *Toronto Globe* has actually gone so far as to object to the Canadian Pacific subsidy on the express ground that the route was capable of being used for military purposes. We wonder if it ever occurs to the objectors to consider what probability there is that—Federation or no Federation—they will be able to keep clear of European complications much longer? Fifty years ago Australia was literally another world. But what is the position to-day? France is in New Caledonia, Tahiti, and now at Raiatea, to say nothing of innumerable other points in the Pacific. Germany is in possession of the Bismarck Archipelago and a large part of New Guinea. The Sandwich Islands are practically under the protection of the United States, and Samoa (which, according to the *New York Tribune*, "by its position naturally belongs to New Zealand, if it belongs to any civilised power at all") will doubtless ere long become American too, unless in the meantime it is taken possession of by Germany. In South Africa the same law prevails, while in North America Commercial Unionists are, at all events, at one with ourselves in believing that isolation and self-sufficiency, though perhaps still not impossible for Canada, at least do not afford the best hope for her progress in the future. Steam at present is accomplishing the task that the invention of gunpowder accomplished in the Middle Ages. When the feudal noble could no longer retire into his castle, like a snail into his shell, and set the world outside at defiance, the modern State for the first time came into being. Now that steam has bridged the ocean, the European States-system of the past is rapidly expanding into the world's States system of the future. The opening of the twentieth century will, we are persuaded, see Greater Britain playing a part in that system worthy of the part played by Great Britain at the opening of the nineteenth.

A LEADING French journal, the *Temps*, "cannot understand how the British Cabinet has fallen into the trap laid by the Newfoundland Parliament" with regard to the Bait Act. The explanation is that the days are past for ever when the opinion of our neighbours across the Channel could influence us in the slightest degree to disregard the legitimate interests of any part of the British Empire. There might once have been a time when Downing Street would ignore Colonial needs rather than have trouble with France; but now we shall stand by the Colonies, come what may, and prove ourselves as loyal to them as they are to us.

THE impregnability of the defences of Sydney is strongly denied by MR. DIBBS, M.P., who takes a very different view. Speaking in the Legislative Assembly on October 12th, he said: "They were, he was afraid, living in a fool's paradise so far as the defences of this Colony were concerned. They were a mere sham, and thousands of pounds were being spent in useless armaments that would not withstand one shot from a modern gun. . . . He should require severe explanation before he voted one penny to carry on the system of defence here, which so far had been a failure. Although he had been a member of the Government which carried these defences on, he thought now that a mistake had been made. If we were to have defences at all, let us have modern works, and the sooner we got rid of the obsolete patterns the better it would be for all concerned."

## THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE IN CANADA.

### ITS ORIGIN, GROWTH, AND PRESENT POSITION.

THE growing importance of the Imperial Federation League in Canada makes the publication of a concise and accurate record of its progress especially acceptable at the present moment. The pamphlet recently issued by our energetic fellow-workers in the Dominion enables us to trace the movement from its infancy, until we find ourselves confronted to-day with a strong organisation with a network of branches influencing every Province of the Confederation, and a roll of members including many of the most distinguished men in Canada.

In the Conference of July, 1884, adjourned to November in the same year, the Canadian element was well represented at the meetings which, under the chairmanship of the late Mr. Forster, laid the foundation of the League and drew up its constitution. Sir John Macdonald, Sir Charles Tupper, Hon. Oliver Mowatt, Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, Mr. R. R. Dobell, Mr. H. C. Beeton, Mr. Judges, Mr. Niblock, and Mr. J. G. Colmer were among those who attended either or both of those meetings, and the interest they showed in the movement took practical shape in May, 1885, when a large public meeting, attended by members of Parliament and other leading men from all parts of the Dominion, was held at Montreal, and the Imperial Federation League in Canada formally inaugurated.

The constitution of the League in London was definitely adopted, and a number of resolutions passed in favour of promoting the permanent unity of the Empire and resisting disintegration, to the end that, in the words of the second resolution: "The Mother Country and the Colonies may remain perpetually under a common sovereignty, a United Empire for Foreign Affairs, with constitutional liberty for every part as regards internal administration." The first President was Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, M.P., and Vice-President Mr. A. McNeill, M.P. Two Honorary Secretaries, Mr. Archibald McGoun, Jun., and Mr. J. H. Bowes, were appointed, the office of Hon. Treasurer being conferred on Mr. H. H. Lyman. An Executive Committee was subsequently named to superintend the work of the League in Canada, and it now includes well-known and respected gentlemen from every Province in the Dominion.

Before proceeding to summarise the progress made during the two and a half years that have elapsed since that first meeting in Montreal, it is important to note that our Canadian organisation has taken its full share in assisting the League at headquarters in combined demonstrations. For instance, at the Conference upon Imperial Federation held in London in July, 1886, Sir Alexander Galt, Hon. G. W. Ross, Mr. G. R. Parkin, and other representatives from Canada attended. The deputation which waited upon Lord Salisbury in August, 1886, to urge the convention of an Imperial Conference was also well supported from Canada. Mr. McCarthy, Mr. McGoun, and Mr. Lyman were all present, and no better proof of their activity could have been shown by the President, Secretary, and Treasurer of the League in Canada. Mr. Sandford Fleming, one of its original members, also formed part of that eventful deputation, and had the singular felicity to be afterwards appointed as one of the Canadian representatives at the Imperial Conference in 1887, which he had assisted in advocating in 1886. At the last annual meeting, held in the Mansion House, Sir Alexander Galt was again to the fore with a capital speech on behalf of the Canadian branches; and we confidently anticipate that when the yearly gathering recurs, in a couple of months' time, there will be a goodly sprinkling of members from Canada, with an ample record of useful work to recount.

Let us in conclusion glance briefly at the development of the movement in Canada, as displayed in the formation of branches affiliated to the central body. The first was established at Montreal only a few weeks after the inauguration of the League there in 1885. It has progressed with regularity and success under the Chairmanship of Mr. Henry Lyman. The two Vice-Chairmen are Mr. Hugh McLennan and Mr. John Lewis; the Treasurership is filled by Mr. R. C. Lyman, the Secretariat by Mr. Arch. McGoun. A feature of the work of this branch has been the series of able papers (some of which, we believe, have been published)



contributed by members at its meetings. The titles afford a sufficient clue to the utility of these contributions to our cause. They include papers "On the Trade Policy of the Empire," by Mr. R. R. Dobell; "An United Empire," by Mr. T. Macfarlane; "The Position of Canada," by Mr. George Hague; "National Cohesive Forces," by Mr. A. G. Cross; "Welding the Links of Union," by Mr. D. A. Ansell; "An Imperial Senate," by Mr. Macfarlane; and "On Commercial Union," by Mr. A. McGoun, Jun. The Montreal Branch has also exerted itself to procure the institution of a direct Telegraphic News Agency between Canada and the United Kingdom, avoiding the medium of the United States. This object is thoroughly in accordance with our principles, and we wish our friends in Montreal every success.

Just a year later, in May, 1886, a branch was formed at Ingersoll, Ontario, which has formed a base of operations for some of the most active members of the League in Canada. The officers are:—President, Mr. Walsh; Vice-Presidents, Mr. Sinclair and Mr. Rowland; Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. J. Castell Hopkins, than whom our cause has no more earnest advocate or more able exponent. A number of meetings have been held, and addresses or lectures delivered, in connection with the Ingersoll Branch. On one occasion Principal Grant lent his valuable assistance. We have ourselves frequently had occasion to observe the influence exerted by this branch in the neighbourhood, as testified by the prominence now given to everything connected with Imperial Federation by the powerful local press.

At Halifax, Nova Scotia, an influential branch was inaugurated at a great public meeting in December, 1886. The officers of the branch include some of the most distinguished men in the Province, Sir Adams Archibald being President, while there are no less than three Vice-Presidents—Archbishop O'Brien, Chief Justice MacDonald, and the Mayor of Halifax (Mr. J. C. McIntosh). The late Bishop Binney, whose decease formed the subject of universal regret, was also a Vice-President. Mr. E. G. Kenny is Treasurer, and Mr. J. M. Geldert, Jun., Secretary of the Halifax branch, which has a remarkably full roll of members and is represented on the Executive Committee of the League in Canada by three members of the Dominion Parliament.

Peterborough, Ontario, was the next place where the Imperial Federation sentiment crystallised into the concrete form of a branch. A meeting was summoned by the Mayor, Mr. James Stevenson, M.P., on April 28th, 1887, to consider the question, and the satisfactory result was the formation of a branch, which has already done some excellent work in the space of its short career, under the Chairmanship of Mr. J. H. Long. This branch has two Vice-Chairmen, the Hon. R. Hamilton, and Rev. W. C. Bradshaw; Mr. W. Brundrette is the Treasurer, and Mr. F. E. Bell, Secretary.

There is at Victoria, British Columbia, a branch of the League which has not as yet been regularly affiliated to the Canadian organisation, and in consequence the pamphlet before us contains no record of its transactions. But among the names of its prominent members there are included so many of the leading men in the Province (the Lieutenant-Governor, for instance, the Chief Justice, and two of the Judges) that we may be sure the cause of Imperial Federation is in good hands in British Columbia.

As we write, news arrives of great doings at Ottawa, and the inauguration of a powerful branch at the headquarters of the Dominion Government.

With no fewer than sixty members of the Imperial Federation League sitting in the Dominion Parliament at Ottawa, with a powerful branch in full activity at its doors, and an organisation rapidly taking root in every city of importance throughout Canada, we may justly feel proud of the progress that has taken place since that first meeting at Montreal only two and a half years ago. With so much good leaven permeating the land, we are confident that Mr. Goldwin Smith's doctrine of disruption will be impotent to shake the loyalty of our Canadian kinsmen; they will recognise that their true interest lies in strengthening and solidifying the British connection; they will endeavour—to quote the words of our Canadian League—to further the development and interchange of the resources of the various parts of the Empire, and thus resist disintegration, which would mean the ruin of us all.

### AGENTS-GENERAL.

IN our last issue we reproduced, from the *Sydney Morning Herald*, a thoughtful article on the position of Agents-General, and the expediency of having the Colonial representatives always in very close sympathy with the Government of the Colony. These were among the matters discussed at the recent informal meeting of Australian Premiers at Melbourne. The subject, as the *Herald* points out, is obviously one only suited for informal discussion. Each Colony has the most entire right to take its own way in the matter. If New Zealand thinks fit to appoint its Agent for life, and South Australia likes to send a fresh representative by every mail, that is a matter with which neither the Home Government nor the other Colonies have any right whatever to interfere. Still there can be no doubt that the matter is one of great interest. The duties of the office have become more and more important in each succeeding year, and there is certainly no likelihood that the advance will be arrested just yet.

The *Herald* warns its readers that the office is, in the first place, commercial quite as much as political. It goes on, however, to express the opinion that on the whole the Agent-General should be changed with every change of Ministry in the Colony. It must be remembered that there are certain disadvantages in making the Agent-Generalship a political office. But before dealing with this, let us for a moment advert to another point. At present the Agents-General are virtually ambassadors; is it not time that these ambassadors were relieved from discharging consular functions? It is no part, as we understand it, of a Russian ambassador's duties to advise his Government as to the terms on which a new loan might be raised in Paris. Still less is he expected to concern himself with the innumerable administrative details of tariffs, navigation laws, mercantile customs, and so forth. It is clearly not desirable that an able and far-sighted statesman should be excluded from the post of Agent-General simply because he does not understand the course of the exchanges, or would be likely to be over-reached by shipowners in chartering an emigrant ship.

But we look forward to a time when the Agents-General shall approach more closely to the Imperial Cabinet, in the capacity of colleagues or assessors rather than of ambassadors. To fill such an office successfully it is necessary for them to command the confidence not only of the Government that sends them, but also of the Government to which they are accredited. The appointment of a mere party man, red-hot from the fierce party conflicts of his own Colony, might lead to considerable difficulties. The *Herald* justly thinks that it may often be hard for a Colonial Premier to intrust confidential communications to a man who is not a member of his own political party. But what of the position of the Secretary of State at home? Is it to be expected that he will wear his heart upon his sleeve and intrust communications which may be "of political value" to every new politician that it may please the Colonies to send? Of the two, may it not be said that the Secretary of State (who is not the master of the Agent-General, and cannot censure or dismiss him, however far wrong he goes) is the one who ought to be first considered in the matter?

If there has been "awkwardness" in the past between Colonial Premiers and Agents-General, as the *Herald* asserts, may not the reason be that the office of the latter has been made too much of a party prize? If there was ever any awkwardness between the late Lord Lyons (who saw a dozen English Cabinets come and go, and finally retired from his high post with the universal respect of all parties) and the Foreign Secretary, at least the English public has heard nothing of it. Not that we wish to argue that a politician should never be appointed to the place. Mr. Goschen at Constantinople, Lord Dufferin at St. Petersburg, Lord Iddesleigh at Washington, did good work, for which both sides were grateful to them. It seems to us that the position of a Governor in a Colony is, *mutatis mutandis*, not unlike that of an Agent-General in London. Each of them has to be not only the mouth-piece, but also the eyes and ears, of the Government that sends him. And this latter function no person can perform unless he has something much more than a mere right to be received in official audience by the Colonial Secretary. All we would be understood to urge is that the Agent-General in accepting



his appointment has become the servant of his Colony as a whole, and has ceased for the time to have anything to do with party victories and party defeats. We have yet another objection to offer. Colonial Ministries are short-lived. English society and English politics are very complicated, and no new-comer can rightly gauge the depth and force of the various currents, still less can he accurately appreciate what has been called the personal equation of each prominent politician. A Colony might, under the system proposed, recall its Agent-General before he had half learned the lesson on which his value as an Agent depends.

We may be told that America appoints its ambassadors on some such system. We reply that, in the first place, we do not want Colonial Agents-General to be ambassadors; while the American Ministers in London have not so much to do that their isolation is a matter of high importance. Secondly, that the Minister is at least guaranteed four years' tenure of office. If political societies constituted on the English model are preparing to adopt the American maxim of "the spoils to the victors," they will have to go a stage further, and adopt the American Constitution, which secures to the victors the enjoyment of their position for a fixed period of time. But we Britons have found a more excellent way, which consists in withdrawing from the sphere of party politics everything that can possibly be kept independent of them. We have been looking forward to seeing the Agents-General assume a more prominent position—one more in conformity with their real importance. It would be a bitter disappointment to us if they were to sink into being merely local agents for one or another political party. It would not be long probably before a further stage would be reached, and the Agent would find that the Home Government received him graciously or the reverse, according as the politics of his Government were supposed to be of the same or opposite complexion to their own. And then we might bid farewell to all our fair hopes of Imperial Unity.

### THE CROFTER SETTLEMENTS IN THE CANADIAN NORTH-WEST.

WE give elsewhere some account of various Australasian colonisation schemes. Before going on to notice very briefly the progress of somewhat similar settlements in Canada, let us note one objection that may be made. We may be told—were told recently, in fact, by a good friend of the League—"Your figures and facts about emigration are all very well and very interesting, but what have they to do with Imperial Federation?" We answer without hesitation that they have everything to do with it. One of the objects of the League, as defined in its programme, is to secure the permanent unity of the Empire. And for this end nothing is more indispensable than that every man and every woman who leaves these small and overcrowded islands should go forth, not as an unwelcome guest who, having outstayed his welcome, is thrust out to make room for another, but as one who—if we may continue our metaphor—has accepted an invitation to proceed further to stay at a yet more pleasant abode elsewhere. The old emigration cared only to get people out of this country; whether they went to English Colonies or to the United States, or what became of them, once they reached Castle Garden or the emigrant sheds of Montreal, mattered nothing. We heard only a few days since of a *soi-disant* philanthropist who, three years back, took out with him a large party of emigrants to Toronto. He arrived there just as the agricultural season was over, and the six months of winter were beginning, left his unfortunate victims, and set off on his return journey to Europe the same day. "Had he waited a day longer," said a Toronto clergyman, "he would have stood a very good chance of being lynched." If an emigrant thus roughly pitchforked into a new and strange world feels any very warm affection for the country that has rid itself of his unwelcome presence, his patriotism must assuredly be deeper than that of most of us. With which disproportionately lengthy preface let us come to the consideration of Lady Gordon Cathcart's crofters.

A correspondent of the *Manitoba Free Press* writes from Moosomin in September last:—"Among the numerous families visited by your correspondent not one word of

dissatisfaction was heard, not one expressed a wish to return to his former home to live, and not one grumbled over his present condition and future prospects." That is already something, but the crofters of the West Highlands have the reputation of being easily satisfied, so it is well to see what is their actual situation. John Macdonald thus described his position in the Old Country:—"There was, year in, year out, no headway made. His rental, poor's rate, doctor's rate, school tax, register tax [what this may be we know not, but no doubt John Macdonald does], and other taxes ground him down." Now, since his arrival in Canada in 1884, he and his sons have 125 acres under crop, and 23 broken for next year. They have 21 head of cattle, 18 pigs, &c. He wouldn't think of going back. His Canadian neighbours treated them like brothers. Many of the settlers make the same complaint as a man who said, "I have written home to friends that I am well satisfied, but they do not believe me, so I have stopped writing; they think we are starving here." There is no prospect, however, of their starving just yet, judging by the figures given as fair samples. "Two brothers—Ralph and Robert Black—have 36 acres under crop, 12 head of cattle, two ponies, two pigs, poultry, &c. H. Hyde, who is quite a young man, has now 36 acres under crop. Finlay McIntosh has 35 acres under crop, and eight acres broken." The crop this year will average not less, it is said, than 25 to 35 bushels to the acre.

Nor is success confined to the crofters. The East End Londoner is also doing well, proving once more what those who have had to do with London emigration know to be a fact, that quick wit can make up for lack of experience and slighter physique, if only the right class of men are taken. "The ship isn't built to take me home again," said one enthusiastic East Ender. The moral of the story we take to be this: the individual emigrant landing at Sydney or at Quebec to seek his own fortune in the open market needs to be exceptionally plucky and self-reliant, or exceptionally skilled—possibly both the one and the other. In an organised scheme of settlement, where each man fits into a hole ready prepared for him by the care of others, the average man can be trusted to succeed. The difference in any case is important, as we at home cannot afford always to export our very best men; but if, as it looks at present, these islands are permanently to cease to be able to find work for their whole population, it may become vital. We have, perhaps, not yet come to the point where Government need interfere to promote emigration. If it does come to that, there can be little doubt that Lady Gordon Cathcart's settlement will have shown the lines on which to work. Meanwhile it is worth considering whether, though Government need not promote, it should not regulate emigration. There is no reason why, just as a department of the Executive already, for example, supervises endowed charities or railways, a department should not also control the action of the innumerable existing emigration societies, some of which, indeed, are hardly distinguishable from trading companies. The Emigrant Information Office already has the advantage of a strong volunteer council, and, with some changes in its constitution, it might also, we should think, undertake this office. It must always be remembered that every emigrant who fails and becomes a burden on the Colony discredits immigration there, and every one who fails and returns home discourages emigration hence. It may be questioned which of the two results is the more disastrous.

**GOLD IN THE FREE STATE.**—The first Free State Gold Fields will be proclaimed forthwith, and the first Free State Mining Commissioner has been appointed in the person of Mr. H. A. Robinson.

**THE COMPARATIVE WEALTH OF NEW SOUTH WALES.**—It is generally admitted that Great Britain is the richest country in the world. Well, in the United Kingdom the property of the people is equal in value to £250 per head of the whole population, while in this country it amounts to more than £345 per head. Taking the annual income of the populations of the two countries, the United Kingdom shows £35 per head, whilst in this Colony it is £51 per head. The trade of the kingdom amounts to £18 per head of the population, whilst that of this Colony is represented by £37 per head. Coming to the National Debt, that of the United Kingdom is a little over £20 per head; ours is £41 per head, but this arises from the smallness of the population and the large number of heavy works which necessarily in a new country have to be undertaken by the Government.—*Sir Henry Parkes, at Gore's Hill, Aug. 10th, 1887.*



## THE COLLAPSE OF THE COMMERCIAL UNION MOVEMENT.

WHETHER or no Mr. Chamberlain was well-advised in saying so—and on this point we conceive there may well be two opinions—there can be no doubt, we think, that Commercial Union must have led within a very brief period to Imperial Disintegration. We feel, therefore, that in expressing our unfeigned satisfaction at hearing of what we believe to be the collapse of the movement, we are in no way infringing our rule of leaving each part of the Empire to manage its local affairs undisturbed by criticism of ours.

It was supposed that among the lumberers of Nova Scotia and the farmers of Ontario would be found, if anywhere, the adherents of the movement. Since Commercial Union has been brought prominently forward there have been in Nova Scotia three bye-elections. In each of them Professor Smith's principles have met with defeat. Charlevoix in Quebec, and South Renfrew in Ontario, have also been carried by his opponents. But still more recently there has taken place a much more significant contest than any of these. Haldimand, in Ontario, is a purely agricultural constituency, lying on the shores of Lake Erie, within fifty miles of the great United States market of Buffalo. Parties were as evenly balanced as possible. Mr. Colter, the Liberal candidate, had been declared elected at the General Election in February, by a majority of fourteen. A re-count gave the seat to Dr. Montague, the Conservative, by a majority of one. In the end a new election was ordered. Mr. Colter was assisted in his campaign by a large number of prominent politicians, and though Dr. Montague was left to fight his own battle single-handed, the contest was evidently looked upon as a trial of strength on this definite issue. In the result Dr. Montague was returned by a majority of seventeen. The victory is the more remarkable as Haldimand had been a Liberal or "grit" constituency for thirty-five years consecutively. It should also in fairness be stated, though probably some people may think the fact tells one way and some the other, that among the politicians who came down to support Mr. Colter was Mr. Laurier, the leader of the Opposition, who has refused throughout to identify himself with the Commercial Union party. But it is not apparently denied that Mr. Colter himself, and the rest of his supporters, "made Commercial Union a prominent plank in his platform."

But the most remarkable part of the story is still to come. Within two days of the result of the election becoming known, Mr. Edgar, M.P., a leading member of the Opposition, addressed an open letter to Mr. Erastus Wiman, the gentleman of Canadian parentage but American settlement, who, with Professor Goldwin Smith, has been foremost in urging forward Commercial Union. The letter ran as follows:—

"The advocates of Commercial Union have made frequent use of an expression which has been seized upon by opponents as disclosing a fatal objection to the scheme. We are often told that unrestricted reciprocity would 'sweep away all the customs-houses upon the frontier.' If that were to be done, it seems clear, for several reasons, that we would have to agree upon a uniform customs tariff with the United States against the rest of the world. In other words, the entire tariff legislation of both countries would be brought to a standstill during the duration of the treaty, and it is scarcely conceivable that either Canada or the United States could arrive at a satisfactory uniform tariff to last for that period."

Translated into plain English we understand this remarkable document to say, "Union does not mean union: it means something quite different, limited reciprocity or a commercial treaty, possibly with differential duties, or some other moderate measure of the kind; if union did mean union it is scarcely conceivable that either Canada or the States could agree to it." Though it cannot be denied that there are disadvantages when words cease to be used in the sense which is given them by the dictionary, still we are glad to hear that Mr. Edgar has been misunderstood, the more so as in abandoning the economy of sweeping away the customs-houses along the frontier, and the simplicity of uniform tariffs, he abandons the only argument that ever was produced in favour of the scheme. But much as we regret the misconception, in justice to ourselves we must say that the same mistake was made by Professor Goldwin Smith,

Mr. Erastus Wiman, Sir Richard Cartwright, and others, whose names are less well known. If such distinguished persons, who have the advantage of being on the spot, and who are commonly believed to have taken a part in directing the movement, have erred so completely, we in England may be forgiven for being led astray too.

But we will say no more. We agree with the *Montreal Gazette* in thinking that "it matters little the pretext under which the humiliating position in which it was sought to place this country is abandoned; it is enough to know that it is being abandoned. . . . The lesson of the Haldimand election has been taken to heart, and the Commercial Union fad will soon sleep the sleep that knows no waking."

## SCENE-PICTURES OF THE EMPIRE FOR USE BY LECTURERS.

No one who has seen the series of large pictures prepared by Mr. Lancelot Speed for the Imperial Federation League can fail to be struck with the thoroughly artistic style of the work. The series consists of twelve large scene-pictures, in black and white, each eight feet by four, strongly bound and mounted on rollers. They provide singularly vivid, yet faithful, representations of characteristic scenery in different parts of the Empire, and are admirably adapted for assisting lecturers and speakers to enable the audience to realise for themselves some of the wonderful sights in the Colonies. The subjects of the various pictures are as follows:—

- i. The Canadian Pacific Railway through the Rocky Mountains.
- ii. Houses of Parliament, Ottawa.
- iii. A Rancho in the Rocky Mountains.
- iv. A Salmon River, Newfoundland.
- v. A Sugar Plantation, Jamaica.
- vi. Government House, Melbourne.
- vii. Sydney Harbour, N.S.W.
- viii. Railway in the Blue Mountains, N.S.W.
- ix. Sheep-Farming, South Australia.
- x. Hall's Arm, New Zealand.
- xi. Table Bay, South Africa.
- xii. The Diamond Fields, Kimberley, South Africa.

These pictures are now available for use by members of the League upon the same terms as the large map. They are packed in a wooden case, and travel as "Panoramic Views" at a special railway rate.

## LORD BRASSEY ON THE DEFENCES OF THE EMPIRE.

ON his return from the Antipodes, *Penitus toto divisis orbe Britannis*, the kindness of our Treasurer enables us to lay before our readers some extracts from the latest series of *Sunbeam* papers. Though Lord Brassey's journal is as yet carried no further than to the time of his arrival at Thursday Island in August last, a letter to the *Times* published on December 15th enables us to carry the record on by Mauritius and the Cape as far as St. Helena and Sierra Leone on the return journey. For the present we propose to confine ourselves to the condition in which Lord Brassey found the defences of the Empire. Later on, perhaps, we may retrace our steps and consider some other points which for the present we must leave undealt with.

Following Lord Brassey's example, we shall touch but lightly on his experiences in familiar scenes. We will just notice that still, in spite of all that has been said and done, "the great deficiency at Gibraltar is the want of dock accommodation," and that "Port Said has grown with the general development of traffic, and has become the most active coaling port in the world. . . . Coal is put on board the Indian troopers at the rate of 250 tons an hour." It is a more serious matter, however, to read that "the harbour at Aden is deficient in depth; large ships lie outside, and in bad weather are coaled with difficulty. Dredging operations should be undertaken in the inner anchorage. In time of war it would be essential to have the means of coaling with dispatch in all weathers." On the whole we are thankful things are no worse, when we learn that "notwithstanding the lack of shelter for heavy ships, Aden is a position of much importance in naval strategy. It is well defended on the land side, and should be able to beat off any ships of the type that may be expected to visit these distant waters under a hostile flag." Yet more satisfactory is the report from Kurrachee, which is two days by sea and six hundred miles by land nearer to Peshawur than the route *via* Bombay. A wharf has been pro-



vided with sufficient depth alongside for steamers of the largest size. Additional wharfage is under construction. The defences both by batteries and torpedoes are well advanced. On the question of the invasion of India, Lord Brassey takes an optimistic view, and declares that "it is difficult to believe that serious danger exists of a Russian invasion." At Bombay, the second city of the Empire (a title that will, we fancy, surprise some of our readers into furbishing up their geography afresh), he was grieved to find that, with a dockyard most efficient in all other respects, there was "no graving dock capable of receiving powerful vessels of war. In all India we have no dock large enough to admit an ironclad of the second class." This long-promised work appears to have been delayed by a controversy as to what proportion of the expense the Indian and Home Governments respectively shall defray. It would probably be too much to hope that they will jointly undertake the work in the meantime, and then decide the proportion of their contributions afterwards at their leisure. We have pointed out, on more than one occasion, the absolute necessity for a co-ordination of the Home and Colonial forces if they are to co-operate together with efficiency in time of war. Lord Brassey calls attention to another case of the same kind. The Indian local navy has at present no relative rank alongside of the officers of the Royal Navy. Lord Brassey would have them given commissions in the naval reserve, and so obviate that difficulty. Passing on to the south, "the impression that the naval yard at Trincomalee is of doubtful value was not removed by my visit. . . . It would be policy to give up Trincomalee in order to secure a large graving dock at Bombay. . . . The Indian Government could utilise the yard for torpedo defence work, for the fleet of transports, and for the local lighthouse service."

Now we come to places the importance of whose defence is more likely to be kept before the public eye than is the case with Indian ports. "King George's Sound is a noble harbour, occupying an important strategical position for naval operations." The nearest harbour for ships of deep draught is Adelaide, 1,000 miles to the east. Port Darwin is twice as far distant in another direction. Nothing has yet been done to defend it, though it is so easily defensible that a few hulks sunk in the fairway would block the entrance; and all that is asked for is "a battery in a position commanding the narrow entrance to the inner harbour, and an equipment of torpedoes to secure the position against a stray cruiser." At Adelaide the defences "have not been neglected." The Colonists have provided men, some 1,100 militia and 1,400 volunteers. There are also two forts armed with two 20-ton, two 12-ton and four small guns, all muzzle-loaders. In addition there is a powerful gunboat in the harbour. Of Melbourne we have ourselves spoken recently, and there can be no doubt that the inhabitants are at once sensible of the necessity of being in a thorough state of defence, and thoroughly able to supply themselves with what is necessary, so we pass on. Sydney, also, for the same reason, need not detain us. It has 25-ton guns, which can be trusted to protect the chain of torpedoes across the narrow entrance of the Heads. This, however, is worth notice: On one of the Sydney building-slips was a German gunboat, the *Albatross*, brought from Samoa to prepare for the voyage homeward. "This incident shows the strength of our position in this part of the Pacific. We have an incontestable supremacy. We have a base of naval action fully equipped by private enterprise. No foreign Power has any establishment worthy of the name." A dock large enough to take in the *Great Eastern* is at the present moment under process of construction.

Sixty miles from Sydney is Newcastle, the chief coal port of Australasia, with an export trade of over 2,000,000 tons per annum. Here, too, nature has been kind. The entrance to the harbour is "narrow, tortuous, and of moderate depth, and can easily be denied to an enemy by torpedoes." It is defended by a fort armed with three 9-ton guns and three 80-pounders. Brisbane also appears to be safe. "The fort and the torpedo defences effectually bar the passage up the river to Brisbane. There are, moreover, two steel gunboats, manned by 100 men of the Naval Brigade. On the other hand, at Thursday Island, which commands the passage of Torres Straits, through which hundreds of thousands of tons of shipping pass every year, nothing has been done to protect the stores of coal from the raids of hostile cruisers. Lord Brassey writes as follows:—"The position is so essentially an Imperial concern, that the whole charge cannot fairly be thrown upon Queensland. The amount to be provided is inconsiderable. Light guns and earthworks would be a sufficient defence. The garrison should be furnished from the marines, as proposed for King George's Sound. The last point visited in Australia was Port Darwin, the most northerly point of South Australia, as Thursday Island may be considered the most northerly point of Queensland. The harbour is a noble one. Here the shore end of the Australian cable is landed, and an important coaling station is gradually growing up. In a few years' time it will be the terminus of the Trans-Australian railway. "It remains as yet absolutely defenceless. A few light guns of long range should be mounted, and a small force of volunteers, led by permanent non-commissioned officers, should

be raised. The necessity for some defence was not sufficiently brought under consideration at the recent Colonial Congress."

And here, on the eve of her departure for the voyage across the wide expanse of the Indian Ocean, we must take leave of the *Sunbeam* for the present. Next month we shall hope to retrace our steps to notice other points in the voyage, and then to follow her course along the highway by the Cape that leads back to the shores of the Old Country.

### FORMATION OF A BRANCH OF THE LEAGUE AT OTTAWA.

MR. SANDFORD FLEMING, C.M.G., CHOSEN PRESIDENT.—  
INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY MR. DALTON MCCARTHY.

THE "Empire Men," as the *Ottawa Daily Citizen* calls members of the Imperial Federation League, have commenced operations in the Dominion capital with every promise of success. For some time past the question of establishing a branch there has been under consideration, but the executive of the League in Canada are shrewd men, who determined to prepare the ground carefully, and make sure of a hearty response, before taking steps towards formal organisation in the city of Ottawa.

The decisive resolutions in favour of establishing a branch were passed at a meeting in Dr. Bourinot's office in the House of Commons building. After the adoption of these resolutions an adjournment took place until November 24th.

On that date, destined to be henceforward a red-letter day in the annals of our progress in Canada, a public meeting was held in St. Andrew's Hall, to elect the governing body of the Ottawa Branch. The Chair was taken by Mr. Thomas Macfarlane, and among those present we may mention Colonel Ross, Colonel Perry, Mr. J. A. Gemmill, Mr. H. G. Code, Mr. G. H. Bradley, Dr. R. J. Wicksteed, Professor Macoun, Messrs. Taylor McVeity, J. P. Featherston, A. G. McGill, W. H. Tracey, T. J. Alexander, Douglas Bremner, A. H. Taylor, Dr. Hurlbert, Messrs. R. J. Constant, James Hope, A. G. Kingston, Daniel Donaldson, T. Bowerman, Robert Cowley, John Munro, and J. F. Waters.

Mr. Sandford Fleming was unavoidably absent owing to the death of his brother.

Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, President of the League in Canada, entered the room shortly after the proceedings had been opened by the chairman. He was received by a loud and prolonged outburst of cheering, and gracefully yielded to the unanimous request of the assemblage that he would address them, although he stated that he had come quite unprepared to speak. After some preliminary remarks, Mr. McCarthy spoke as follows:—

IMPERIAL FEDERATION IS THE INTEREST OF OUR PEOPLE.

I may be permitted to say one or two things with regard to the great objects of the League. It is thought apparently by some that the League was established to fix upon Canada the Imperial control, from which, by representative government, Canada some years ago was freed. Nothing could be further from the truth. I had the honour of addressing a meeting held in England upon the subject, and I never heard it suggested by any one that the Colonies were to be deprived of any local right of self-government they now possess. That is not the object of the formation of the League at all, and I do not think that it is ever suggested by all those who are becoming members of the League in England, that the Colonies should assign back any of the rights of self-government which they now possess. The sole object to be obtained by the League is this—speaking from a Canadian point of view—we are now a people of five-and-a-half millions in population, and I venture to say that before the end of the present century we shall have double the population. It is only natural that the future should be before us, and the future destiny of the people of Canada will be better off in the continuance of relationship with the Mother Country than anything that so far has been suggested. There has been talk of a union of the people of the south of the line with Canada, but looking at the matter all around, I think that the interests of the people of the country will be best served to have a closer union with the great country to which it is a pride and a pleasure to belong. Imperial Federation means the union, not only of Great Britain and Ireland, but of all the vast Colonies of the British crown. Before a scheme can be formulated which will be suitable to so vast an area and so great an Empire, it is plain that it will take some little time to ascertain the feelings of the people. I do not think that it would be difficult to lay down laws to carry that policy out.

CANADA MUST CLAIM A VOICE IN IMPERIAL POLICY.

What is the present position? It is true that Canada possesses all the rights of self-government, and has a right to



govern without the interference of the Imperial Powers. But Canada has no say whatever in those affairs which might be called Imperial policy."

The speaker then proceeded to refer to the Australians, and the matter of the concession of certain rights in reference to New Guinea to Germany, and said that the Australians had nothing whatever to do or say in the matter. They felt by the action of Lord Derby, who permitted New Guinea to be partially annexed to the German Empire against their desires, that they had no voice in the direction of affairs, and they had since made Imperial Federation the means by which they would have a direct voice in that particular, just as they would have in any other matter concerning their welfare. Referring to the fishery question, he said: "Suppose that a treaty was made by the British Government on this question—and we know that this legally could be done—we should in vain protest against it; but by the grace of the Imperial Power, not by any legitimate arrangement, the High Commissioner of Canada, Sir Charles Tupper, has been appointed one of the commissioners for negotiating that treaty. It is a matter of favour and of grace, not a matter of right. Looking at it from that point of view, looking at Great Britain's interests with this country, and looking forward to the possibilities of the future, is it not wise and prudent for us to claim in the administration of affairs, especially in the administration of those in which we are particularly interested, that representation, that voice, upon which our best interest as a nation depends? The great justification of Imperial Federation is that our Canadian interests and Canadian destiny are bound up with those of the Mother Country." (Cheers.)

A vote of thanks was unanimously tendered Mr. McCarthy at the conclusion of his address, after which the election of officers was proceeded with.

The following gentlemen were duly elected officers:—

President—Mr. Sandford Fleming, C.M.G.

Vice-Presidents—Lieut.-Colonel Chamberlin, Mr. Thomas Macfarlane, and Mr. A. H. Taylor.

Secretary-Treasurer—Mr. R. G. Code.

Executive Committee—Dr. Bourinot, Dr. Hurlbert, Lieut.-Colonel Ross, Professor Macoun, Messrs. J. A. Gemmill, F. Bebbington, J. P. Featherston, and F. J. Alexander.

The League in Ottawa has already a membership of nearly 100, including some of the most influential men in the city. It begins its career under eminently favourable auspices, and we can wish it no better record than a realisation of the good old motto, *esto perpetua*.

#### FORMATION OF A BRANCH OF THE LEAGUE AT HUNTINGDON.

SPEECHES BY THE EARL OF SANDWICH, THE RIGHT HON. G. OSBORNE MORGAN, M.P., AND CAPT. COLOMB, M.P.

UNDER the auspices of the Imperial Federation League, a very large and successful meeting was held in the Corn Exchange at Huntingdon on December 15th. The object was to inaugurate the Huntingdonshire Branch of the League. The chair was taken by the High Sheriff, and among the gentlemen on the platform were the Right Hon. G. Osborne Morgan, M.P., Captain J. C. R. Colomb, M.P., the Earl of Sandwich, Mr. A. H. Smith Barry, M.P., the Archdeacon of Huntingdon, Mr. T. Coote, jun., the Mayor of Huntingdon (Mr. J. S. Smith), Mr. G. J. Rust, J.P., Mr. F. R. Beart, J.P., Mr. F. J. Howson, J.P., Dr. W. W. Ballard, Mr. C. S. Windover, Mr. E. W. Hunnybun, Mr. A. Grist, Mr. W. Sebright Green, &c. The audience was an exceedingly large and representative one, and it included very many ladies. The closest attention was paid to the various speakers. The more striking points which were made in the different addresses were instantaneously caught up and warmly applauded, and several times during the evening the audience was roused into absolute enthusiasm.

We deeply regret that the pressure upon our space prevents us from reporting at length the admirable addresses delivered during the evening, but the names of the speakers are sufficiently familiar to our readers for them to appreciate the high standard of logic and eloquence to which that grand audience listened. We cannot refrain from quoting an amusing criticism we heard passed on the meeting. The hall was so densely crowded, it was said, that there was no room left for a pig!

The HIGH SHERIFF, in his introductory remarks, expressed the great pleasure which he felt in presiding at such a meeting, and the vast assemblage present seemed to him a strong evidence that he was not alone in his sense of the importance of the occasion. Whatever might be the details of any scheme advocated by the Imperial Federation League, their object—to connect as closely as possible the different parts of the British Empire—was undoubtedly a good one. He did not know whether any definite scheme had been prepared by the League, but when

they knew that the League was strongly supported by leading Statesmen of all shades of politics, they might, he thought, safely trust themselves to their guidance, and feel that they were in good hands.

MR. W. SEBRIGHT GREEN then read letters regretting their inability to attend, but expressing their full sympathy with the objects of the League, from the Marquis of Huntly, the Bishop of Ely, Lord de Ramsey, the Hon. A. E. Fellowes, M.P., Colonel A. W. Marshall, Mr. T. F. A. Burnaby, Mr. J. McNish, &c.

CAPTAIN COLOMB, who was very warmly greeted, delivered an address explaining the objects of the Imperial Federation League, and dealing with the necessity for devising some scheme of Imperial defence. He traced the gradual expansion of the British Empire, and drew a glowing picture of its magnificent position at the present time. But we apparently did not realise how enormously our responsibilities had been increased by the vast expansion of our Empire. It was one of the objects of the Federation League to emphasise this fact, and to force upon the people of England the question whether they were prepared to face these additional responsibilities without help. Australia had, through its Ministers, offered to form an Australasian wing of our fleet; and who could tell whether the next great struggle for the naval supremacy of England might not be fought in the Pacific, and whether at this later Trafalgar the British forces might not be guided to victory by an Australian Nelson! (Applause.)

The RIGHT HONOURABLE G. OSBORNE MORGAN, M.P., then addressed the meeting. He began by pointing out that colonisation and emigration had become an absolute necessity to England, with her increasing and superabundant population. Was it not, then, all-important that the tide of emigration should flow towards lands where the people were Englishmen still, and even more John Bullish than John Bull himself? Every vessel that carried its shipload of men and women across the Atlantic, every letter, every telegram that flashed its tale of joy or sorrow to the other world, was, as it were, making a new thread in the web which they were endeavouring to weave, and which it was the work of the Imperial Federation League to complete. (Hear, hear.) They had a right to ask him what were the proposals of the League. He would reply, with Captain Colomb, that they had no cast-iron scheme. More than one hundred years ago, when, during the American rebellion, the great Lord Chatham lifted up his voice to denounce the folly of that worse than fratricidal war, he uttered those memorable words which had been quoted over and over again, and with which he would not inappropriately conclude his speech: "The Empire of Rome," he said, "was founded upon lust and fear; the Empire of England must be founded upon gratitude and love. The bonds which bind them together may be strong as iron, but they must be light as air." (Applause.) That was the lesson which the Imperial Federation League was formed to inculcate. It was because he believed it to be eminently fitted and qualified to teach and inculcate that lesson that he wished it from the bottom of his heart God speed. (Loud applause.)

LORD SANDWICH then moved the first resolution, which was as follows:—

"That this meeting is of opinion that, in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential, and that no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of local Parliaments as regards local affairs, and the principles of the Imperial Federation League are hereby adopted by this meeting."

His Lordship said that he had never addressed a meeting in Huntingdon at which there had been such an extraordinary consensus of opinion. He was also rejoiced to see around him many gentlemen with whom he had not often the honour of meeting on the same platform. (Applause.) He entirely agreed with the admirable addresses which had been delivered by Captain Colomb and his right honourable colleague, and he felt grateful to the one for the clearness with which he had explained his interesting statistics, and to the other for the excellent speech he had delivered on the economical side of the question. The great Empire whose federation they were seeking to promote was founded under a monarchy in the time of Elizabeth; it had been vastly extended during a period in which perhaps the aristocracy possessed the greatest power in the State; and he felt absolutely certain that the English democracy would further cement the great union of the Empire for the maintenance of their common interests and the defence of their common rights. The two things which were dearest to every subject of the Queen were first the unity of the Kingdom, and secondly the federation of the Empire.

MR. T. COOTE, Jun., seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

MR. A. H. SMITH BARRY, M.P., then moved a resolution formally inaugurating the Branch, and electing a powerful governing body.

The EARL OF SANDWICH is President of the Branch, and among the Vice-Presidents are the Marquis of Huntly, Lord de Ramsey, the Bishop of Ely, the High Sheriff, Mr. Smith-Barry, M.P., and Hon. A. E. Fellowes, M.P.



## IMPERIAL FEDERATION AT POPLAR.

ENTHUSIASTIC DEMONSTRATION.—NO STANDING-ROOM IN THE TOWN HALL.

ON Wednesday, November 30th, a great meeting was held in the Town Hall, Poplar, to hear addresses on the subject of Imperial Federation by Mr. Sydney Buxton, the Liberal member for the constituency, Major Welby, Conservative candidate at the last election, and Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster. The meeting is described as the most enthusiastic ever held in the hall, which was crowded to its utmost capacity, so that there was not even standing-room left either on the platform or in the body of the hall. The political agents of both parties combined to organise this grand demonstration of national patriotism, and the warmest thanks of the League are due to them for exertions which were crowned with unclouded success.

The chair was taken by Mr. Sydney Buxton, M.P., who was accompanied by Mrs. Buxton, and there were also present Major Welby, Mr. Arnold-Forster, General Sim, Mr. F. Young, J.P., Drs. G. Smith, Bain, Tatham, Skelly, and O'Brien; Captains Storey, Brown, Ross; Rev. M. T. Myers; Mr. A. McAlister, F.R.G.S., Mr. and Mrs. Freeman, Mr. and Mrs. Farquharson, Mr. and Mrs. Batney; Messrs. J. Brockley, W. E. Turriff, W. Newman, W. C. Jones, J. Ford, J. Paton, A. Mills, J. Walker, W. Slater, A. Hitchins, S. Kimbel, J. Colman, H. J. Hart, P. Maitland, W. H. Coombes, W. J. Nash, J. S. Limn, G. Brand, F.C.A., S. Norton, L. Foxon, D. E. Moore, O. Coleman, T. D. Richardson, R. McLelland, G. Kemp, B. Webster, C. Randall, J. Rosewell, J. Y. Mosey, C. H. Shilling-law, and F. B. Wright.

MR. A. H. LORING, secretary of the Imperial Federation League, read a letter from Captain Colomb, M.P., regretting his inability to attend through an engagement in Bow, and expressing the opinion that Imperial Federation was one of the greatest British questions, and the more light was thrown upon it the more clearly would its importance be seen.

The CHAIRMAN, who was received with prolonged cheering, said it was an advantage sometimes to be able to lay aside smaller questions which were intermingled with party politics, and to unite in mutual friendship and common accord. He was quite sure that every man and woman felt a question touching the unity of the British Empire was one in which all had a common interest. He was glad to believe that this question had not divided, but united, different parties. The vice-president of the Imperial Federation League was Mr. Edward Stanhope, Secretary of State for War in the Conservative Government, while the president was Lord Rosebery, who some time or other would be leader of the Liberal party. What had to be solved in this great question was how best to knit together in one common bond all these self-governing Colonies and England. How to bring about equal citizenship, equal rights, and equal responsibilities. Some people might be impatient, and desire a cut-and-dried policy with reference to Federation, but he thought it was the general opinion that the matter should not be hurried; the good seed had been sown, and they must not be like the impatient boy, who wanted to dig it up to see how it was getting on. Though they had at that moment no specific proposals to make, yet there were certain general propositions to which all would assent, and which, if they were agreed upon, would help to a solution of the question. In the first place, all were agreed on the Imperial question that every one was anxious to avoid any dismemberment of any portion of this great Empire. Again, on the commercial question, all were very anxious to increase, as far as possible, the trade between the Mother Country and the Colonies. More especially was it a matter of importance just now when, as, unfortunately, they were too well aware, there was such a depression in trade and a great lack of employment—a matter that was of anxious moment to every one, and more particularly to those interested in East London. Though they might differ as to the means by which their ends were to be attained, yet they would all agree that it was desirable to carry out that commercial policy which would give the greatest amount of employment to this country. There was an old saying, "Trade follows the flag," and, doubtless, there was a natural inclination on the part of all countries to trade with their kith and kin. During the last fifty years English trade with foreign countries had increased fivefold, but in the same time our trade with the Colonies had increased tenfold. Having referred to the assistance that would be rendered to Federation by a universal penny postage, and advocated the defence of naval stations, the speaker reminded his hearers that the Empire of which they were all so proud covered one-fifth of the inhabitable globe, and had a population of no less than two hundred and fifty millions, of whom fifty millions were English-speaking; then it was an Empire worth preserving, and he was sure that, though they might differ on other questions, the end of all Englishmen was the same—a

desire to increase health, wealth, and happiness, and a desire to maintain the real unity of this great Empire. The Chairman then resumed his seat amid enthusiastic applause.

Mr. Arnold-Forster next addressed the meeting. He said there were one or two salient points about the question which it was most important should be considered. In the first place, they would not gain anything by waiting, and if this great opportunity were allowed to pass it might never come again. The arrangements which existed at present with our Colonial Empire were not in any way calculated to extend that Empire. One fact was absolutely certain, they must either be going back or going forward; they were at the parting of the ways. It had been said that evening that our Empire contained one-fifth of the habitable portion of the globe. Important as that was, it was less important than the fact that the great self-governing Colonies were almost without exception situated in the great temperate climates of the world, and for that reason they might look forward to a future when all these great branches of the race should be one. The Colonies sent out by other nations were day by day differentiating from the character of the nation from whence they came because of the tropical climate in which they had settled, but in the case of our Empire it was not so. In our Colonies the conditions of life were practically the same as those in the United Kingdom, and therefore in all essentials they would be very much the same as the old stock. Federation did not mean the introduction of some cut and-dried constitution; it meant that the Government should complete the work which had been undertaken by every great branch of the community—by capitalists, workmen, and the professions, all of which had branches of their organisations all over the world. Here were practised Federationists. In every department of life which had extended over the world, there was a system of communication in order to prevent isolation, and there was only one exception to this—the department of political arrangement. At the present moment England was, and always would be, the Mother Country, and if there was any disposition to adopt Imperial Federation it had better be shown at once. Do not wait, but give the Colonies the lead, and they would follow. He thought that the advantages of these Colonies were often overlooked, but it would pay the country to specially educate young men—say, from fourteen to twenty—in schools established for the purpose, who could repay the cost of their training when they prospered, as was invariably the case in the Colonies. The prospects of England's Empire were greater than those possessed by any other country, and if they all worked and kept together they would have the greatest future of any nation in the world.

MAJOR WELBY, who was enthusiastically cheered, said he was now about to fulfil his promise to address them on Imperial Federation as connected with Canada, and proceeded to give them the impressions he had received in his recent visit to that Colony.

It had been said that evening that there could not be a greater mistake than that the Imperial Federation League should pledge itself to any particular policy. They might be quite sure, if this policy made its way in men's minds, and public opinion on the subject ripened until Federation was required, when the day came for it to be carried out the man to do it would not be wanting; as it had always been in the history of our country in times of great difficulty and danger, great men had arisen to guide the country. They said at one meeting in Canada the speaker attended that the scheme was impossible; but he said the English race did not know the word "impossible." Did they think that if the soldiers of the Empire had thought that there was such a word as "impossible" that Wolfe and his gallant men would have gone up St. Lawrence, climbed the steep sides, and stood in battle array on the plains of Abraham the next day, and fought the battle by which Canada was won? Did they think that on the plains of India Plassey would have been won, or the Peninsula cleared of the French? Did they think the seas would have been swept by the British flag if those things had been thought impossible? If such great deeds were not impossible in warfare, should this policy of peace be impossible to-day. Men said that the Federationists were dreamers, and that they were following merely some shadow, of which there was no substance; but look at the first flash of dawn tinging the mountain-tops in the distance, heralding the glorious day. Could it be foretold from that by one who had never seen it before that the noonday sun would presently burst out in all its glory? Then let them be dreamers and visionaries, for this Imperial Federation scheme might be a dawn of light which was tinging the mountain-tops of thought, and in time to come, perhaps before many of those present had lived their lives on earth, that dim dawning light might become the glorious noonday sun of a Federated British Empire. (Loud and continued cheering, during which Major Welby resumed his seat.)

MR. F. YOUNG moved a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was seconded by MR. KIMBEL; the REV. M. T. MYERS supported, and the vote having been acknowledged by the Chairman, the meeting terminated.



## NOTICES.

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Editors of Newspapers, and others, sending papers to the EDITOR, will greatly oblige by marking the passages to which they wish to call attention.

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## Imperial Federation.

JANUARY, 1888.

### VIGILATE!

WHAT shall we say to our members as a New Year's greeting? It is the season when new impressions are being struck at the mint of human activity; the foundations of fresh plans are being laid, of schemes to occupy their authors throughout another year, of enterprises wherein much will be staked for success or failure in the coming twelve months. But we have no brand-new novelty to advertise, no startling projects to suggest, no sovereign cure for Imperial evils. Our New Year's message shall be sober and solemn, but practical and useful. Let the League take one word for its motto in 1888, let one thought animate its policy. *Vigilate!* Be watchful! That is all we have to say to our members. But how much it means!

Watchfulness implies the possession of something worth guarding. Here is the note of encouragement, the solid consolation for moments of difficulty or doubt, when the insidious question—*Cui bono?*—is apt to rise to our lips, and we need to reflect upon our triumphs in the past as a warrant for present energy and future success. The League has done so much already that it cannot afford to stand still; its responsibilities have grown and multiplied until only by constant vigilance can the long line of our positions be protected. Take a single one of them—our responsibility in regard to public opinion. What need of watchfulness to secure the continuance of the present favourable attitude towards our cause! How difficult the task of preserving absolute impartiality in matters political, of never letting our opinions upon domestic questions influence our view of Imperial affairs! It is only by constant vigilance that we can avoid, and persuade others to avoid, even the semblance of partisanship. Hitherto we have done so, and the result has been well worth the effort. The spectacle of all parties combining on a common platform in favour of Federation has contributed more than anything else to promote sympathy with our objects, and it would be madness to sacrifice the advantage thus gained. But, at the same time, we all know it is immensely hard to keep any problem of general interest outside the political arena in these days. We may, perhaps, be warned of the fatal effects of any departure from the absolute rule of non-

intervention, by remembering that if once the movement towards Imperial Federation were to become either wholly or partially identified with the rise or fall of a particular faction or party, we should lose for ever our claim to exalt Federation as the highest ambition of British statesmanship, constituting a grand national policy for the Empire.

If we have to guard a spotless record in the past, we have equal need of vigilance to win the promise of the future. Last year was brimming over with promises. The Session of the Imperial Conference produced a crop of obligations, of which the League must reap the harvest. But the harvest time has not yet come; it depends upon the changes and chances of a dozen Ministerial policies, which are often as variable as the vicissitudes of the weather. It is the League's duty to see that the crop reaches maturity, to protect it with unremitting vigilance against the consequences of possible neglect or bad management. It is only necessary to glance through the pages of the Conference reports, in order to find plenty of "great expectations;" but how many of them have been fulfilled? Has a beginning been made in building the new Australian fleet? Have the promised fortifications been begun at Table Bay? Have the Colonial Governments taken up the discussion concerning the defences of King George's Sound where the Conference left it? Has a general officer been appointed to inspect the Australian forces? Is progress being made with the works at Esquimalt? Has the Post Office taken steps to inaugurate a cheap ocean mail service by an all-sea route? These and many others are questions prompted by perusing the reports of the Conference nine months ago. Yes—nine months! And how much nearer are we to the answers? There is clearly room, nay, urgent need for vigilance, lest the bright hopes raised by the Conference die of inanition. To promote their realisation should be the work of the League in 1888.

### MR. GOSCHEN AND THE POST OFFICE SURPLUS.

WE regret to find that Mr. Goschen, whom we believe to be completely at one with us as to the necessity for consolidating the Empire, has adopted an attitude of, let us hope only temporary, opposition to a measure of which the unifying tendency is undoubted. We refer to the proposal for cheapening the rates of postage between the United Kingdom and the Colonies, a proposal which has hitherto been received with marvellous enthusiasm, both by the press and by the public. Let us examine the grounds upon which the Chancellor of the Exchequer bases his objections. In a recent speech at Bath, he said—

"There is one little item which I intend, I tell the country frankly, to defend with my life, and that is the surplus of two millions-and-a-half which the Post Office gives at present. That means something like a penny in the income-tax or more; and we know there is a cry that the whole of that surplus should be spent in postal improvements, in other words, taxation to be imposed in order to cover that deficit which would arise if we were to apply that surplus in the way which it is demanded. I hold that surplus to be a valuable asset in the national exchequer. I admit that it is a tax. It is a certain tax that those who send their letters for a penny supply the State with. I do not object to that; but I do object that the surplus which is produced mainly by those who write letters for a penny should be entirely consumed, or even chiefly consumed, in giving additional postal advantages to those who correspond with the Colonies, with India, or with Foreign Countries."

In the first place, we should like to ask Mr. Goschen upon what principle of classification he proceeds in grouping under one head all correspondence with the Colonies, India, and Foreign Countries? Is there no distinction between those who live within the boundaries of the British Empire and those without? If there is not, why should it be only in postal matters that Mr. Goschen objects to expending British money upon the Colonies and India. To be consistent, he ought likewise to object to all public expenditure specially beneficial to people who do business with the Colonies and India. He ought to raise his voice against all military and naval outlay for the protection of our high-road to the East, and against the subsidy just granted for the Trans-Pacific steamers from Vancouver; and, in order to avoid saddling the inland letter-writers with



any portion of the charge for Colonial correspondence, he ought not only to oppose a reduction, but to advocate an increase in the present rates. But we know that as a matter of fact Mr. Goschen is, fortunately, not so consistent as this. He does recognise that precautions must be taken to maintain our communications with the Colonies and India that do not apply to Foreign Countries; he is still a member of the Cabinet which, presumably with his full consent, granted the Canadian Pacific subsidy; and he has shown no anxiety to rouse popular clamour by advocating an increase in the preposterous sixpenny postage to Australia, in spite of the financial loss it may involve. By his action in these matters Mr. Goschen draws a most practical distinction between Foreign Countries and the Colonies or India, a distinction based upon the mighty fact of membership in the British Empire.

But if, as we have shown, he admits that we are all one people, with Imperial responsibilities, how can Mr. Goschen sustain the argument that the Post Office surplus ought not to be used for reducing the postage to the Colonies? He does not object to using it indirectly, in the shape of ships, guns, and subsidies, for the benefit of those who do business with the Colonies; he would, doubtless, say that the commerce to be thus protected and fostered is a national and Imperial necessity. But its protection in time of war is not more necessary than its furtherance in time of peace; and if public money is granted for the one object, it cannot rationally be withheld from the other. A reduction of postage to the Colonies, however, is not only legitimately demanded in the interests of commerce, essentially national though they be, but on the still higher ground of assisting freedom of intercourse between Her Majesty's subjects in all parts of the globe. It is a common-place saying of statesmen like Mr. Goschen that Australians and Canadians are more English than the English. Reduced to plain facts, this means that we are after all in the eyes of the world one Empire, and compose one people, of whom some live in London, others in Melbourne, others in Montreal. Now on what grounds can the Londoner be reasonably and justly charged more for sending a letter to Melbourne than to Montreal, or more to Montreal than to Manchester? The argument of comparative distance will not hold water for an instant. For every case where the postage from London varies in proportion to distance, we will undertake to give a hundred where no correspondence can be traced. The fact that within the United Kingdom alone letters are accepted at an uniform rate for distances varying from one mile to nearly a thousand knocks the bottom out of the argument, when once it has been granted that the inhabitants of the United Kingdom are but an integral portion of an united Empire.

The claim to maintain high postages to the Colonies, because a cheaper rate would not be self-supporting, is equally untenable. There are hundreds of places in England and Scotland to which letters from London cost far more than the penny affixed; and we are very doubtful whether a loss be not made upon the whole correspondence between Great Britain and Ireland. What would the county of Sutherland say to Mr. Goschen if he announced that it must pay the exact cost of letters to villages on the west coast? Yet we fail to see the justice of villaging short-distance letters to pay for long in Great Britain, while beyond the limits of these islands the contrary principle is acted upon.

The truth of the matter is that postages cannot possibly be calculated upon considerations of distance or expense; anomalies begin within five yards of the Post Office, that baffle all attempts at adjustment. Experience has shown that for simplicity of administration the best postal area is the widest, and the widest attainable by any nation is that which coincides with its territorial limits. It has also been recognised that the moral influence of unfettered intercourse by means of letters and newspapers is to make a nation homogeneous and single-hearted; the cheapest rate within the widest area has therefore become the motto of postal experts. Let Mr. Goschen bear these truths in mind, and cease to ignore the opportunity afforded by the vast territorial limits of an Empire, whose unity for purposes of war and commerce he recognises, to promote a magnificent administrative reform, and earn the gratitude of the whole British nation.

### MR. GOLDWIN SMITH'S MERRY CHRISTMAS.

WE fear Mr. Goldwin Smith will not have passed a very merry Christmas. It is never pleasant at the end of a year to look back upon hopes balked, or to see plans frustrated and policies reversed upon which one's energies have been concentrated. When we read President Cleveland's message to Congress, we could not resist a smile of satisfaction at the thought that the Professor's prophecy, to which we have more than once alluded in these columns, was finally doomed to non-fulfilment. It was in 1878 that he uttered the unlucky prediction—"In ten years' time Canada will from economic causes form part of the United States." We all know how he has been straining every nerve of late to procure the success of his forecast, how he admitted Commercial Union to be preliminary to annexation, and strove might and main to bring it to pass. And now Commercial Union may as well be banished to Jupiter and Saturn until the next Presidential election has been decided! For amid all the uncertainties of the future one thing at any rate is clear; there will be a struggle in the United States between Protectionists and Free-traders, and until that is over, no decision will be taken in favour of Commercial Union with Canada. But Mr. Goldwin Smith's "ten years" will then be in *limbo*, whither his regrets at much waste of breath and power may accompany them.

Thus a part of the Professor's Christmas retrospect will contain an unwelcome vision of disappointed hopes for Commercial Union, with its complement of the separation of Canada from the British Empire. In the foreground of the picture will appear the record of Haldimand election. This election turned, we believe, entirely upon the question of Commercial Union. The most strenuous efforts were made to secure a verdict in favour of the scheme; but the polling only the other day resulted in a crushing defeat for Mr. Goldwin Smith's views.

But the most cruel cut of all has been inflicted not by the people of Canada, of whom the majority were always opposed to him, not by the United States, which refused to take him seriously, but by his own familiar friend, the *Toronto Week*, of which he has only of late ceased to be the Editor and principal contributor. We can hardly conceive a more disheartening spectacle for Mr. Goldwin Smith than to see the powerful organ, once the exponent of his own views, turn round to bless the cause which he persisted in cursing. All the more when he must feel how little harm his abuse did to that cause—our cause of Imperial Federation—which has prospered exceedingly in spite of him. The guns of the *Toronto Week*, served more steadily now than in the time of the Professor's reckless aiming, are at length turned against the true enemies of the Empire, instead of peppering its friends. "Our future lies with England, not Republican America," says the leading article in the *Week* of November 3rd, and again, "I think it has become clearly evident that Canadian sentiment, notwithstanding these efforts to change it"—Mr. Goldwin Smith's and Mr. Wiman's efforts are specified—"remains strongly adverse to such relationship with the United States"—meaning Commercial Union. "If, then," continues the article, "Commercial Union or Annexation may be regarded as out of the question, would Colonial Independence meet with greater approval from the people of Canada?" Then follow cogent arguments to prove that independent nationality "would be so hedged in by danger as to preclude its ultimate success." Hence the writer is forced to the conclusion that "Canada will share the destiny of England, whatever that destiny may be. . . . Every passing occurrence clearly indicates a closer alliance with that great nation. . . . That the Dominion of Canada will yet become the brightest jewel in the British crown may be a hackneyed prophecy, and seem like the graceful rounding of oratorical effulgence, but there is a sound of truth about it which sober reflection upon the past history of England and Canada does not disprove."

All this is excellent reading, and we are grateful to the *Week* for stating vigorously the truth about Canada's future, as all loyal and patriotic Britons regard it. But what of Mr. Goldwin Smith? Verily the iron must have entered into his soul as he read the lines we have quoted, and reflected that only a few months ago the *Week* was his



own pet organ, the vehicle of his fantastic ideas about the manifest destiny of his adopted country, the mouth-piece of his railings against the advocates of Imperial Unity!

Let us leave the discredited prophet, brooding over his foiled attempts to filch the "brightest jewel of the British crown" from its allegiance; let us leave him with a copy of President Cleveland's message in one hand, and the result of Haldimand election in the other, with a file of the *Week* lying at his feet to suggest an agreeable sensation of being hoisted with his own petard. It would be cruel to disturb his reflections as he ponders over the year's record of failure profound and irredeemable.

### THE PRESENT PROSPECTS OF AUSTRAL- ASIAN EMIGRATION.<sup>1</sup>

MESSRS. HAZELL AND HODGKIN'S Report is divided into two parts. The first and larger part sketches generally the present position of the Australasian labour market. The second describes in considerable detail several special instances of agricultural settlement—some already accomplished successes, some only just under weigh, some hardly yet advanced beyond the stage of projects. Broadly speaking, we may say that, while Part I. tells us nothing that is new, Part II. describes what we have never seen described at all before. And yet we are at a loss to say which half of the Report is the more valuable and timely.

In one respect, however, we can without hesitation assign the palm to Part I. It is, at least, very much easier for us to review. When two gentlemen, with access to all possible sources of information, both official and non-official, report in fifty pages of large print as to the conditions of labour over an entire continent, it is evident that they cannot reproduce a tithe of the total evidence they have received; and that such actual evidence as they do publish can be nothing more than illustrations selected as typical out of the mass before them. Still less is it possible for us to reproduce evidence. We can only summarise our authors' summaries, premising as we do so that, as we have already said, every word of Messrs. Hazell and Hodgkin bears out the opinions that we have already formed from the perusal of very many Australian letters and reports and newspapers for ourselves. And here is the conclusion of the whole matter:—The prosperity of the Colonies has recently received a check; in South Australia, at least, a check so severe that it would be most rash for any emigrant to hazard his chances there just at present. Matters, however, are already beginning to look more hopeful. "Even at the present moment the chances of success for the colonist of the right type, especially for those willing to work upon the land, are so great as to amount almost to a certainty." Artisans may go with safety, provided that they are ready to take any job that offers, and to go wherever work is needed. To be "unemployed" in Sydney or Melbourne means not starvation, scarcely even privation. Retrenchment of expenditure that would have been undreamt of in England, and the earnings of the wife and family, will pull a thrifty man through the worst times he is ever likely to experience in Australia. As farm labourers, single men, who can be boarded and lodged by their employer, have an advantage over men who are encumbered with a wife and family, for whom the accommodation up country is often of the roughest, even where it is not altogether absent. Farmers with small capital (which they will do well to leave in a bank for a year or two) can scarcely fail to succeed, if they are intelligent, industrious, and thrifty. Lastly, "the voyage involves so small a risk of life and so moderate a degree of discomfort, that neither are worth consideration." It ought to be "widely known that a large number of emigrants who have saved a little money return to England for a short visit as *steerage* passengers." The authors hope it is not travelling outside the proper limits of their report to remark—certainly it is not travelling outside the proper limits of our pages cordially to endorse the suggestion—that "every encouragement should be given for English people to visit the Colonies and

for the Colonists to visit England . . . as it enables a juster estimate to be formed of the actual facts of Colonial life. The proposal, too, of a cheaper rate of postage is of importance in the same direction. As the soundest kind of emigration is that by which scattered members of families are united in the Colonies, every means of keeping up communication between people thus separated, since it tends to this most desirable end, should be encouraged."

Turning now to the detailed descriptions of various settlements contained in Part II., our authors begin with an account of the Village Homestead Special Settlements in New Zealand. Here, under the provisions of Colonial Acts of 1883 and 1886, blocks of Crown lands in different districts have been divided into sections, varying, according to circumstances, between one and fifty acres, the smaller sizes being for shop sites, &c., the larger for homesteads. Any selector may take up one, but no more, of the larger allotments as *his home*, receiving the land on perpetual lease at a rent calculated to be five per cent. of the value of the freehold. Further, he may borrow at the same rate £20 towards building his house, and £50 towards the cost of reclaiming his land. In the year 1886 549 sections, comprising 15,000 acres, were taken up under this law. It is, of course, too soon yet to speak of the upshot of this scheme, but Messrs. Hazell and Hodgkin report that it has enlisted working-class opinion in its favour, and that Mr. Ballance, the Minister of Lands, was confident of success. The difficulty appears to be this: near the towns the Government has no land available; at a distance from them it is hard for a number of men sufficient to form a settlement to obtain work outside their own homesteads, while the homesteads, on the other hand, hardly furnish sufficient occupation, or, indeed, sufficient maintenance for an entire family. For high farming is not yet the fashion in New Zealand, if we may judge from the report of a gentleman who owned 6,000 acres, and employed three hands! Other New Zealand laws enable associations of not less than twenty-five persons to unite together to lease blocks of Crown lands, to the extent of 200 acres per head, on favourable terms; and smaller associations of twelve persons may obtain allotments up to fifty acres on somewhat more stringent conditions. South Australia, also, has recently passed legislation similar in general scope to the New Zealand Special Homestead laws; and up to March, 1887, 630 workmen's blocks had been taken up under its provisions. Coming back to New Zealand, Mr. Firth, a great landed proprietor, has recently set on foot a "fifty acre and fifteen cows" scheme. The cost of the fifty-acre farms, with house, &c., is £350, to be repaid within ten years, and meanwhile to bear interest at the rate of five per cent. Cows are also to be hired, at 15s. per annum each; while a central cheese factory belonging to Mr. Firth is to contract to take all the surplus milk at market rates. Out of hundreds of applicants for farms on these terms, twenty were selected, and after four months' and a half experience Mr. Firth was more sanguine than ever that he was on the right road.

We have left ourselves no room to describe several smaller schemes, and can only glance at the Duke of Manchester's settlement at Fielding in the North Island, which is now about twelve years old. In spite of initial difficulties, in spite of the fact that the emigrants were not very carefully selected, and that less than half of them had been accustomed to farming, "the success of the settlement as a whole is most encouraging." One settler, "admitting that times were not as good as they were, said that even now they were doubly better than in the Old Country." One point noted by our authors must not be overlooked: "The company started on quasi-benevolent lines, but sufficient capital was not forthcoming in this way. It was then turned into a purely commercial affair, the necessary money was raised, and the shareholders as well as the settlers have met with success." A full account is also given of Messrs. Chaffey's great irrigation schemes in Victoria and South Australia. On one of their two concessions they have undertaken to spend a minimum of £300,000, which may afterwards be supplemented by another £620,000. Both blocks when fully settled would, it is calculated, afford a livelihood for 125,000 cultivators, without reckoning the subsidiary industries that they would employ. After long experience in

<sup>1</sup> "The Australasian Colonies; Emigration and Colonisation." Report of inquiries made by Walter Hazell and Howard Hodgkin (members of the Committee of Management of the Emigrants' Information Office) during a Visit to Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, December, 1886—April, 1887. Pp. 80, price 6d. London: Stanford. 1887.



California, where they have raised the value of many thousands of acres from 20s. or 30s. to £30 and £60 per acre by scientific irrigation, Messrs. Chaffey are confident that they can command success in Australia also. We are glad to learn that they are British subjects, being by birth Canadians. But we must say no more. We will only recommend our readers to get the pamphlet and study it for themselves. We are confident that whether they sit down to read it as English philanthropists, anxious to relieve the congestion of population at home, or as Colonists, desirous of developing the resources of their own vast continent at the Antipodes, or finally as, like ourselves, seeking mainly the orderly and progressive advancement in strength and prosperity of the British Empire as a whole, they will not rise from its perusal without confessing themselves not only better informed, but also more hopeful as to the prospects of the future.

#### MR. MCGOUN'S PAMPHLET ON COMMERCIAL UNION BETWEEN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.

THIS is, in our opinion, the most valuable contribution we have yet seen to the discussion of a question which, though perhaps in its acute stage only a "passing summer breeze," will probably mark an important historical landmark in the tide of events swelling to the height of Commercial Unity within the British Empire.

Mr. McGoun writes as an ardent Cobdenite. "I am a believer," he says, "in Free Trade and direct taxation, and hope some day to see absolute Free Trade between the British Empire and the United States and all other nations." But, granted that the people of Canada are not at one with him in desiring to substitute direct taxation for customs revenue, then he maintains that, at all events, the tariff should be levied for revenue purposes only, and not to carry out a Protective policy. For Protection "there may be certain partial compensation if industries are established, which, once established, shall be self-supporting; but for such of them as are really well adapted to the country, a low rate of duty should suffice to give them all the protection they need. Industries that will require perpetual protection would be much better closed up." Therefore, Mr. McGoun adheres to a "high-principled policy of tariff for revenue only, and the nearest approach to Free Trade possible."

Now comes the question, Is Free Trade with the United States really an advance or a retrograde movement on the part of Canada, from the Free Trader's standpoint? At first sight, it seems paradoxical to deny that opening the markets of the United States, with 60,000,000 consumers to the Canadian producers, and *vice versa*, is a generous instalment of Free Trade. But Mr. McGoun does deny this, and with very good reason. The United States tariff is equivalent to an average duty upon all imports, including free and dutiable goods, of 30·59 per cent.; while the Canadian tariff is equivalent to a duty upon all imports of 18·61 per cent.; if dutiable goods alone be taken, the United States duties stand at 45·86 per cent., the Canadian at 26·09 per cent. Thus, Free Trade between Canada and the United States would necessitate the Canadian duties upon imports from all other countries, including the British Empire, being raised at least 12 per cent. all round. But Canada would not benefit by the abolition of duties on her exports to the United States to the extent of 30·59 per cent.—the average rate levied by the United States upon imports from all sources; for, owing to the large amount of free goods imported from Canada by the United States, the average duties on all imports from that quarter are only 12·69 per cent. At the same time, the average duties levied in Canada upon imports from the United States are, for similar reasons, not 18·61 per cent.—the average upon imports from all sources—but 14·05 per cent.

Thus, in order to secure Free Trade with a country with which her trade amounts to 86,903,000 dols. annually, Canada would be adding 12 per cent. to her tariff against countries with which her annual trade is 105,050,000 dols. And she would add 12 per cent. upon imports amounting to 55,558,000 dols., while removing 14 per cent. from imports amounting to 47,151,000 dols. If the result of

this transaction be worked out, it appears that instead of tending towards Free Trade, the change would mean that Canada would levy 165,820 dols. more customs duties than she does at present. So that Commercial Union would really mean an enhancement of Protection on the part of Canada.

But Mr. McGoun goes further than this; he bids his countrymen compare the two markets of the United States and of the United Kingdom, of which the former is to be opened at the expense of the latter. Starting with the proposition that dissimilarity of products is identity of commercial interests, he adduces very striking figures to show how infinitely more promising is the European market than that of the United States for Canadian produce. For food-stuffs, perishable goods, copper and iron ore, cattle and lumber, either Canada has already a free market in the United States, or she supplies nearly the whole of the demand for ultimate consumption, in spite of the existing duties. Put in another way, the United States is either free to Canada already, or contains only a slight margin for expansion in regard to Canadian products. Thus, in the chief articles which Canada can produce the total imports of the United States amount to 20,509,000 dols. from all sources; and already Canada supplies 17,575,000 dols. of the whole; the margin for expansion is, therefore, less than 3,000,000 dols. Turning to the market afforded by the United Kingdom, Mr. McGoun selects certain articles of import amounting to the marvellous sum of 696,000,000 dols., "which are already produced and are capable of being produced to a much larger extent by the people, and chiefly by the farmers of Canada." It has not been found practicable to compare this astounding total with the actual imports from Canada in every detail. But the comparison has been made with 623,000,000 dols. out of the whole, with the result that out of specified articles of import to that amount, Canada supplies at present only 34,309,000 dols.

The margin for expansion of trade in Canadian produce, which barely reaches 300,000 dols. in the case of the United States, exceeds 600,000,000 dols. in the United Kingdom. The market afforded by the old Mother Country is just two thousand times as promising as that of Canada's powerful neighbour. Mr. McGoun can hardly be wrong in protesting against a step that may be likened to blocking the stream of a great navigable river for the purpose of filling a mill-race. There was an ominous, though unjustifiable, growl in the United Kingdom when some recent changes in the Canadian tariff were thought for a moment to favour the United States at the expense of British traders. And we confess that we could not view without apprehension the net result to Canada of a policy that would tax British imports with an additional 12 per cent. duty, while the United States were relieved to the same extent.

We regret that our space precludes us from following Mr. McGoun much further in his interesting arguments. But we cannot help referring to one that we have seldom heard used before in this Commercial Union controversy, and that is likely to assume much greater prominence in view of the proposed reductions in the United States tariff. Mr. McGoun believes that the prosperity of Canadian trade is largely dependent upon keeping the Canadian tariff lower than that of the United States. "So long as we keep our duties lower than the tariff of the United States, so long have we an advantage over them to that extent" in trade with the rest of the world. "If the United States did lower their tariff, Canada's true policy would be to preserve her advantage by lowering hers still further. . . . It would be wiser to support the most advanced Protectionist, as things are at present, than to sacrifice the advantage we have over the United States in a lower rate of import duty; to sacrifice also our present and prospective trade with the several countries of our Empire, and with foreign countries, in order to build up industries of the United States alone." This argument is, in our opinion, extremely important; its force depends upon the efforts which are constantly being made by the great railway, shipping, and forwarding interests of the United States to concentrate traffic, by fair means or foul, into one or two great emporiums. Already many fine seaports on the coast of Maine or Massachusetts have become almost deserted, not from natural disadvantages, but to swell the



business of New York. Where, asks Mr. McGoun, will be Vancouver's aspirations as a Grand Pacific terminus when her traffic is diverted to San Francisco? Where the prosperity of Canadian seaports on the Atlantic or St. Lawrence, when the policy that has ruined Salem and Portland extends to the Maritime Provinces? "Assimilate the tariffs at the Canadian and American sea-boards, and you remove the centre of the whole North American continent to New York." The same law that has already manifested itself within the great Free Trade area of the United States, will only be intensified by the addition of Canada to its sphere of operation.

We have endeavoured to summarise the steps by which Mr. McGoun seeks to prove that Commercial Union is detrimental to Canada, whether the United States adhere to their high protective tariff or whether they reduce it, and that Canada's true policy is to underbid her neighbour for the world's custom. As to what would happen to Canada if the United States ever adopted absolute Free Trade, Mr. McGoun does not venture an opinion; but if the remark attributed to the late Lord Overstone be true, that Great Britain would begin to know the meaning of commercial depression on the day when the American tariff was abolished, we imagine that Mr. McGoun would expect to see Canada our companion in misfortune, and would derive from the situation fresh reasons for continuing to urge, as he does in the latter part of this pamphlet, the necessity for Imperial reciprocity.

### THE TOAST OF "ENGLAND AND THE CAPE."

SIR THOMAS SCANLEN, a member of the Executive Council of the Cape Colony, was one of the principal speakers at a banquet given at Cape Town to Sir Donald Currie a few weeks ago. The leading members of the Government and of the Opposition were present to welcome the man whose magnificent line of steamers has done so much for the prosperity of the Colony, and the occasion was marked by general public rejoicing. We can well imagine that the toast of "England and the Cape" was one to stir the enthusiasm and win the applause of all the statesmen and all the politicians, however divergent their views on party questions. For what would England be without the Cape, her key to the South, and her gateway to the centre of Africa? And what would the Cape be without England, her inexhaustible market, her bulwark against native hordes, her ally in war and partner in peace? This toast of "England and the Cape," this coupling together of names to express identity of interests—where could it have been proposed more appropriately than at a banquet to Sir Donald Currie, a man who, by his position on the Executive Committee of the Imperial Federation League, asserts his determination to promote and foster the bonds of union, while he most practically corroborates his sentiments with the great fleet that brings England within three weeks' journey of the Cape? And to whom could the toast have fallen more auspiciously than to Sir Thomas Scanlen, also a member of the Executive Committee of our League? Surely the organisers of the banquet must have purposely entrusted it to one whom they knew would strike the right chord, and put his finger upon the true note expressive of the ties between England and the Cape, using words that would commend themselves to the whole of his audience. What was this chord that vibrated through the hall, this note that found an echo in every heart, the word that woke applause on every lip? It was the watchword of Imperial Federation!

**SANDWICH ISLANDS.**—A supplementary Convention has been signed between the United States and the Hawaiian Governments, extending the term of the Reciprocity Treaty seven years from the date of ratification. The Convention also grants to American vessels the right of entering Pearl River Harbour, or to touch at the island of Oahu to coal.

**LAND VALUES IN MELBOURNE.**—In Queen Street a small block was bought the other day for £300 per foot of frontage, and two or three weeks afterwards sold at £750 per foot. In Collins Street, near the central thoroughfares, £1,200 per foot has been paid, and it is said that £1,500 to £1,600 per foot has just been offered and refused. In Elizabeth Street £750 per foot has been paid for depths not exceeding 70 feet, and now £900 to £1,000 is being asked.

### A COLONIAL JURIST ON IMPERIAL UNITY.

ACCORDING to Mr. John Morley, the idea of Imperial Federation commends itself chiefly to "enthusiastic and unreflecting minds," and is merely a temporary fluctuation of opinion. We are further assured, that whatever may be the case in England, the idea has taken no root in the Colonies. Now, if there be one class of persons rather than another whom we should hesitate to accuse of possessing enthusiastic and unreflecting minds, that class would surely be the law lords. We propose, therefore, to bring forward as a witness on our side a Colonial law lord, who as long ago as 1879 was a fervent believer in Imperial Federation. In that year Professor Hearn, Chancellor of the University of Melbourne, a Queen's Counsel, and a member of the Legislative Council, delivered a lecture at Geelong, entitled "The Colonies and the Mother Country." From this lecture, which he has lately republished, we quote as follows:—

"I propose to address you this evening upon a subject of no common interest, of no common importance, of no common magnitude . . . our relations with the dear mother land." The Professor then explains the Constitutional position of the Colonies, points out how English law and the English Constitution are the same throughout the Empire, how the Colonial Legislatures are purely subordinate, and can only pass what are, strictly speaking, bye-laws, and how notwithstanding, through the wise self-restraint of the Imperial Parliament, they have habitually been allowed to exercise absolute discretion as to the management of their own local affairs. He continues:—"How long, then, is this assemblage of free born Englishmen, united on the principles I have thus described, to continue? How long will the Empire endure, and the Colonies remain united with the Mother Country? Without hesitation I answer, 'With God's blessing, for ever.' I know well that very different views have been put forward by eminent writers, and that very different language has been used by public men. But without now entering into the controversy I may say that that fashion has for some years passed away. The natural good sense of the people both at home and in all the Colonies was wiser than the paradoxes of a very shallow and very mistaken philosophy. That system seems to have assumed that perfect political maturity could not be obtained without ultimate political independence. This proposition further assumed that a Constitutional Colony was essentially distinct from England. Neither of these assumptions can, in my opinion, be maintained. We are, it is true, distinct from the island called England, and from the local concerns of that island. But of that England which denotes the political relations of Englishmen, in whatever part of the world they may be, we claim to be part quite as much as is the old island itself in the North Sea. If this be true, it is idle to talk of political maturity and ultimate independence. There is nothing, absolutely nothing, in the Colonial relation to imply, as a natural event, separation. Separation may of course take place, but it will be the result of some external force, of some quarrel that might have been avoided, and not the natural outcome of the organisation itself. . . . No such calamity as that of the American Colonies is again likely to occur. None such, indeed, is now possible. And yet it is constantly taken for granted that a disruption of the Empire is but a question of time. I maintain that this assertion is merely gratuitous, and is not supported by any proof."

Professor Hearn concludes his lecture in these words:—"I have thus endeavoured to show that we Colonists, although we move in a smaller orbit than England, yet gravitate to a common centre, and form equally with it a part of the great English nation. I have contended that, except our own will, there is nothing to make us cease to be a part of that nation. I will only add that it is our duty to conduct ourselves as becomes members of that nation. . . . English institutions must be worked by Englishmen in the English way. That way implies mutual respect, mutual forbearance, and readiness to concede what is not material, tenacity in holding fast that which is good; in one word, an honest and loyal desire to promote the public benefit and to secure to every man his just rights, and neither more nor less than those rights. Such is the course that our fathers have pursued; it is thus that England has



grown to greatness; such, if we wish to obtain the like results, is the course that we too must follow."

If these are the opinions of an enthusiastic and unreflecting mind, we must confess that for our own part we prefer them to what Professor Hearn would call "the paradoxes of a very shallow and very mistaken philosophy."

### ARTISTIC FEDERATION.

THE Grosvenor Gallery Inter-Colonial Exhibition is intended to be an annual institution in Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney, and some city in New Zealand. Each year a representative collection of paintings by British artists, to consist of at least 150 pictures, will be sent out by Sir Coutts Lindsay and the Gallery of which he is the founder. The Colonial Governments have, we believe, undertaken to provide free quarters for the exhibition, which was opened for the first time in the magnificent new wing of the Melbourne Public Library and Art Gallery. Colonial artists will have an opportunity of submitting pictures for exhibition in the collection, and an honorary committee in each Colony will co-operate with the representatives of the Grosvenor Gallery, to lend the weight of their influence to the undertaking.

The importance of the bond thus instituted will be appreciated by every member of the League. It will create a fresh interest held in common by all lovers of art in the United Kingdom and in the Colonies. Nor will it be a merely sentimental interest, for the ever-increasing body of artists in this country will have the practical satisfaction not only of seeing their fame extended among millions who have hitherto had no opportunity of admiring their work, but of finding a market for their pictures in some of the wealthiest cities in the world. While, on the other hand, Colonial artists will welcome the chance afforded them of securing an European reputation, if, as we understand to be the case, the Grosvenor Gallery contemplates introducing a selection of Australian pictures among the masterpieces of British art at their annual exhibition in London. There is at the same time no better means of enlightening our ignorance concerning the scenery and manner of life in the Colonies than by placing before the public a series of clever and truthful paintings—the work of men whose life has been passed amid the scenes and sights they reproduce. No amount of book-learning can enable us to realise what Australia is like without the aid of pictorial illustration, such as we hope will be provided for us next May by Sir Coutts Lindsay. How clearly he himself perceives the unifying tendency of the work he has undertaken will be seen from the communication he made on the subject to the Colonial Governments. In it he says that—

"He has long felt that in the ever-growing attachment between the Mother Country and her Colonies the art of England has an important part to play. There is no instrument of civilisation better fitted to quicken and sustain the common sentiments and sympathies of the English-speaking race; and it will be a source of the deepest satisfaction to him if, through the agency of the Grosvenor Gallery, which has won a place in the esteem both of artists and the public, he is permitted to assist in bringing the contemporary art of England to the knowledge of his fellow-countrymen in Australasia. The project, if carried out, will offer important and substantial advantages to the great body of English artists. He has the fullest confidence that the scheme will tend to the production of works of art in Australasia, which will in the future be welcomed by connoisseurs at home glad to vary their collections with the examples of the schools of Greater Britain. The English race, already supreme in its literature, is now successfully asserting equal claims in art; and it will be as interesting to note the growth of the artistic faculty under the varying conditions of climate and surroundings, as it is to the student of ancient art to compare the several schools of sculpture which sprang into existence in the colonies founded by Greece. He has, therefore, a confident expectation that if the enterprise is successfully carried out, there may, ere long, be an opportunity afforded of welcoming in the Grosvenor Gallery in London worthy examples of native Colonial art."

AUSTRALIA AND THE POPE'S JUBILEE.—A gold chalice, of Australian workmanship and distinctly Australian design, is to be forwarded to the Pope from the Australian Holy Catholic Guild, as a present in connection with the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination to the priesthood.

### AN IMPERIAL NEWS AGENCY.

THE *Toronto World* devotes three columns of its issue of November 23 to the discussion of a matter of quite first-rate importance. At the house-dinner of the National Club in that city Professor Goldwin Smith, Mr. William Ince (President of the Board of Trade), Colonel Otter, Mr. Foster, Q.C., and a large number of other influential citizens were present. English journalism was well represented by Mr. Henry Blackburn. Mr. O. A. Howland introduced the subject of the need for improved means of communication in public matters between Canada and England. He began by giving some glaring instances of misrepresentation of English news in passing through the hands of the American Associated Press Agency. A subsequent speaker declared that the complaint against this agency was "not that its reports were tintured or doctored in any moderate way, but that they were absolutely untrue." In Mr. Howland's own words, "The Canadian press receives its daily trans-Atlantic information through an alien source. . . . As between Canada and Great Britain the Associated Press is in a fair way to become an agency of alienation and estrangement. Few Canadians know to what an extent their opinion on British affairs derives its colour from information selected and prepared to suit the taste of readers of American newspapers. . . . Members of the same Empire, we ought to be speaking with each other directly, and not through the medium of a foreign interpreter." But this was only half Mr. Howland's complaint. If Canada is systematically misinformed about England, England is hardly informed of what goes on in Canada at all. Such telegrams as the *Times* does receive about Canadian affairs are usually dated from Philadelphia. A recent telegram, informing the English public of the existence of an armed revolutionary propaganda in Canada, was dated from Chicago. Without illustrating further, we may say that all the guests present agreed with Mr. Howland in acknowledging and deploring the existence of the evil. The next point was, if possible, to discover a remedy.

Mr. Howland suggests as a beginning that 5,000 Canadians shall each subscribe five dollars per annum, and that this sum be utilised in establishing a weekly paper, to be published in Toronto every Saturday morning. The paper should be made an expression of Canadian opinion, independent of any party bias, on local, imperial, and foreign topics. The articles would be largely by leading men, and signed. This paper would then ally itself with a leading London weekly, to which it would telegraph week by week some two pages of matter. Mr. Howland is sanguine that if this system were successfully established in Canada, a similar arrangement would shortly be made by men of eminence in London, and that an independent daily "cable" would be transmitted from London, in the first instance, to Canada, but ere long, doubtless, to the rest of the Empire. That, in the first instance, it must be a patriotic rather than a commercial undertaking, both in Canada and in England, Mr. Howland is ready frankly to confess. But he asks boldly, "Are Canadians prepared to lead the way?" And he looks forward to seeing a truly Imperial weekly read at the same moment in England, in Canada, in India, and Australia. "What," he asks, "might not be the effect of such a means of exchanging opinion in producing a sense of community, an increasing tendency to consolidation, throughout our infant, and, as yet, unorganised Empire?"

For we need hardly say that in heart, at least, Mr. Howland is an ardent supporter of the Imperial Federation League. "Suffer me," he says, "to add one word of protest against the thought of lightly severing our connection with the inspiring future of the great realm to which we belong. . . . The larger interests of humanity call for the perpetuation of our bonds." If Canada went, he thinks, it would be like knocking out the keystone of the arch, and might tend to cause a revolution in India. "A successful Indian revolt . . . would be a cataclysm in the world, a shock to commerce, a distinct loss to the cause of universal civilisation. From the point of view of a Canadian citizen of the Empire, it appears to me that if every material benefit of the Union that at present exists existed no longer, still the consideration of India ought to be sufficient to determine the question of union or separation."



In the discussion that followed, Mr. Howland's ideas were received with universal approbation. Mr. Blackburn "thought the scheme put forward would receive hearty approval and practical help from some of the best minds in England." Professor Goldwin Smith declared that no one could be more sensible than he was of the great advantage of a full interchange of ideas between the two countries. Mr. Cockburn, M.P., feared that England was only prepared to take Canadian news in homœopathic doses, and Mr. Smith, M.P., described himself as favouring Commercial Union, but "intensely loyal to the Empire."

Nobody probably knows better than Mr. Howland that his scheme is a large one, and that it must be taken up and carried through by large-hearted and large-minded men, if it is to arrive at success. We need not say that no success can be greater than that we wish it, and we think we can promise him that among his earliest subscribers will be not a few members of the Imperial Federation League.

#### SOME PERTINENT REMARKS BY MR. MORETON FREWEN.

MR. MORETON FREWEN does not think that the United States are at all likely to wish for Commercial Union with Canada. He says that for many years an agitation has been on foot for procuring a similar union with Mexico, but without making any appreciable progress. All political parties in the United States are agreed that the greatest danger of the Republic is its excessive bulk, and, as every one can perceive that Commercial Union must lead to annexation, it will be very hard for the movement to find favour anywhere.

In concluding his letter to the *Times* on the subject, Mr. Frewen makes some very pertinent remarks on the commerce of Great Britain and her Colonies.

"If," he argues, "the Commercial Union between Canada and the United States at the expense of the Mother Country is so good a thing, it is almost a reflection on the patriotism of the 'third party' in Canada that it does not rather employ its influence and great ability to sway popular opinion in the direction of a similar union between mother and daughter at the expense of our good cousin. Economically considered—that is, as a question of freight charges—Montreal is nearer to London than to New York, and Melbourne is infinitely nearer to Southampton than is Winnipeg to St. Louis. Those professors who are attempting to enlarge for their neighbours the local boundaries within which free trade is allowed to obtain, and who are content to lose sight of the economic advantages of such a commercial union as that of Great Britain with her Colonies, are the very men who are to-day especially responsible for the tangles in the skein of economic science."

"The annual purchases made in England by less than four millions of our fellow-citizens who inhabit Australia are equal to the annual purchases of the sixty millions in the United States. The *per capita* consumption of English goods in the one country is at the rate of ten pounds annually, but in the other is less than eleven shillings. The markets our goods find in the far-off southern seas are only not twice as great now because the population of Australia is four millions and not eight millions. That population is four millions and not eight, for the same reason that there are sixty millions in the United States instead of perhaps thirty millions, because the Mother Country has made no effort whatever, by means of such a system of commercial unions as that which Mr. Goldwin Smith advocates for the United States, to fill her own waste places with her own people."

It is not necessary to pledge ourselves to any particular form of Commercial Union in order to sympathise heartily with Mr. Frewen's attitude in this matter. We believe every member of the League will assent to the principle of seeking first to smooth the highway of commerce between Great Britain and her Colonies, and then seeing what arrangements are possible with foreign powers. Surely, as Mr. Frewen says, "it is mischievous to suggest that Great Britain, instead of projecting commercial alliances with her own Colonies, should wait while these alliances are being sought elsewhere."

**AUSTRALIAN FRUIT FOR INDIA.**—Mr. C. B. Carnes, of Parramatta, has received advices in regard to the experiment of a shipment of oranges and lemons which he made to Bombay. Fifty cases of each fruit were sent, the oranges bringing from 4d. to 1s. 8d. a dozen, and the lemons 1s. 8d. a dozen. The oranges were greatly admired.

**SCENES IN COLONIAL PARLIAMENTS.**—What are our Parliaments coming to? The question may well be asked, when we look around and see the work the Australian Legislatures are doing, and how they do it. There is little to choose between any of them; with scarcely an exception they are indolent, talkative, and obstreperous.—*Sydney Morning Herald*.

#### THE FAREWELL BANQUET TO MR. SERVICE.

SPEECHES BY LORD ROSEBERRY AND SIR H. HOLLAND.

MR. A. H. LORING, Secretary to the Imperial Federation League, is heartily to be congratulated upon the brilliantly successful banquet which, in conjunction with Mr. O'Halloran, he was instrumental in organising on behalf of Mr. Service's numerous admirers in this country on December 7th. Some time before the date fixed the whole of the tickets were sold, and numerous applications had to be refused. A distinguished company of 200 gentlemen assembled in the Hotel Métropole to mark their respect for the Victorian statesman, and the proceedings were so thoroughly impregnated with Imperial Federation sentiments as to recall former banquets given by the League itself upon various occasions.

The Earl of Rosebery occupied the chair, and among those supporting his lordship to the right and left were Mr. Henry Kimber, M.P., Mr. J. J. Colman, M.P., Sir John Coode, Sir Charles Mills, Sir James F. Garrick, Lord Sandhurst, Sir Graham Berry, the Earl of Winchelsea, Sir Henry Holland, M.P., the Earl of Onslow, Mr. Osborne Morgan, M.P., Sir R. G. W. Herbert, Sir Daniel Cooper, Sir Arthur Blyth, General Sir Andrew Clarke, Sir Henry Barkly, Sir John B. Thurston, Mr. Howard Vincent, M.P., Sir Francis V. Smith, Mr. G. Baden-Powell, M.P., Major-General Lyon Fremantle, C.B., Mr. Finch-Hatton, Mr. R. C. Want, Mr. J. S. O'Halloran, and Mr. A. H. Loring.

#### "THE DISCOVERY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE."

The EARL of ROSEBERRY, in proposing the toast of the evening, said, in the course of an admirable speech:—"The great discovery, as it seems to me, of the nineteenth century has been the British Empire. (Hear, hear.) There have been various causes for this, but there is one which is perfectly clear. In the first place steam and electricity have done their work. The news of London to-day is the news of Toronto or of Melbourne the same day. (Hear, hear.) But the communication by rail has been of much greater importance still. The roving spirit of the British race has found development for itself in wandering through its own Empire. Our countrymen have learnt to appreciate the charm of a Canadian winter, of an Australian summer, as well as the cool season of India. They have gone out often to hunt, but they have invariably returned having received large and important impressions, having made friends in the regions they have visited, and they have returned to form not unimportant links in the chain which binds the Empire together. (Cheers.) I have said that the discovery of the British Empire has been a great discovery. It dawned on the British citizen some thirty or forty years ago. I feel some sort of shame in saying that I believe there has been no such discovery on the part of our Colonial fellow-subjects. They, at least, have always been aware of the British Empire. (Cheers.) They have been sensible of their responsibility, and they have been more than sensible of the home to which they have had a continual and permanent title."

#### COLONIAL STATESMEN ARE COLUMNS OF THE EMPIRE.

When I last saw Mr. Service in Victoria he was Prime Minister of the Colony. The next I heard was that Mr. Service had resigned, being, as far as I know, except Charles V., the only person in the position of uncontrolled political power who willingly and gladly resigned that position. (Laughter.) That is a remarkable tribute to pay to Mr. Service, because it shows those rare powers that we know him to possess, and that much rarer moderation that we so seldom see in public men. (Cheers.) It is not because of rare power or of rare moderation that we honour Mr. Service to-night. It is not for these which we welcome him; it is not for these that we wish him God-speed. It is because we see in him one of those great Colonial statesmen who are, together with our rulers at home, the main columns of our Empire. (Cheers.) He has been enabled to play a unique part in the affairs of the Empire, because it has been given to him to urge forward that great question of Australian Confederation (cheers), as to which I know there is not absolute unanimity in Australia, but of which at any rate it may be said, it is a great and Imperial and statesmanlike idea. (Cheers.) If that were not enough, we have this—that Mr. Service resigned power when he was in full possession of it, having given up politics when at the head of politics, and is now going back to the Colony of Victoria, as we hope, to resume a prominent part (cheers)—a private part at present, but, we hope, soon an official part. Whether it be a private or an official part, we wish that it may be a powerful part, because we know that whatever power he possesses will be given with the far-seeing instinct to lay low, lay deep, lay broad the foundations of the British Empire. (Cheers.)

MR. SERVICE then spoke. After acknowledging in warm



terms the compliment paid him that evening, he alluded at some length to the political questions with which he had been chiefly concerned.

#### THE PEOPLE OF AUSTRALIA ARE INTENSELY LOYAL.

He said there were two questions with which the Colonial Conference dealt, namely, the New Hebrides and the defence of the Colonies in conjunction with the Imperial Navy, both of which had either been settled or were on the eve of settlement. There was every probability that every Australian Legislature would give its assent to the arrangement for the defence of the Colonies, which would perhaps have a greater effect in promoting the permanent unity of the Empire, so far as Australia was concerned, than almost any one could conceive. (Cheers.) With regard to the unity of the Empire, things were progressing from an Australian point of view. There were two powerful organisations in England to assist the federal idea. The first was the Royal Colonial Institute, which was started in a very lowly and humble way, but which had grown to considerable proportions. Then there was the Imperial Federation League. If it continued to seize every opportunity of forcing that kind of feeling which had been so prominent during the last twelve months, it would have as great a success in the time to come as it had had during the period of its existence. The people of Australia were intensely loyal. (Cheers.) They loved England with all their heart, and they wanted England to love them as cordially. They felt that the old folk at home ought to feel some pride in their children. The Colonies were endeavouring to raise themselves to the level of the Imperial feeling; they were not disposed in dealing with matters of Imperial importance to take a local or narrow view of those matters. They desired to cultivate a stronger feeling of confidence; they wished to have faith in Imperial statesmen; but, to use an old expression, "Faith without works was dead," and to apply the expression in a different sense he would say that the faith of the Colonies without the works of Imperial statesmen was dead. (Laughter and cheers.) In Australia at the present moment they had not the slightest anxiety that any Colonial matter would be neglected. They wanted a distinct pigeon-hole, labelled Australasia, for their business; and that that pigeon-hole should be kept in front of the Minister's desk.

#### THE TOAST OF THE EMPIRE.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN, M.P., proposed the toast of "The Empire." In doing so he said he could assure his friend Mr. Service that when he went back to the Colony he so worthily represented he might, with perfect truth, assure his fellow colonists that the faith of the people of this country was not without works. However united, however divided we might be upon other points, we were united in the heartfelt desire that the sun which to-day set upon the fogs of London to light up the brilliancy of an Australian summer might never cease to shine on a strong, a loyal, and a united Empire. (Cheers.)

The toast was drunk with great enthusiasm.

#### UNITY IS STRENGTH; SEPARATION IS RUIN.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND, in responding to the toast, said:—I think no one can enter upon the study of Colonial questions without realising to the full the importance of welding together this great Empire, and of strengthening in every way possible the links that unite the Mother Country and the Colonies. Unity is strength, and to refer back to the old story, the tighter we can bind the bundle of Imperial sticks the more easy will it be to resist pressure from without—to separate is perhaps even ruin to us. I am for that reason glad of the increasing interest that our noble chairman has spoken of within the last forty years that is felt, not only in the House of Commons but throughout the whole country, in Colonial questions. I am glad for that reason of the increasing sympathy that is felt in this country in the desire to ascertain the wants and aspirations of the Colonists, and with due respect to Imperial interests to meet those wishes and aspirations. It gives me great satisfaction to be here to-night, holding the post I have the honour to hold, to bear my testimony to the worth of our honoured guest. (Cheers.) And I feel sure that the banquet here to-night, at which he sees so many of his friends and admirers and supporters, will be always to him a pleasant recollection of his farewell to the Mother Country. (Cheers.) Certainly it ought to be, not only to him, but to all Colonial statesmen, a proof that good work done by them is recognised without stint and ungrudgingly by their fellow-subjects of Her Gracious Majesty throughout the Empire. (Loud cheers.)

The EARL OF ONSLOW proposed the health of the chairman, and, in doing so, referred in complimentary terms to his career.

The toast was most cordially received, and the CHAIRMAN having briefly responded, the company separated.

THE BONUS SYSTEM IN VICTORIA.—The board appointed by the Government of Victoria to deal with the bonus of £5,000 for the first 10,000 yards of worsted cloth produced in the Colony has inspected 10,000 yards of the material produced by Messrs. E. and M. Gaunt, and gave a certificate to the firm to apply to the Government for the bonus.

#### MEETING OF THE OXFORD BRANCH.

THE Terminal meeting of the Oxford University Branch was held in the Hall of Oriel College on Friday, November 25th. The President (Dr. Bryce, M.P.) occupied the chair, and there were also present the Warden of Merton, the Provost of Oriel, Professor Napier (hon. treasurer), Mr. McGregor (hon. sec.), Professor Burrows, Mr. Marriott (New College), Mr. Alexander (Exeter), Mr. P. Lyttelton Gell (University). There was a large attendance. The SECRETARY read letters from the President of Magdalen, the Warden of All Souls, Dr. Markby, Professor Holland, and the Master of the University, sympathising with the objects of the League.

The CHAIRMAN said it was very agreeable to see so large a meeting. They were glad to find that even at a moment when party feeling ran high, and people were largely occupied in party politics, it was possible to gather a large meeting, and he thought they might say a representative one, both of the junior and senior members of the University, for discussing a topic of this kind, which made no appeal to party feelings, but he was happy to say did make an appeal to their higher feelings, as citizens not only of this country, but of the British Empire, and as men devoted to its greatness and its fame. (Cheers.)

He believed they might be satisfied with the progress which had been so far made, and with the greatly improved feeling which he thought existed between ourselves and the outlying members of the British nation. It was to maintain that good feeling, and chiefly with the view of maintaining it, that it was desired to see the political connection sustained. It was desired that with the sense of political connection should be maintained the sense of common citizenship and common object which we had with them, so that we should have a sense of unity in subject, unity in blood, unity in manners and habits, unity in cherishing all the great traditions of free constitutional government. We should add to that, concentration of strength and devotion of all our efforts to maintain what we believe to be the great mission of Britain in the world, the diffusion of freedom and prosperity everywhere. (Cheers.)

The WARDEN OF MERTON (Hon. G. C. Brodrick) moved the first resolution approving the appointment of a secretary for each college. After congratulating the Chairman upon his powerful address, he proceeded to comment upon some of his arguments, and expressed his appreciation of the difficulties to be faced, and the necessity for not hurrying the movement. But although complete Federation might be far distant, he was very far from thinking that nothing could be done in the meantime to strengthen our connection with our Colonies. There might be a constant process of assimilation and amalgamation without actual federation. We had already a common language and literature, a common system of laws, and a thousand other elements of a common national life. He knew he was trespassing on delicate ground, but were it not for Canada he could not see why a common tariff should be out of the question—(cheers)—and if this be out of the question, he could not indulge any very sanguine hope of early federation.

MR. MURRAY, of St. Johns, seconded the resolution.

PROFESSOR MORSE, of Harvard University, Mass., supported the resolution, and gave instances to show the good feeling which existed in America towards England.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

PROFESSOR BURROWS proposed a vote of thanks to the President, which was received with great enthusiasm, for his address. In drawing attention to the importance of the Imperial Conference, he remarked that any one who studied their excellent monthly periodical, IMPERIAL FEDERATION, would observe the fruit of the Conference in the debates which had taken place in Australia. The principles of their Society had been admirably maintained, and he would specially mention the speech of Mr. Deakin at Melbourne. He had heard that gentleman's eloquent address at the London banquet, and was not surprised at the lead which he seemed to take in the discussions of the great capital of the Southern Seas. This was what we wanted—rational discussion both in England and the Colonies. The true interests of both would soon be discovered. (Cheers.) He would venture also to make a practical suggestion touching the conduct of the Oxford Branch of the League. He thought we had had almost enough of general talk about the objects of the League, and the advantage of union between the Mother Country and her daughters. Such talk, too often repeated, had a tendency to degenerate into platitudes, and to become wearisome by iteration. He thought that the Oxford University Branch might set an example of a little more scientific treatment of Colonial subjects. It must take care to make its meetings practical and useful, and then it would succeed.

The vote of thanks having been duly seconded and adopted, the meeting terminated.

NEW SOUTH WALES FINANCE.—The Hon. J. F. Burns, Colonial Treasurer, introduced the Budget in the New South Wales Legislative Assembly on December 1st. He stated that the revenue of the Colony for the year 1887 would amount to £8,458,000, and the expenditure to £8,614,000, which latter included £929,000 for extraordinary services.



## HERE AND THERE.

At the first Inter-Colonial Conference of Chambers of Manufactures, held at Adelaide, in October, and attended by delegates from New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia, the following resolution was passed:—"That in the opinion of this Conference it is desirable that Free Trade amongst the Colonies of Australasia should be established on the basis of a Customs Union with a uniform tariff."

THE new Australian mail contract will run for seven years. It ensures the delivery of mails at Adelaide within thirty-four days, but the actual time occupied in transmission will probably be a good deal less. The total subsidies amount to £170,000, of which Great Britain will pay £95,000 and the Colonies £75,000.

"INTER-COLONIAL" will be the key-note of the New South Wales Centennial celebration. There is to be an Inter-Colonial Ministerial and Parliamentary Banquet, an Inter-Colonial Agricultural Show, and an Inter-Colonial Regatta.

BILLS sanctioning the Conference agreement for the new Australasian Fleet have been passed in Victoria, Tasmania, New South Wales, South Australia, and New Zealand.

FIFTY tons of Manitoban flour were recently shipped for China from Vancouver on board the *Parthia*.

SIR DANIEL COOPER, Bart., a member of the Executive Committee of the Imperial Federation League, will act as Agent-General for New South Wales during the absence of Sir Saul Samuel in Australia, which is expected to last for some months.

SIR JOHN BATES THURSTON, K.C.M.G., has been appointed Governor of Fiji and High Commissioner for the Pacific. The *Colonies and India* states that his promotion will give great satisfaction in the Colony, and that he "has won the hearts of the Fijian people to a man."

THREE hundred French convicts have been recently despatched to New Caledonia. The intelligence has created great indignation in Australia, and Mr. Gillies, Premier of Victoria, has requested the Governor to communicate with the Imperial Government on the subject.

THE first section of the Delagoa Bay Railway was opened on December 14th by the Governor-General, amid great enthusiasm. Cape Colony, Natal, and the Transvaal were all represented—the last-named officially. The line, which is fifty-four miles long, ends at Komate, in the wilderness. The engineering difficulties will begin with the next section, which is to terminate at a point sixty-five miles farther on, and 200 miles from Pretoria.

IT is stated that Mr. Alexander Morrison, of Stornaway, has been asked by the Government to proceed to British Columbia to report upon its suitability as a Colony for the settlement of a portion of the Crofter population of Lewis. It should also be noted that Lord Salisbury spoke in very strong terms of the duty of promoting emigration, in a recent speech at Derby.

## LEAGUE NOTICES FOR THE MONTH.

A LARGE outline Map of the World on Mercator's projection, specially designed for lecturing purposes, has been constructed by Mr. James Wyld, of Charing Cross, for the League. The dimensions of the map are fifteen feet by twelve feet, but it is constructed to fold so as to admit of its travelling in a portfolio three feet by two feet. The British Empire is coloured in red, the self-governing Colonies being distinguished by a deeper tint of that colour. The principal ports and strategical positions of the Empire are named, the Canadian Pacific Railway and other undertakings of Imperial interest being also shown. The use of the map can be obtained by members of the League for the purposes of lectures on application to the Secretary, subject to the conditions of prompt return and payment of carriage both ways. The member who borrows the map must make himself responsible for any damage which may be done to it during its absence from the office. Early application is recommended, as during the lecturing season the map is much in request.

ARRANGEMENTS have been made with a London firm of bookbinders for the uniform binding of the volume of IMPERIAL FEDERATION for the year 1887, at a charge of 2s. 6d. Members wishing to have their Journals bound should send them to the Secretary. Samples of the binding can be seen at the Offices of the League.

AN Index to IMPERIAL FEDERATION for 1887 has been compiled, and is ready for binding with the volume.

A NEW pamphlet, entitled "The Imperial Conference of 1887," is now ready, price 2d. Post free, 2½d. In accordance with the terms of membership, the pamphlet has been sent free to all members who subscribe one guinea and upwards.

## PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

*Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.*

HUNTINGDON.—On December 1st an address upon Imperial Federation was given in the Grammar School by Mr. Sebright Green. The chair was occupied by the Rev. M. Atkinson. The lecturer, in a very able address, explained the object of the Imperial Federation League, on whose behalf, said he, he was speaking that evening. Their aim was not to hurriedly bring forward any scheme for introducing representatives of the Colonies into the Imperial Parliament, or to make any other immediate great reforms. It was to draw more closely together the bonds which at present connected the Colonies and the Mother Country; to watch every desire for friendship on the part of the Colonies, and to make those desires known; to watch over and guard the true interests of both the Colonies and the Mother Country, and to bring the wants of the Colonies before the people of this country. They wished that any changes which might take place between the Mother Country and the Colonies should grow as naturally as the oak-tree, which, as it grew, imparted strength to all its branches. He did not, however, altogether agree with letting things remain just as they were, for the Colonies desired a closer union, and wished the Mother Country to acknowledge that they were part and parcel of the Empire, and that their claims and wishes could not be lightly disregarded.—Mr. H. T. Smith was of opinion that before Colonial representatives were admitted into the Houses of Parliament the subject should be very seriously considered. The Colonies had been given almost every privilege they could desire, and if they were to have a Parliamentary representation in the British House of Commons the question of tariff, amongst other matters, would have to be considered. It must be remembered that while we admitted the Colonists' goods into this country free of taxation, they placed a tax upon imported English goods. He was in favour of letting things remain as they were.—Mr. W. Coote said that he agreed with the objects of the League. He regretted that Englishmen as a rule were not so well acquainted with the distant parts of their Empire as they ought to be, and he thought that if the short time for which they had met that evening had been spent in studying the clear and splendid map before them, it would not by any means have been thrown away. He hoped, he said, that the Federation League would not at present bring forward any scheme in detail, for such a step as that would produce endless discussion.—The Rev. T. Hodgson said that he was opposed to admitting representatives from the Colonies into the Imperial Parliament.—The Rev. M. Atkinson having wound up the discussion, the Rev. H. H. Chamberlain proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer, and this was unanimously carried.

INGERSOLL, CANADA.—On November 15th Mr. A. McNeill, M.P., gave a lecture in the Town Hall upon Imperial Federation to an enthusiastic audience of about a hundred. The chair was taken by Mr. M. Walsh.

In the course of his remarks Mr. McNeill said that the subject of Imperial Federation was one that concerned very deeply the people of Canada and of the whole Empire. Indeed, the Hon. Oliver Mowat, speaking at a meeting convened in the city of London some three years ago for the purpose of organising the Imperial Federation League, said:—"It is impossible to exaggerate the feelings of sympathy which Canadians have towards the Mother Country, and no other connection has been one productive of so much unmixed good, but it is impossible that this connection could exist as it is at present for any great length of time." Therefore the sooner they made some move for the complete federation of all parts of the Empire the better. "Gentlemen," continued Mr. McNeill, "where would this Canada of ours have been to-day if it had not been for this British connection? Through it Canada has been able to stand up and make the proud boast that never before has there been a people who enjoyed such a full measure of liberty and unchallenged freedom of actions and thoughts within the bounds of good and just laws. By and through it Canada, with her 5,000,000 of people, has been enabled to withstand her powerful neighbour. The prime workers of this scheme have endeavoured to keep it free from party politics, and the object is the preservation of the Unity of our Empire. Imperial Federation itself means the consolidation and organisation of the nation, the so ordering the forces of the nation that they will not clash with each other, a re-arranging of the tariff in favour of the Colonies, and discriminating against foreign countries."

A vote of thanks, moved by Mr. J. Gibson, and seconded by Mr. Doty, was tendered the speaker.

KENDAL.—At the invitation of the Kendal Chamber of Commerce an address was given by Mr. Edward A. Arnold on the subject of Imperial Federation in the Town Hall on



December 5th. The meeting was public, and was designed to forward the movement for establishing a branch of the League in Kendal. The chair was taken by Mr. James Cropper, who was supported on the platform by Mr. J. C. Braithwaite, Mr. W. D. Crewdson, Mr. T. Bateson, Mr. G. B. Greenall, Mr. Colin Somervell, and Mr. Frank Wilson.

The CHAIRMAN opened the proceedings in an able speech; he remarked that the subject was new to Kendal, and then went on to refer to the origin of the movement in favour of Imperial Federation. He said that unquestionably the best way by which the Empire could become one was by perfect unity of feeling among those who formed parties of that Empire, and the best way of maintaining that unity was by securing to all a sense of a joint interest, a joint protection, and a brotherhood among those who formed the Empire over which the Queen reigned. (Hear, hear.) In a thousand ways there were little difficulties. They might understand how the system of tariffs caused rubs; the postal arrangements, the matters affecting emigrants, and negotiations with other countries—all these were matters which any one interested in the Colonies was constantly keeping his eye upon. (Hear, hear.) After alluding in detail to a few matters which might offer grounds for serious differences, he said he was anxious not to go further than to point out how desirous those interested in this subject were that there should be some way by which all differences might be avoided or easily adjusted. He might mention that the Society numbered among its members many men of high standing, and in conclusion he read a telegram from Lord Rosebery, the President, in which he expressed himself as greatly interested in the meeting that night, and spoke of the great importance of the subject before them.

MR. ARNOLD then delivered his address, in the course of which he laid stress upon the weakness of the official ties between the Mother Country and the Colonies, and insisted that the present state of things could not continue. Either the Empire would be disintegrated, or it must be bound closer together in a Federation.

An interesting series of questions followed, showing that the audience fully grasped the importance of the subject.

MR. W. D. CREWDSON, in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Arnold, remarked that he had had the opportunity of noticing something of the brotherly feeling by which our Australian brethren were bound to us in this country, when he was returning from the south of Europe in a large steamer that called at one of the ports, having on board a number of Colonists from Australia. He did not think he had ever met a more patriotic, earnestly loyal lot of people than he found in those Colonists, and he thought that that was but a sample of what they might find wherever the Union Jack was flying throughout the British Empire. (Hear, hear.) What they had to do was to translate the motive power of that patriotism into practical action, and bring it to bear on the difficulties, the doubts, and the jealousies that must arise in carrying out important measures of usefulness. He was sure Mr. Arnold would like this vote to take a practical form. He would like them to say that they would form a branch of the League, and he would therefore suggest that the matter might be taken up by the Chamber of Commerce with a view to considering the question of forming a branch of the Colonial Federation League. (Hear, hear.)

MR. FRANK WILSON seconded the vote of thanks to the lecturer. MR. WICKS said that, as he had given the lecturer more trouble than any one else, he cordially supported the vote, and hoped Mr. Arnold would soon come again and lay before them some definite proposals as to the manner in which this great Empire was to be federated. The CHAIRMAN, after a few remarks, put the motion to the meeting, and it was carried unanimously.

MR. ARNOLD having responded, MR. BATESON moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was seconded by MR. M'KAY, and heartily adopted. The CHAIRMAN briefly replied, and the proceedings were brought to a close.

LONDON—WESTBOURNE PARK.—On Wednesday, the 30th November, the Debating Society in connection with the St. Stephen's Young Men's Institute, Westbourne Park Road, held a meeting at which Mr. Ward moved a resolution, "That Imperial Federation is desirable in the interests of the nation." Mr. Ward in an able speech proceeded to point out the vast benefits that would accrue to the Colonies and the Mother Country if an Imperial Federation scheme was adopted, and he put forward a scheme which he divided into two parts:—(1) That each Colony or Dependency should be represented in an Imperial Parliament sitting at Westminster, to which all foreign and Imperial questions should be submitted, and from whose decision there should be no appeal. (2) That upon imported produce of all nationalities not so represented should be levied a tax. Mr. Ward then went on to point out how England would be benefited by the operation of such a scheme, obtaining her supply of food from the Colonies, and also thus tending to check foreign competition in this respect. He concluded his remarks by stating that, with Imperial Federation at work,

England and the Colonies would form one magnificent Empire, and that no country in the world would be able to compete with us. Mr. G. Rigden spoke in support of the resolution, and urged the necessity of a Colonial Penny Postage as one of the first steps towards Imperial Federation. Messrs. Warren, Medcalf, and Sparkes, also spoke in support. The Chairman (the Rev. W. M. Farquhar) then made a few remarks, and asked the opener of the debate if he would include India in his scheme? And, if so, he would on that point disagree with Mr. Ward, as, in his opinion, India at the present time was not in a state that would justify its representation in Parliament. Mr. Ward then replied, and stated that he should most certainly include India in his scheme, as he thought that, in any case, it would be the means of strengthening that country, which was our most important Possession, and therefore in great need of being well protected. On the resolution being put to the vote, it was carried *nem. con.*

## ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PADDINGTON BRANCH.

ADDRESS BY CAPTAIN J. C. R. COLOMB, M.P.

AN influential gathering under the auspices of the Paddington Branch of the League took place at the Norfolk Square Hotel on December 13th. The object of the meeting was twofold; in the first place there was the transaction of the annual business of the Branch, and this was followed by an address by Captain Colomb, M.P., to which the public were invited. The chair was taken by Mr. J. C. Whitehorse, Q.C., who was supported on the platform by Mr. B. L. Cohen, Mr. T. Lilley, Mr. P. V. Smith, Mr. H. P. Harris, Dr. Danford Thomas, Mr. G. D. Harris, Rev. E. S. Dewick, Mr. J. H. Kenyon, and other gentlemen. The audience, which was thoroughly representative, included a number of ladies. Letters of apology for non-attendance were read from Mr. Aird, Mr. Fardell, and Dr. Clifford. The report and balance-sheet of the Branch having been duly adopted, the election of a Council was proceeded with, resulting in the installation of the following gentlemen:—Messrs. James Edmeston, B. L. Cohen, J. Hall, G. D. Harris, T. Pearson, J. W. Williamson, T. G. Fardell, T. Lilley, and J. Powell. Mr. P. V. Smith fills the office of Treasurer, and Mr. H. P. Harris remains Hon. Secretary. After a brief but incisive speech by the Chairman,

CAPTAIN J. C. R. COLOMB, M.P., delivered a powerful address upon Imperial Federation. After pointing out the enormous change in the condition of the British Empire since the beginning of the century, and the vast increase in our responsibilities since Trafalgar, he said that notwithstanding the fact that the revenue of the Colonies was now greater than that of the whole of the United Kingdom at the beginning of the Queen's reign; yet the Governments of the day were content if the navy was larger than any other navy by three men-of-war. These changes were very important, and the question suggested by them was whether we had a definite and wise policy to pursue. The security of the Empire could only be maintained by the co-operation of the whole Empire; but if the Colonies were to help in defending the Empire, they would demand a voice in its foreign policy. Imperial Federation could not be relegated to the remote future. The defence question must be faced. As a result of the Colonial Conference the first step had been taken, and Australasia had resolved to form a wing of the Imperial Fleet. The question was even more important to the Colonies than to England. The changes in the political relationships between England and the great representative Colonies were also enormous. In 1800 England possessed absolute power and control, but now the Colonies not only possessed independent legislatures, but were called upon to accept or reject commercial treaties before they were entered into. So it would be with other treaties. Everything pointed the same way—namely, to the formation of some organisation for giving effect to the common wish. Our diplomacy would lack strength if it only had a part, and not the whole, of the Empire behind it. The object of the League was to remove obstructions which bar the way to a better and closer union between England and the Colonies, which was the only way to secure our safety. Questions of great changes in the British constitution were often discussed as if they only affected the United Kingdom; but, in reality, as the Jubilee address of Colonial statesmen showed in a striking manner, they affected the vast Empire beyond the seas, and three hundred millions of people.

The address was listened to with unabated interest throughout. At its conclusion Mr. B. L. Cohen proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer, which was seconded by Mr. Hall, and unanimously accorded. The lecturer having briefly replied, a vote of thanks to the chairman was proposed by Mr. T. Lilley, seconded by the Rev. E. S. Dewick, and passed unanimously, after which this very successful meeting terminated.



## THE EARL OF CARNARVON ON IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SPEAKING at the Lord Mayor's Banquet in Melbourne on November 9th, Lord Carnarvon said:—

"His Excellency touched upon a question which has been much in the mouths of Englishmen during the past year—he dropped the magic word 'Federation.' (Cheers.) I scarcely dare to touch upon such a theme as this. Time, circumstances, the impossibility of explaining all that I would say, forbid me trespassing upon so tempting a ground. This only I will say—that when that Federation comes—and Federation is a thing of many forms and many degrees—it must be based upon two principles. (Hear, hear.) It must be founded, first of all, upon sentiment and loyalty; and, secondly, it must be equally founded upon a sense of mutual advantages and common interests. (Cheers.) I venture to say that no scheme of Federation, were it propounded by an archangel himself, if it failed in these two conditions, could ever succeed. Meanwhile we may rejoice that every year and every month draws closer the bonds of union between England and her Colonies—that Australia can see in England her old home, and that England can take Australia more and more into partnership with herself. (Cheers.) This year has done much—very much—towards drawing us together. That Conference to which allusion has been made has brought Australians and Englishmen into close relationship, and I believe that it has been a step which is likely to be the fruitful parent of many future meetings. I cannot blind myself—and none who watched the meeting of that Conference could blind themselves—to the fact that it was a great experiment. It is no exaggeration to say that it was a conference with the whole of the civilised world for audience and spectators—aye, and a critical audience too. If there were allies there were also opponents; if there were friends there were also rivals; and I thank God, from the bottom of my heart, that during all that critical time there never was one sign of disunion, there never was one whisper of discord. (Cheers.) I rejoice, therefore, in the recollections of this year; I rejoice that it is my privilege to-night to stand here and speak to a Victorian audience, and I rejoice in the sense of citizenship which has made us, on both sides of the ocean, not only truly kith and kin, but of one mind and of one heart, and which enables me to say in Australia and you to say in England—*Civis sum Britannicus.*" (Cheers.)

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### HOW THE YANKEES DID IT.

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—Permit me to thank you for your article entitled "Thoughts Suggested by a Volume of Essays" (*Imperial Federation*, September, 1887). It seems to me to be one of the soundest and most valuable that has yet appeared. I trust you will have the latter half of it printed as a leaflet for wide circulation.

You will find overwhelming evidence in support of your position, in the history of the United States, where Imperial Federation has been triumphantly accomplished in spite of the most trying difficulties. Take the condition of affairs immediately after the civil war. There never was an instance in which two communities so rapidly and completely coalesced under circumstances as unpromising. What were the forces which brought this about?

I think a careful study of the period following the war would convince you that the mere representation of the South in the National Congress had but a secondary influence in cementing the union—there was something far more powerful at work, namely, community of interests. It is precisely this which you so wisely insist must be developed, in the case of Britain and her Colonies.

It may be objected, however, that community of interests exists in reality between all nations of the earth, yet it does not produce Federation. The answer is, that to produce practical results these common interests must be made clear and apparent to the senses of the people. This process was begun in America the moment hostilities ceased. The guns of the contending armies were scarcely cool before local self-government, or Home Rule, was re-established in each State, thus avoiding friction on local questions. But at the same time there came into play certain lines of policy, which marked and made clear to the people the great common interests of the States as a nation. Among these may be mentioned:—

1. The uniformity of railroad methods, the association of management by which even in remote country towns the would-be traveller could obtain "through rates" without trouble or extra expense.

2. The uniform postal service. No matter how far the southern citizen might wander, he discovered that he could send home his letters from the most distant corner of the union for less than he once paid to send them from the next village. Even so small a matter as the universal pattern of the postage stamps was, nevertheless, a daily reminder of the

privileges to which he was entitled as the citizen not of an isolated state, but of a mighty union.

3. Unity of the national public services, as distinct from the State local services. Very soon after the close of the war, the interests held in common were made still more apparent to northerner and southerner, as the numerous channels of national employment were opened to all alike, even in the army and navy. The heart-sore soldier of Alabama or Georgia learnt that the nation would pay for the education of his son, at Westpoint or Annapolis, on precisely the same terms as for the son of a man from Maine or Massachusetts.

4. But by far the most immediate and powerful influence in solidifying the union has been the national policy of absolute freedom of internal trade, made possible by moderate protection against undue competition from abroad. In consequence of this policy we have had to pay for the last twenty years rather more for certain articles than we otherwise should have done. But as long as the necessities of life were within reach of all, it was not our object to reduce everything to its lowest possible figure. Our people had nobler aims in view. They determined to have a strong and firmly united country, with one flag, one coinage, one national policy; and they have got it.

More than to anything else, our success is due to a Federal Customs Union with internal Free Trade. By reserving the home markets for home industry, the country was covered with mills, mines, and manufactures, each of which was a power working for unity with immense force, and their profits depended on it. "How much better to have bought your goods where they could be made most cheaply!" the Manchester schoolman may exclaim, and so sacrifice the most potent bond of unity for the sake of getting our rails and our trousers for a little less! Extreme cheapness is important, but it is not the most important thing a nation can work for.

Our people resisted the temptation to bring prices down to their lowest point, in order to lay the foundation of lasting prosperity for their children and grandchildren. They were content to forego the lesser advantage to obtain the greater. In estimating the sacrifice necessary, it should be remembered that home competition, in so extensive a country as the United States, has been an effective agent in keeping prices within reasonable limits. Would not this apply also to the United States of Britain?

By such methods as the foregoing, it has been made plain to the people of every part of the continent, that their common interests are vastly greater than their local differences. And so the Union has been consummated.—I am, Sir, faithfully yours,  
Wayland, Mass, U.S.A. HERBERT H. MOTT.

THE "TIMES" ON FEDERATION.—"The great aim of all Imperial projects should be to weave closer and closer the web of sentiment and affection between all citizens of the Empire, wherever may be their home; and this can only be done by the constant study of each Colony's wishes, and the constant desire to consult them on the part of the Imperial Government, so far as the needs of the Empire at large will permit."

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# Imperial Federation.

FEBRUARY 1, 1888.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE third annual meeting of the Imperial Federation League will take place on Wednesday, March 21st, in the Westminster Palace Hotel. The chair will be taken at three o'clock by the EARL of ROSEBERY, Chairman of the League.

A BANQUET will be held the same evening, at which the EARL of ROSEBERY will preside, and a large and influential gathering of members is anticipated. The hour and place have not yet been fixed, but further details will be announced in due course. The price of the tickets will be 25s. each, obtainable from the Secretary of the Imperial Federation League, 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, S.W.

WE are very glad to hear from MR. STANHOPE that the defence of Table Bay is now actively proceeding, and that he "has every reason to believe that during the present year the defences of all the most important coaling-stations of the Empire will be carried to a satisfactory conclusion." This is an extremely important announcement, for, feeling as keenly as he does the responsibility that rests upon the Secretary of State for War in this matter, MR. STANHOPE could not have spoken so confidently to his hearers at Spilsby, and through them to the country at large, unless he knew exactly how the facts stood. But the announcement implies a remarkable development of energy on the part of the Government. According to MR. STANHOPE'S statement at the Conference last year, the most important coaling-stations include Sierra Leone, St. Helena, Aden, Colombo, Simon's Bay, Mauritius, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Port Royal.

PORT DARWIN MR. STANHOPE says, is not considered by the Colonial Defence Committee "one of those strategical points that urgently require strengthening." Possibly not, from a purely military or naval stand-point; but it should never be forgotten that it is the landing-place of the telegraph upon which Australia depends for the European news that in a sudden outbreak of war would be essential to her safety. The whole network of telegraphic communication over the continent of Australia and New Zealand is focussed at Port Darwin into a single strand, which would be at the mercy of an enemy unless protected by superior force. Just as at King George's Sound, although not formally admitted to be a position of Imperial importance, the admiral in command was obliged to station a gun-boat to protect the cable during a recent war-scare; so the fact of the cable being landed at Port Darwin will in the next war-scare override all demonstrations by Defence Committees that the position "does not require strengthening." Strengthened it will certainly be—probably by making a cruiser do duty as a fort, though that policy has been condemned again and again.

WE hope that our contemporary, the *Liverpool Mercury*, will allow us to correct a false impression created by a recent statement in that journal to the effect that "the Canadians maintain protective tariffs, especially against this country." The words we have italicised are, of course, quite incorrect. A decisive contradiction cannot be given more tersely than by an extract from MR. MCGOWN'S pamphlet which we noticed last month. "Of course," he says, "there is now no discrimination in tariff. Whatever

duties are imposed on any article imported from one country are likewise imposed on the same article imported from any country." Is it too much to ask the *Liverpool Mercury* to give the same prominence to the fact that it has already accorded to the fiction?

COUNT STRICKLAND DELLA CATENA, a warm supporter of the League, has exerted himself strenuously and successfully to obtain a new constitution for Malta. We have received an interesting account of an entertainment in the island, when he made an important speech on the subject to the principal inhabitants, appealing to the best men to come forward and offer their services for the work of administration. The new constitution will give a large increase of power to the inhabitants, and they will enjoy a much fuller measure of self-government than formerly. MR. ARPA, speaking on the same occasion, laid great stress upon the importance of the change, saying that the government and interests of the population would be entirely entrusted to their representatives. Hitherto the Council of Government has consisted of a President and seventeen members, of whom nine were official and eight nominated. In future the Council will be composed of twenty members besides the President, and fourteen will be elected. Moreover, three members of the Executive Council will be chosen from the Council of Government. The official members of the latter are to have no vote in financial matters, and by the increase in the elected members the Governor will lose his casting-vote on all questions.

A RECENT voyage of the *Ormus* to Adelaide is interesting as showing how little the great passenger lines to Australia are really influenced by their contract to carry the mails. We find that although the mail matter on board the *Ormus* was despatched from London a week later than that taken out by the *Carthage*, it was delivered in Adelaide some ten hours earlier. When the Indian Mail contract was being discussed in Parliament last year, the objection was raised against any change in the times of departure, that it would throw the dates of arrival into confusion and cause inconvenience to the merchants, who, under the existing system, always knew when to expect their letters. We wonder whether those gentlemen will present a petition to Parliament next Session, praying for such a reduction of speed in the *Ormus* as will compel her in future to keep her proper distance behind the *Carthage*.

IT is satisfactory to find that the *Times* has given full prominence and large type to a communication upon Commercial Union from "an Occasional Correspondent," who disposes of MR. GOLDWIN SMITH'S assertions by a temperate and weighty review of the actual facts. The writer points out that "two unanswerable objections have been formulated and never answered.

"1. The joint tariff must be identical for both countries, and must be settled by the larger for the smaller one. In this case Canada would surrender her fiscal freedom, and her tariff and budget would have to be settled for her by the Congress of the United States, in which she is not even represented. In short, she would voluntarily place herself in the position of the American Colonies when they revolted against Great Britain.

"2. The sentiment of the English people would be deeply stirred by the unfriendliness of a discriminating tariff in a British Colony against British and in favour of United States manufactures. It is not probable that Great Britain would long continue to assume the responsibilities of a protector for a country which thus responded by a hostile act."



THESE considerations have been fatal, says the "Occasional Correspondent," to the policy of Commercial Unionists. The *Toronto Globe*, at first an uncompromising advocate of the "Wimaniac" policy, "has ceased to speak favourably of Commercial Union." A leading Ottawa paper entitles a leader on the subject "The Fad Doomed," and more practical evidence is to be found in the continued defeat of the "Wimaniac" candidates at every bye-election. "The inference to be unhesitatingly drawn from the above facts is that the policy of Commercial Union is not likely to be finally adopted by either party."

INTELLIGENCE reaches us from Canada that General Laurie, recently elected to the Dominion Parliament as an opponent of Commercial Union, is "a sincere Federationist, and a Member of the League." We offer him our heartiest congratulations upon his triumph.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH made a speech at Clifton on January 17th, which, though chiefly dealing with domestic politics, contained one passage of great and Imperial significance. He was considering what a Government could do to promote the prosperity of the country. After enumerating several matters which might properly be taken in hand, he said that a Government "may do more than all by giving such tangible proofs of real sympathy with our self-governing Colonies as were afforded at the late Colonial Conference, a course of policy which I believe, by showing them that we really care for their wants and aspirations, may induce them to pay a fair and ready attention to our own." SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH is a Cabinet Minister, and has excellent opportunities of translating his words into action. We shall therefore look forward to seeing the Government promoting every measure that tends towards the closer union of the Empire, for it is in that direction that the aspirations of the Colonies are turned. They want to be partners in the Imperial firm.

HER MAJESTY has been graciously pleased to confer upon MR. FREDERICK YOUNG the honour of a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. SIR FREDERICK, as we have now much pleasure in calling him, is an energetic member of the Executive Committee of the Imperial Federation League, and Vice-President of the Royal Colonial Institute. His eminent services to the cause into which he has thrown a life-time of zealous activity, are too well known to need any recapitulation here. We are sure that from a wide circle of friends, and from the general public also, sincere congratulations will be bestowed upon SIR FREDERICK YOUNG on the occasion of his receiving so well-merited an honour.

OUR Imperial Minister of Communications will find plenty of work ready for him as soon as his office is duly gazetted. We have spoken often enough of the postal matters imperatively requiring his attention. But we have some telegraph work on hand as well. Mauritius has nearly the most important harbour in the Indian Ocean. The possession of that harbour by the French in the Revolutionary war enabled them to inflict with their cruisers losses upon us that might be reckoned in millions of pounds sterling, and in the last eighty years the Ocean has not become less frequented, nor has the value of the cargoes that float upon it diminished. And yet, to-day, though a telegraph cable passes down the east coast of Africa, Mauritius is unconnected with it. Is it too much to ask that a telegraph connection shall be laid to Mozambique or Port Natal?

ON the other side of the globe, in Vancouver, we should also direct our Minister's attention to the prospects of the proposed intercolonial cable. We should point out to him the advantage of a route where we had no complications with Turkey, or Persia, or Russia to fear, and with no shore-ends like those in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea conveniently accessible to an enemy for cutting. Further, we should urge the advantage of uniting the Governments of Great Britain, of the Dominion, and of Australasia in the execution of so great and pacific an undertaking. Lastly, we should venture to hint that perhaps even financially the bargain would not be a bad one. At present, the rate from London to Australia is 9s. 4d. a word. To British Columbia it is 8½d. It would be possible to charge a good round sum on the Pacific cable, and still effect a formidable reduction of the Australian rates. Now, the British Government at present must pay a good many times 9s. 4d. in the course of a twelvemonth. But we forget: when we get our Imperial Minister, he will not need us to bring any of these matters to his notice. He will be as anxious as we are, not only to accept but to promote every undertaking that tends to establish and to increase the unity of the British Empire.

IF all members of the League were as active as our friend MR. HOPKINS, of Ingersoll, the Empire would be federated, and the League might dissolve before we enter on the last decade of the nineteenth century. By letter and speech, by article and pamphlet, he is always insisting on our principles. Lately, we see, he has answered SIR RICHARD CARTWRIGHT, and also MR. SHAW, the Secretary of the Commercial Union Club of Toronto, and exposed the fallacies of commercial union. Forceful though his arguments may be, we are not prepared to assert that he has convinced his opponents, but at least they have been strangely quiet the last week or two, and perhaps a dawning perception of their mistake may have something to do with it.

THE "Future of Montreal" is the subject of a remarkable article in the *Statist* of January 5. The opening of the Sault Ste. Marie route should, in the writer's opinion, make Montreal the *entrepôt* of the trade of the whole North-West, both Canadian and American, a new Chicago at the head of the Lakes. Will Montreal rise, asks the writer, to the dignity of her new importance? How vast that importance may be, he indicates in the following words:—

The Americans can do nothing to prevent traffic reaching the "Soo" from going eastward through Canada. And a great deal of traffic now making a long *détour* south to Chicago will in future take the straight road to Montreal. By the "Soo" from St. Paul or Minneapolis to the St. Lawrence will be four or five hundred miles shorter than to New York. Moreover, the St. Lawrence is another several hundred miles nearer Liverpool than New York. If ever the Canadians had a chance to get their share of Western business it is now, and if Montreal is ever to become what it should have been years ago, the great *entrepôt* of Western trade north of the lakes, it should assert its claims very speedily. It has a chance before it such as history offers to a people only once in centuries.

We hope the inhabitants of Montreal can be trusted to rise to the responsibilities of their position. If the rumour, which grows more and more circumstantial week after week, that a line of steamers worthy to rank with the *Umbria* and *Etruria* will be running ere long between Montreal and England, has any foundation in fact, it will be seen that in one most important respect they have indeed risen to their responsibilities already.

THE meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, to be held in London on February 21, 22, and 23, promises to be an interesting one for the readers of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.



Commercial Union is to be one of the subjects for discussion, but on this point it is easy to anticipate their decision. Much more interest will attach to the debate on the following resolution, of which notice has been given by the Barnsley Chamber :—

"That it is desirable that such changes be made in the fiscal arrangements existing between Great Britain and her Colonies, as will materially tend to increase the volume of trade of the British Empire."

As far as we can see, the only change that could be made by Great Britain would be in the direction of a tariff differentiating between the Colonies and the rest of the world. There is therefore no reason to fear that the debate on this occasion will lack animation, as has sometimes happened when less exciting topics were under discussion, from the too great unanimity that has characterised the members of the Chamber.

THE long conversation by telegram reported in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of January 23rd between the Editor in London, and his "Special" in New Westminster, British Columbia, is a wonderful testimony to what our contemporary calls "the shrinkage of the world under electricity." We give an example of one of the messages that passed during this strange "Midnight talk across the world." MR. NORMAN, the Special Commissioner at New Westminster, thus sums up his journey, cabling at 9.45 p.m. in answer to a question despatched at 9.42½ p.m. "I have sailed in an English ship, *Polynesian*, 3,000 miles across Atlantic with English cables below. Travelled by English railway 3,000 miles through primeval forests, by greatest lakes in the world, across splendid prairie wheat-fields of empire, over four colossal mountain ranges to here, where can see Pacific as I write, and in few days shall start for 4,000 miles' voyage in another English ship, *Parthia*, over another ocean, yet am able here to report myself to you and talk as quickly, easily as if we were speaking through tube in Northumberland Street."

OUR contemporary eloquently points the moral of this "15,000 miles in 4 minutes telegraphy." "This interview at 7,000 miles' range is an object lesson of the first importance. For it teaches the world that distance has disappeared so far as the transmission of ideas is concerned. And as the government of men, especially the representative government of men, tends to become more and more a matter of ideas, it is impossible to over-estimate the political significance of the revolution thus effected. As our Commissioner remarked last night, the slender filament of metal along which last night crossed and recrossed messages of sympathy and requests for direction is itself a striking symbol of our Imperial unity, and is prophetic of that closer union there is still to be between our island realm and what SIR JOHN MACDONALD calls 'her auxiliary Kingdoms.' Regarded as a chain, what can be weaker? The trailing anchor of a storm-driven vessel might snap the cable at either end. A gust of wind might bring the overhead wires to the ground, a prowling bear from the forest primeval clambering up the poles might interrupt the circuit. As a material nexus it is slender as the gossamer. And yet what chain of fortresses, what Roman wall of frowning masonry, could vie for a moment in real potency as an empire-binder with this silent and secret highway of the thoughts of man? It makes neighbours of the dwellers at the uttermost ends of the earth. The change cannot fail to impress the imagination of statesmen and fill the heart of our people with fresh hope as to the promise of the future."

SIR RAWSON RAWSON'S important work upon the tariffs and trade of the British Empire is in the printer's hands,

and we hope that it will be published in the course of the month. We are unable, for obvious reasons, to anticipate the publication with a review, but we can assure our readers that the book will be something unique of its kind, and will contain some startling revelations and comparisons for those who have eyes to see. We understand that the title-page will bear the inscription, "Prepared and Presented to the Commercial Sub-Committee of the Imperial Federation League by its Chairman." The committee are indeed to be congratulated upon having secured such an important proof of their activity and usefulness.

THE present issue of the *Journal* contains the first monthly report from MR. W. S. SEBRIGHT GREEN, who has recently been appointed organising lecturer to the League. For some time past MR. GREEN has shown himself most active in promoting the interests of the League, both by his own excellent speeches and by his remarkable powers of enlisting the sympathy of others in the work. He has now consented to act as an official organiser on our behalf, and will undertake the task of "stumping the country" in order to arouse public opinion, and wherever favourable opportunities occur he will assist in the creation of branches of the League. From his unflagging energy and complete knowledge of his subject the best results may be confidently anticipated.

IN view of the important position now attained by the Imperial Federation League in Canada, we have made arrangements for the regular supply of intelligence concerning its action throughout the Dominion: the letter which we publish to-day from our well-informed SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT, "Manu Forti," contains some valuable contributions to the study of the problem as it affects the greatest of our Colonies, and the accuracy of his knowledge and soundness of his judgment may be implicitly trusted by members of the League.

As an instance of the useful results often produced unconsciously by the existence of branches of the League in a district, we desire to call attention to the meeting of a Parliamentary Debating Society in Paddington the other day, when a hostile motion was proposed declaring "that in the opinion of this house, Imperial Federation is impracticable, and even if feasible is highly undesirable." Now there is an energetic branch of the League in Paddington, and only a few weeks previously they held a most successful demonstration. The result was that the leaven of our principles proved so active in the neighbourhood, that the proposer of the above motion was immediately attacked on all sides, the fallacy of his arguments detected and exposed, and his motion defeated by a substantial majority!

A SIMILAR case occurred on Jan. 6th at Edinburgh, where a powerful branch of the League was recently inaugurated. Here again a motion hostile to Federation was proposed at the Philomathic Literary Society of Edinburgh University. Our correspondent shall tell the result in his own words :—

"The debate was held last night, the result being a majority of over fifty per cent. on the Federation side. The motion was :—'That a scheme of Imperial Federation is impracticable, so that it was the amendment which was carried. I have never seen a better-sustained debate; every speaker spoke to the point, and at considerable length. The result is, I think, a great triumph on the Federation side, as none apart from the movers and seconders came with their minds prejudiced, some indeed confessing almost total ignorance of the subject until after they had heard the leaders on both sides. Members, therefore, voted from pure conviction. The Philomathic Literary Society is one of the most flourishing in the University of Edinburgh, so that the above will be a welcome piece of news for your *Journal*.'"



## NOTES FROM THE LEAGUE IN CANADA.

LETTER FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT AT MONTREAL.

MONTREAL, January 10th, 1888.

As the readers of the Journal no doubt desire to hear from time to time from the branches in other parts of the Empire, I may perhaps be permitted to send a few notes with regard to the prosecution of the work in Canada. It would be tedious to recite the earlier steps taken, as they have already been fully noticed in the columns of the Journal, but there are a few points of recent occurrence to which attention may be called. Branches now exist in Montreal, Ingersoll, Halifax, Peterborough, Ottawa, and Toronto, formed in the order named. The course of procedure that has been adopted is to hold a meeting when any of the members has a paper to read, or when any visitor from another place can be got to address a meeting. In this manner a number of interesting meetings have been held, and the proceedings published in the newspaper press. Apart, however, from work in the regular branches, there are every day striking evidences that the movement has taken a strong hold among the most enlightened and far-seeing men in public life in this country. Quietly as the work has progressed, it has obtained the support and gained the adhesion of such a large proportion of the best men of the country that its enemies have become aroused, and have made during the last year the most energetic efforts to give an American or Continental, as opposed to a British, turn to the current of public opinion, but with little success, and westward the course of our own Empire still holds its way.

It must be well known to those who have followed the course of political speculations of Mr. Goldwin Smith that, among all the strange vicissitudes through which his powerful imagination has led him, he has with strange infatuation clung to this as the groundwork of his political faith, that the British Empire must and should break up, and that Canada must and should form part of the United States of America. It matters little to him that many of the best of his fellow-countrymen in England desire to prevent Imperial disruption if it can be done in an honourable way at all: it matters still less that the vast majority of the people of Canada have set their faces in the most determined manner against absorption by the United States; his theory is, that things should not run in the direction they do, and therefore, whether the people like it or not, they must be cajoled, or even dragooned, on the one hand into throwing off the Colonies, on the other into renouncing their allegiance to the Empire of which it has been their boast to form a part. There was no native Canadian enlightened enough to see the patriotism of national suicide, and so Mr. Smith himself came to reside among us and educate us into it.

It was not unnatural, therefore, that when there appeared to be a danger of Imperial Federation becoming the settled policy of the leading statesmen of the Empire, Mr. Goldwin Smith should seek a few allies unknown to public life in Canada, and seek with their aid to foment an agitation in favour of an idea that was heralded as the great panacea for all real and imagined political troubles—Commercial Union with the United States. Commercial Union, we were told, would give us all the advantages of annexation, and would suffer us to retain our allegiance to the Empire's Queen. By suppressing many of the facts necessary to a thorough understanding of what Commercial Union means, Mr. Goldwin Smith, with Mr. Erastus Wiman of New York, and Mr. Valancy Fuller, an intelligent dairy farmer in the Niagara district, who has extensive business connections with the United States, set a vigorous agitation on foot, chiefly among the farmers of Ontario; and at the beginning, before the question had been well discussed anywhere, before any of the misrepresentations of the advocates of the scheme were pointed out, before the bronze side of the shield had been shown as well as the silver, a number of farmers' meetings were induced to endorse the project—generally, however, with a saving clause in favour of maintaining the British connection inviolate.

There are several reasons for the apparent hold the question took on the people. First, it is easy enough to get the crowd to hurrah if you propose to them to repeal

their taxes: and by dwelling on the advantages that would flow from abolishing the United States Customs line, by which farmers were to get twenty per cent. more for every horse they could raise, and fifteen cents more for every bushel of barley they could grow. Secondly, the astute leaders of the movement gained control in some unexplained manner of the newspaper in Ontario that had been the leading organ of the Canadian Government, which was therefore read by nearly all of those who would naturally be opposed to annexation in any form, the party historically connected in direct line with the founders of the country—the United Empire Loyalists. Thirdly, every meeting that was held in favour of the movement was magnified and "manifolded" by the operations of the Associated Press.

It may not be known to many people outside of Canada that up to a few years ago nearly the whole telegraphic business of the country was in the hands of the Montreal Telegraph Company. The Western Union Company had, after a long struggle, succeeded in gaining control of the most important telegraphic lines in the United States; and wishing to extend their monopoly to Canada, they thought it necessary to control the Montreal Telegraph Company. They therefore formed a new company, called the Great North-Western Telegraph Company, which entered into an agreement with the Montreal Company to lease all their lines for a long term of years, disarming public hostility by guaranteeing that the rate should be kept down to twenty-five cents for ten words, and bribing the shareholders with a guaranteed dividend of eight per cent. per annum, the Western Union Company itself becoming security for the payment of this dividend.

Of this Great North-Western, the president was Mr. Erastus Wiman, who had heretofore been known to the people of Canada only by name as a partner in the Mercantile Agency of Dun, Wiman, & Co., whose business it is to furnish merchants with information as to the financial standing of persons engaged in trade. Now it is perhaps not very generally known that the Telegraph Company and the Associated Press are very largely the same concern; and by the proceedings I have mentioned, it came about that the telegraphic messages collected in nearly every town and village of Canada came to be full of references to the achievements of Mr. Wiman and his friends, of the enormously influential meetings in favour of Commercial Union, and of the determination of the people of Canada that nothing else would save the country from ruin and annexation.

The thing, however, gradually worked itself out. The people and the farmers began to understand that Commercial Union meant taking off their duties against one foreign nation, and nearly doubling them against all other nations and against the other countries of our own Empire. They found that what was heralded as Free Trade, meant Free Trade in the smaller portion of their trade, and increased protection in the larger; Free Trade with a country producing almost all the same things as ourselves, and double duties on countries that are a consuming market for what we export. They began to see also that it meant surrendering the control of the most important source of our national revenue to a foreign country, and was practically political suicide. And thus it happened that before it actually came before any constituency on the numerous by-elections that have taken place, the bottom was fairly knocked out of it; and so the cry was changed from Commercial Union to Unrestricted Reciprocity.

Now Unrestricted Reciprocity and Commercial Union are, to use a popular simile, about as much alike as a crocodile and an alligator. They both mean discrimination against the Mother Country and the rest of the British Empire, the only difference being that the new term is intended to cover Free Trade only in raw products and manufactures which are the production of the two countries, Canada and the United States, thus enabling each country to retain, at least nominally, control of its own tariff against other countries. It is hardly concealed by the fomentors of the agitation that the intention and determination is to replace the annual loss of 7,000,000 dols. revenue to Canada, now collected on imports from the United States, by increased duties on imports from the rest of the Empire and other



countries. For nobody is more opposed to the idea of direct taxation than the Canadian farmer, and therefore the Unrestricted Reciprocity man does not hint at direct taxation. Of course, it is patent to any one that the United States would not be so simple as to consent to Unrestricted Reciprocity unless the tariff is practically the same in the two countries, because it would require even more than Yankee shrewdness to distinguish between a piece of goods turned out of a Canadian factory and one imported from some other country and merely passed through the Canadian factory. But the truth is, the agitation is a dishonest one. Its intelligent advocates really mean annexation, only they are too cowardly to say so; and they hope to catch the people napping, and get them to consent to what must end in complete absorption, without showing their hand too soon. Under whatever name it is called, however, whether Commercial Union or Unrestricted Reciprocity, it has met with a poor fate at the polls. Not a single constituency out of a dozen or so that have been thrown open since the agitation began has endorsed it. Several Conservative seats have been gained, and in others Liberal majorities reduced, because of certain Liberal papers supporting it; and in the only case in which it was made a square issue the candidate, who had been elected as a Liberal a few months before, came out as a Commercial Unionist, and was defeated. The *Globe*, the official organ of the Opposition in Ontario, which supported it so long as there seemed any hope of its being a popular cry, has now practically abandoned it, and while still manifesting Anti-British sympathies, seems rather disposed to begin an agitation for free trade pure and simple. The Board of Trade in Toronto, by an overwhelming vote—88 to 12—and the President of the Montreal Board of Trade with the concurrence of a vast majority of its members, Liberals as well as Conservatives, have distinctly repudiated it. It has not been approved by any Board of Trade of any note whatever. As to the statement by Mr. Norman of the *Pall Mall Gazette* that outside of Ottawa it seems popular, he must have been unfortunate in the persons he asked. For it is certain that fully three-fourths of those who understand what it means are strenuously opposed to it. The statement of Mr. Octavius Vaughan Morgan, M.P., whose visit and address gave us great satisfaction here, is much more accurate.

In another letter I hope to explain how the defection of the *Mail* newspaper was met, first by the enterprising, loyal, and plucky little *World*, and afterwards by the establishment of *The Empire*; and how the Great North-Western or Western Union telegraph monopoly attempted to shirk their duty to Canadian shareholders, but were checkmated; and how, moreover, they have now a new competitor under thoroughly Canadian management and influence. I shall also have a word to say about the Conference of Provincial Premiers, and about Mr. Chamberlain's visit. Meantime I merely wish to add that we are getting the sentiment of the people with us, and there is every reason to be proud of the influence the Federation League has exerted.

MANU FORTI.

### WESTERN AUSTRALIA IN TRUST FOR THE EMPIRE.

SIR GEORGE BOWEN has written to the *Times* on Australian affairs, and takes the opportunity to confirm the views we have persistently advocated as to the rights of the whole British Empire over the Crown lands in Western Australia.

"It is impossible," he says, "to refer to Western Australia without serious thoughts of the manner in which the 'waste lands of the Crown' in that vast territory should be disposed of, now that the grant of Home Rule, or 'responsible government,' has been applied for by the existing population of about 35,000 souls, settled almost entirely in the south-western corner. Here is a territory nearly half the size of Europe, which is the property of the Crown in trust for the people of the entire British Empire, and which certainly should not be made over to the handful of emigrants now resident there, as were, some thirty-five years ago, the lands of the more populous eastern Colonies of the group."

In trust for the Empire! That is the key-note which should govern all our policy with regard to public lands,

whether in Western Australia, Natal, or any other part of our dominions. We do not think that this noble policy could be adequately worked out by the system of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, which Sir George Bowen reminds us was in force for many years in the early history of Australia. "Under that system one-half of the public revenue derived from the sale and lease of the Crown lands was devoted to public works on the spot, and one-half to the introduction of fresh emigrants from the Mother Country." But to divide the whole proceeds of the Crown lands between a single Colony and the Mother Country is surely not the part of a trustee for the British Empire. Such a division implies neglect of the claims of other Colonies to share the inheritance. The revenue of Imperial property must be devoted to Imperial purposes, as Sir George Bowen maintains, drawing a striking parallel from the case of the United States, where he points out that "the rapid increase in the population is owing, in no slight degree, to the uniform and systematic management of the public lands, which are held to belong mainly to the Federal Government at Washington, and not to the Governments of the separate States of the Union."

Of course, the Federal Government may decide that to encourage immigration is the best way of improving its vacant property; and the Colonies may hold the same opinion as the United Kingdom concerning our joint inheritance, on the principle that populating the waste lands of the Empire is a common advantage to us all. But our contention is, that the Home Government, as the existing Imperial trustee, must sanction no step even apparently favouring one portion of the Empire more than another. The moral is, that the sooner the trust is handed over to some Federal authority the better.

### THE SUGAR BOUNTIES CONVENTION.

BEFORE March 1st the Governments whose representatives recently met in Conference concerning the Sugar Bounties will inform Her Majesty's Government whether they are prepared to ratify the conclusions of that Conference. It will be remembered that the Conference met in London on November 24th, under the presidency of Baron Henry de Worms, to whose skilful guidance, not less than to the unanimity of opinion among the delegates, is to be attributed the Draft Convention published before Christmas, which embodies all that the most sanguine adversary of the bounty system could desire.

The Powers represented at the Conference, besides the United Kingdom, were Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Russia, and Sweden; all these great Powers were unanimous in signing the Convention, although Belgium, while agreeing in principle to the abolition of bounties, proposed a method for obtaining the end which seemed to the others inadequate; but with the concert of Europe against her, it may be reasonably expected that Belgium will not stand in the way of a Treaty on the lines proposed.

The language of the Draft Convention is clear and unmistakable. Rarely, we should imagine, in European history has a similar spectacle been witnessed of the official representatives of the Great Powers condemning in unqualified terms a fiscal system of quite recent origin actually in force under the regulation of the Governments whose mouth-pieces they are. The supposed blessing, in the shape of bounties upon sugar of millions sterling a year, has simply worked as a curse in the opinion of this Conference. The Preamble and first two Articles state this clearly enough:—

The High Contracting Parties, wishing to ensure the total suppression of all bounties, open or disguised, on the exportation of sugar, have resolved to conclude a Convention to this effect, and have nominated their several plenipotentiaries, who, having exchanged their full powers, and found the same to be in good and due form, have agreed to the following Articles:—

*Article 1.*—The High Contracting Parties engage to take or to propose to their respective Legislatures measures which shall constitute an absolute and complete guarantee that no bounty, open or disguised, shall be allowed on the exportation of sugar.

*Article 2.*—The High Contracting Parties engage to adopt or to propose to their respective Legislatures a system of taxation on the quantities of sugar produced and intended for consumption as the only one which will enable the suppression



of the bounties in question to be attained, and to subject to the same system the manufacture of glucose and the processes for the extraction of sugar from molasses.

The next five Articles provide for the admission of other States as parties to the Convention, and for securing its fair and smooth working. Then comes the following provision :—

*Article 8.*—The stipulations at the present Convention shall be applicable to the Colonies and Possessions of Her Britannic Majesty, with the exception of those hereafter named—that is to say, the East Indies, Canada, Newfoundland, the Cape, Natal, New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, South Australia, Western Australia, New Zealand. At the same time, the stipulations of the present Convention shall be applicable to any one of the Colonies or Possessions aforementioned from the date when the British Government shall have notified to the other Contracting Powers the adhesion of the Colony or Possession. Each of the Colonies or Possessions above named which shall have adhered to the present Convention reserves the right to retire therefrom in the same manner as the several Contracting Powers. In case any of the Colonies or Possessions referred to desire to retire from the Convention, a notification shall be made to that effect by the British Government to the Contracting Powers.

This Article is not so important as it looks at first sight, so far as regards the immediate question of the sugar bounties; for a perusal of the discussion on the subject at the Colonial Conference last year will show that all the Colonies named were strongly in favour of the abolition of bounties, and readily agreed to back up Her Majesty's Government in any steps they might take for the purpose, so that there is little doubt as to the prompt adhesion of them all to the Convention. But the Article forms a valuable contribution to the slowly-accumulating precedents, out of which the legal status of our self-governing Colonies in international questions is being evolved. Not only the Colonies possessing the full privileges of responsible Government, but also Natal and Western Australia, with their narrower Constitutions, are recognised as possessing individual rights of acceptance or rejection; and the acknowledged mode in which their decisions must be communicated is through the Imperial Government.

The Convention is to last for ten years, and after that date so long as the signatories have not given twelve months' notice of withdrawal; but the withdrawal of any one signatory will not affect the Convention as still binding the remainder.

### THE VALIDITY OF COLONIAL MARRIAGES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

MR. O. V. MORGAN, M.P., has taken charge of a Bill to be introduced in the ensuing session of Parliament for legalising certain Colonial marriages. In several of the Colonies the Royal Assent has been given to Acts which sanction the marriage of a man with his deceased wife's sister, but the issue of such marriages, as falling within the prohibited degrees in this country, are unable to inherit real property in the United Kingdom on the same conditions as the children of parents lawfully married. The contention of the promoters of the Bill is that these marriages having been once sanctioned, "the issue of all such marriages as have been or shall be hereafter contracted by persons domiciled in Colonies where such marriages are lawful shall have and enjoy all such rights of inheritance, succession, and otherwise within the United Kingdom, as they would have been entitled to had they been the issue of parents lawfully married in the United Kingdom."

Upon the vexed question of marriage with the deceased wife's sister, we have of course no opinion to offer. Striving for the Unity of the Empire in all essentials, we certainly regret that the same laws are not in force over its whole extent upon the subject of marriage, affecting as they do the very foundations of our national existence.

But it is not for us to select a method for promoting uniformity, or to say whether the change should consist in an alteration of the Colonial laws or the law of the United Kingdom. Our readers will be interested to know what was said on the subject when it was discussed at the Imperial Conference last year, and we therefore subjoin a few extracts from some of the speeches delivered on the occasion, containing the views of various representatives.

SIR JOHN DOWNER'S (South Australia) opinion.

I wish to put the matter before the Government and the Conference simply upon the ground that this time, when England and her Colonies are drawing so much more closely together than they have been before, would be a fitting time to remove what I think is a great anomaly in the laws of England and Australia upon a matter of great vital moment, and upon a matter in which the people of both countries take the very greatest interest. As far as the history of the legislation of the Colonies is concerned, it is in a sufficiently small compass. South Australia, the Colony which I represent, was the first, I think, to pass a statute permitting these marriages. For four different sessions of Parliament the statute was passed, and after four different sessions the Royal Assent was refused, but finally, upon the 30th of March, 1871, the Royal Assent was given. That statute permitted marriages in the Province between a man and the sister of his deceased wife, or the sister's daughter. The next statute that was passed on this subject was the statute that was passed in the Colony of Victoria, that was assented to on the 24th of March, 1873. That statute simply related to marriage with a deceased wife's sister, and did not refer to the sister's daughter. The Tasmania Act was assented to upon the 9th of August, 1873, and is substantially the same as the Victoria statute. The New South Wales statute was assented to upon the 27th November, 1875, and is the same in effect as the Victoria statute. The Queensland Act, in the same direction, was also passed in 1875. . . . You yourself have given your sanction to these laws. They are laws which regulate the most sacred position in life, a position that required to be most sacredly protected for the well-being of the community generally, and now that you have enabled us to pass these laws, do us the justice to recognise these laws when they come to be acted upon.

SIR ALEXANDER CAMPBELL (Canada).

On behalf of Canada, I wish to say that we do not join in this request in any way. The law in Canada allows a person to marry his deceased wife's sister. It was altered some years ago by Parliament. It is the law of the country now, but there has been no suggestion made on the part of the people or of the Government of Canada that we should indicate in any way to the Imperial Government the propriety of asking the people of England to alter their law upon the subject.

SIR ROBERT WISDOM (New South Wales).

In all points but one the Imperial Government recognises the validity of the marriage in the Colonies; but upon the one point, namely, that of succession to real property, they refuse to alter the law of England so as to meet our case. This grievance tends more, in my opinion, to create a feeling of irritation than any act on the part of the Imperial Government, as tending to throw a slur upon our marriages; for this, though not directly, yet by implication does seem to throw a slur upon them, and I know causes a great feeling of irritation.

SIR JAMES GARRICK (Queensland).

Of course we cannot press upon this country, and we do not seek to press upon this country, a point of this kind. We can only point out to them how undesirable it is, having sanctioned such marriages, and having validated these contracts, to say with regard to the most important element of them that they are not valid. The position is, it strikes me, an inconsistent one. The result is that persons validly married abroad according to our law, when they come here are looked upon in some senses in a social light almost as persons who are not married at all.

MR. ADYE DOUGLAS (Tasmania).

The child of one of these marriages can take the personality, but he cannot take the realty. There is no doubt that this feeling obtains in the Colonies, particularly at a time when everything is being done to unite the Colonies to the Mother Country. There is nothing that would unite the Colonies to the Mother Country more than the feeling that marriages which were valid out there should be recognised as valid in England, and that the results of those marriages should be recognised in England as they are recognised in the Colonies. Now persons marrying in the Colonies are many of them not aware what would be the result of the law in England, because they are not supposed to be acquainted with all the laws of inheritance, and so forth. They marry, and they come home here; they desire to purchase property and settle down here; and then after a time they are informed that their children cannot inherit English property. . . . If we are to be looked upon as merely foreigners, be it so; but if we are to be looked upon as a united people, we ought as far as possible to have our laws recognised here.

SIR ROBERT THORBURN (Newfoundland).

When we Colonists come over here, I think we ought to be satisfied to take the law as we find it in this country. A man, if he does marry his deceased wife's sister, can always protect his property by the operation of his will; and I think, with all due deference to other members of the Conference, it would be rather



out of place for us to suggest legislation to the Imperial Government on a question which has been so often and so prominently debated in both Houses of Parliament. I may be a little singular in my view, but as the matter has never come before our local Parliament, I should not be justified in committing the Colony to an opinion on the subject.

MR. DODDS: A parent could not protect his children.

MR. THORBURN: He could do so by will.

MR. DODDS: But that is only so far as his own property is concerned. Children might be entitled to property coming in from other sources and not be able to inherit it.

THE PRESIDENT: That is the only point.

MR. FORREST (Western Australia).

We have a law legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister, but I think it has scarcely ever, if ever, been taken advantage of. I think myself that it is a very unfortunate thing that there should be different laws relating to marriage throughout the Empire; and I hope, and I have no doubt that as time goes on, there will be some means devised of having one law of marriage throughout the whole Empire.

In this report we have not reproduced the views of all the delegates or the whole of what was said by each; but enough has been given to enable our readers to judge for themselves the general attitude of the Colonies towards the question. It will be observed that in New Zealand, Newfoundland, Cape Colony, and Natal, the marriages for which full validity is sought in the United Kingdom are not legal, while the reverse is the case in the Australian Colonies and in Canada.

### AN INTER-COLONIAL DIFFICULTY.

THE objections felt by the other Australian Colonies to the proposal made by the New South Wales Government for the adoption of the generic word Australia as the future name of that Colony gave rise to a united protest on the part of Victoria, Queensland, and South Australia. The despatch of the protest, its contents, and the reply of Sir Henry Parkes, form a very instructive incident. It cannot be denied that a certain amount of mutual irritation has been produced; but, so far as we can judge, the friction has been entirely confined to the Colonial Governments, and has not represented any genuine popular feeling. In New South Wales the press has been as strongly opposed to the change as in the other Colonies; and it may fairly be inferred that the New South Wales press would not have taken up a distinctly hostile attitude to Sir Henry Parkes and his Ministry on this question unless public opinion in the Colony had justified the opposition.

But we wish to point out to all concerned that this little dispute shows how easy it is for Colonial Governments to fall out, and to raise a diplomatic storm out of a perfectly calm sea, which might, if prolonged, seriously reflect upon the people themselves. Fortunately, there is one great safeguard against any disastrous consequences, in the existence of the Imperial Government, to which such difficulties can be referred; and the mere possibility of such reference exerts a steadying influence upon the vagaries of political theorists. But, at the same time, it is not conducive to the unity of the Empire that the Home Government should have to act as arbitrator between two great Colonies with responsible government, for one of them is almost certain to be dissatisfied with the award, and wish that the case had never been submitted. If, moreover, the case should happen to be one in which reference to the Home Government is constitutionally inevitable, an adverse decision will induce a feeling that the ties are irksome, and unduly interfere with Colonial freedom. So far as we can see, there is but one way out of the difficulty. Let the Colonies feel that they have a voice in everything themselves; let the authority to which contested points are referred be made truly Imperial, and its decisions will be accepted with as good a grace as the ruling of a majority in Parliament.

We quote Mr. Gillies' despatch conveying the joint protest, and Sir H. Parkes' reply on behalf of New South Wales, from which our readers will perceive the justice of our remarks, in addition to becoming acquainted with the position taken up by both parties:—

#### JOINT PROTEST FROM VICTORIA, QUEENSLAND, AND SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

The following joint telegram was despatched on November 30th to Sir Henry Parkes by the Premier of Victoria, who signed it on behalf of the Governments of Queensland, South

Australia, and Victoria:—The Governments of Queensland, South Australia, and Victoria have observed from the public Press that it is proposed to change the name of New South Wales into that of Australia. Although they have not received any communication from the Government of New South Wales upon the subject they feel it due to that Colony to notify before it is formally committed to the proposal the strong public feeling of their respective Colonies on the question. The Governments associated in this memorandum fully recognise the right of New South Wales to adopt any designation which may be available without infringing existing rights, but the name proposed to be taken is the name of the entire continent, and as such it is the common property of all the continental Colonies, and the Governments of those Colonies now beg to represent to that of New South Wales, in the most friendly spirit, that the appropriation of the name of Australia by an individual Colony is a measure to which the others cannot consent. 1. The name is one which belongs to all Australia and all Australians. 2. Whether the idea be to abandon the name of Australia as that of the continent or to continue it as such and to have two Australias, one within the other, either change would lead to very great confusion. If the former, a new name would be required to designate the continent, the name of which would be changed practically for the third time in a hundred years. If the latter, regrettable complications must ensue from the existence of two Australias in postal and telegraph business, in commerce, and in law, in social as well as public affairs, in connection with statistics and public documents, innumerable complications and even losses may be easily foreseen. 3. The possession of one common name by those Colonies is certainly a very real bond of union. To interfere with that name runs counter to the federal spirit which all the Colonies profess to cherish, and tends directly against a cordial and friendly feeling between them. 4. There are historical considerations which all point to the same conclusion. The name of Australia has never been applied either in legal documents or by popular usage to New South Wales. At the time when New South Wales was first colonised the continent was known and is referred to in Orders in Council and Imperial Statutes as New Holland. New South Wales never possessed any jurisdiction over any part of the continent by whatever name known beyond the 141st meridian of longitude. The name Australia has uniformly been applied in legal documents and by popular usage to the whole of the continent, and the name Australia to the different Colonies that occupy it. The prospect of losing their national and historical name cannot be treated merely as a matter of sentiment by the Colonies interested. To conclude, it is observed from the newspaper reports that it was assumed by the Government of New South Wales that the other Colonies would not object. As, however, it is now officially announced to New South Wales that the sister Colonies do seriously and strongly deprecate the proposal, it is hoped that New South Wales will, in deference to their sentiments, frankly and promptly abandon all attempts to interfere with the name of Australia.

#### THE REPLY FROM NEW SOUTH WALES.

SIR HENRY PARKES, Premier of New South Wales, replied by letter to the above telegram in the following terms:—

Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney,

December 5th.

To the Hon. D. Gillies, M.P., Victoria.—Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge receipt late on the evening of the 30th ult. of your telegraphic "memorandum" transmitted in the names of the Governments of Queensland, South Australia, and Victoria, with reference to the Bill before Parliament to adopt the name of "Australia" as the name of this Colony. I am informed from other sources that before sending this "memorandum" to me you had instructed your Agent-General to lodge with the Secretary of State what is called a "protest" against our Parliamentary action, and I learn that your memorandum, now under notice, was hurriedly handed to the public press on the following day, without affording sufficient time for it to be considered by this Government. As your apparent object of immediate publicity was already secured it did not appear to me that there was any necessity for an immediate reply to your message, in the presence of much more important matters requiring my attention.

2. Having pointed out these peculiar features of your mode of "friendly" intercourse, I will proceed to offer some comments on the substance of your extraordinary communication. In the first place, I observe with a becoming sense of gratitude that you "recognise the right of this Colony to adopt any designation" so long as the new name does not interfere with your notions of the existing rights. The Colony of New South Wales has, under that name, a noble record of services to the cause of English settlement in Australia extending over 100 years, and, in the view of this Government it cannot, from a sense of patriotism, adopt any new name whatever, such as a young Colony, one of its offshoots, might with propriety adopt. Long before Victoria was ever dreamt of the struggle for British



liberty for ourselves and the later-born Colonies was fought out here by a band of gifted men, all belonging to the parent Colony, with William Charles Wentworth and John Dunmore Lang at their head. But our services to the cause of colonisation in your part of the Australian world have not been less conspicuous and valuable. For more than sixty years every acre of land of what is now known as Victoria was within the limits of New South Wales, and under the jurisdiction of this Government. You are in error in supposing that our jurisdiction was confined within the 141st meridian of longitude. By Governor Phillip's commission issued in 1787, the territory of this Colony is described as "extending from the Northern Cape, or the extremity of the coast called Cape York, in the latitude of  $10^{\circ} 37' S.$ , to the southern extremity of the said territory of New South Wales or South Cape, in the latitude of  $43^{\circ} 39' S.$ , and of all the country inland to the westward as far as  $135^{\circ}$  East longitude, reckoning from the meridian of Greenwich, including all islands adjacent in the Pacific Ocean within the said latitude aforesaid." The district where Melbourne now stands became known as Beargrass, Batmania, and by other rather uncouth names. About fifty years ago Governor Sir Richard Bourke caused it to be selected as a suitable site for a new town, and under the personal inspection of that Governor, aided by the Surveyor-General of the day (Sir Thomas Mitchell), your city was surveyed and laid out, receiving from our hands the name of the Prime Minister of England. So that Melbourne owes its site, its design, including its wide streets and its very existence, to the Government of New South Wales. In a like manner the Government of this Colony, under the personal inspection of Sir George Gipps, aided by the Surveyor-General, Sir Thomas Mitchell, selected the site and laid out and named the present city of Brisbane. Every acre of what is now known as Queensland was within the limits of this Colony, and both Melbourne and Brisbane were large and prosperous towns of New South Wales for many years before the two new Colonies were created. This Colony also contained the richest part of South Australia. The country west of the 135th degree of longitude was for many years designated New Holland, and was destitute of settlement. I attach hereto a map showing the authorised divisions of the country.

You will observe, further, that we do not seek to deprive the continent of the name of "Australia," but merely propose to legally designate ourselves the Colony of Australia, as the first in the group of Australian Colonies or States, and as the Colony which exclusively enjoyed that name in popular usage for many years. Any postal or telegraphic confusion that could arise, for which you express so much concern, would only affect ourselves, and with us it awakens but little apprehension. It could not affect the Colonies which have deliberately chosen the distinctive designations of "Queensland" and "Victoria."

5. You must permit me, in conclusion, to say that with the sincerest desire to be on good terms with all our neighbours, this Government fails to appreciate the "friendly" attitude you have assumed in this matter. Considering the professed cordiality of your relations to this Colony, and the frank and ungrudging manner in which we at the present time are supporting you in your Exhibition, you might at least have done us the slight favour of communicating with us before resorting to outside assistance. We are not disposed to accept the substitution of pressure for courtesy. We can excuse your hastening to the Secretary of State for support when we recollect that on one occasion the Government of Victoria set so high a value upon its charter of self-government that it appealed to the Secretary of State for protection against the constitutional action of one of its own Houses of Parliament. But we can see no occasion for your hasty, and, we think, unreasonable proceedings, however associated you may be with other Colonies, in endeavouring to overbear the views of this Government of its duty to advance the interests of New South Wales.—I have, &c.,

HENRY PARKES.

### A BRITISH ZOLLVEREIN.

THERE are few countries in our day better able to appreciate the blessings of unity than Germany. No nation can point to such a golden age in its history as that of the early German Emperors, as well as that of the Holy Roman Empire under the Hohenstaufen. No nation suffered so bitterly from its fall, and from disunion and dismemberment, during the Thirty Years' War as did the Germans. No people felt so keenly their feebleness, not only after the peace of Westphalia, but after that of Vienna. None strove so long, so honestly, and so moderately, to be reunited. How their efforts were crowned with success is matter of recent history, as is also the prominent part which Prussia performed in the unification of the Fatherland. Indeed, without her initiative the re-establishment of the German Empire would have been impossible. This was acknowledged by the patriots of 1848, when the German Parliament offered the Imperial Crown to King Frederick William IV.

But the strong will to wear the crown, and the firm hand to grasp the sceptre, were not then ready, and at last the great question was settled—"not by speeches and the resolves of the majority, but by blood and iron." Should not the inhabitants of the British Empire be wise enough by this time to profit by the teachings of history? That closer union which had to be accomplished in Germany at the cost of millions of men and money is now within our reach by the use of the simplest and most beneficent means.

Compared with what the Germans had to accomplish, the consolidation of the British Empire seems an easy task. But still, if we consider the means by which the Union of the Fatherland was accomplished, we shall learn some very useful lessons. If we inquire as to the beginnings of Prussia's great influence in German affairs we must go back to the origin of the Zollverein. Previous to the year 1828 there were in Germany as many Customs boundary lines as there were limits for the independent States composing the German Bund. The first Zollverein, or Customs Union, was instituted in that year betwixt Prussia and Hesse Darmstadt, and the Government of the former country strove ever afterwards to increase its members. Hesse joined in 1831, Bavaria, Württemberg, Saxony, and Thuringia in 1833, Baden and Nassau in 1835, the City of Frankfurt in 1836, and gradually the Union grew until it included twenty-seven million inhabitants. The States belonging to it came to be in a sense dependent upon Prussia, whose Government strove to defend their trading and manufacturing interests. Gradually political and national objects became common to the Zollverein until, from being merely a machine for the convenient collection and apportionment of revenue, it grew to be regarded as the symbol of German unity. The influence of this bond of union in the reconstruction of the German Empire was immense, as is evident from the fact that the great German State of Austria, which had to be excluded from it, never formed part of the Zollverein.

We thus learn two things from the experience of Germany: First, that the preponderating influence and action of one member of the Bund was necessary to effect the closer union; second, that between the institution of the first weak political tie and the substitution for it of the North German Bund, and afterwards of the German Empire, the formation of a Customs Union intervened, which had the most important influence in uniting the German people. At the same time, we must remember that, in our own case, instead of having one member of our Empire ever intent on strengthening the connection, and caring for the commercial interests of the others, we have had, until a comparatively recent date, prominent statesmen advocating its dismemberment, and prominent economists of the Gradgrind school abolishing differential duties, and treating certain parts of the Empire as utterly foreign to it, from a commercial point of view. Happily, it is not too late to profit by experience, and to insist that an Imperial Customs Union must be established, before the present loose tie betwixt the British possessions can be converted into a firm and lasting bond of union. There is but one country, then, can take the lead in the direction indicated, namely, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Proposals for closer commercial intercourse coming from any of the Colonies could not command sufficient attention elsewhere. When a British Commercial Union is broached in Canada, the first remark invariably is, "What would England say to such a thing?" Next the question is asked, "Do you imagine she will ever abandon Free Trade?" and indeed no progress towards a British Zollverein is possible unless under the initiative and leadership of the Mother Country. Let her but first hold out her hand, and depend on it, it would be at once and firmly grasped by her daughter nations throughout the world.

The circumstances in which the United Kingdom is placed at the present moment seem peculiarly favourable for decided action on her part towards the formation of an Imperial Customs Union. Both her agricultural and manufacturing interests are depressed, and want of work and suffering prevails to an alarming extent. Movements are on foot having for their object a change in the fiscal policy of England. Complaints are heard that foreigners have free access to English markets, while home producers have heavy direct taxes to pay. The interest on the enormous National Debt is taken out of the pockets of the British people, while the German and the Spaniard, for the defence of whose liberties it was contracted, are not allowed to contribute one shilling in the shape of duties on the goods with which they flood the markets of Great Britain. Fair play is being demanded by the British farmer, manufacturer, and artisan, and it is hard to see how their own countrymen can long resist this appeal.

To levy duties on particular imports, in order to encourage particular manufacturers, would plainly be returning to Protection, a course which the British nation is not likely to adopt; but to impose a uniform rate of duty on all imports without exception for the purpose of raising revenue, and placing the foreign and the native producer on an equal footing, would be a perfectly consistent and reasonable proceeding. Such a policy might not only be advantageously adopted in England, but



recommended to the authorities or the Colonies and dependencies throughout the Empire, in order to the encouragement of inter-British trade and the establishment of an Imperial Customs Union. It is therefore maintained that the Government of the United Kingdom should take the wise and patriotic step of itself imposing, and inviting all British possessions to impose, a duty of ten per cent. *ad valorem*, or specific duties equivalent to this rate, on every description of imports from foreign countries. This duty to be over and above and independent of all existing tariffs in any part of the British Empire.

This suggestion has now been before the public for nearly two years, it having been first advanced in the number of *IMPERIAL FEDERATION* for February, 1886, under the title of "The United Empire."<sup>1</sup> It is unnecessary here to repeat the arguments then advanced in its support, but it may be remarked that none of them have yet been controverted. On the contrary, the same plan has been proposed in an unexpected quarter, and has received considerable approbation and support. At the recent Colonial Conference in London the representatives of Cape Colony suggested for consideration, among other subjects, "The feasibility of promoting a closer union between the various parts of the British Empire by means of an Imperial Tariff of Customs, to be levied independently of the duties payable under existing tariffs, on goods entering the Empire from abroad, the revenue to be derived from such tariff to be devoted to the general defence of the Empire." The proposal was explained and defended in a very able speech by Mr. Hofmeyr, which was well received by the other Colonial delegates. Mr. Service (from Victoria) expressed his admiration of it, and said further, "I must say that whilst the question of a common tariff throughout the whole Empire has been mooted again and again, it has always seemed to me impossible, probably because I did not think it out. I knew it was impossible for the Australian Colonies, for example, or for Canada to accept the principle of commercial intercourse which exists in England. But I must confess that a remark which fell from Sir Samuel Griffiths awakened a new set of ideas in my mind; and that was, that it was not necessary that all the component parts of the Empire should have the same tariff in order to carry out this idea—that is to say, 'that if you placed a differential duty as between the Imperial products and the foreign products, it would not matter what the precise local tariff happened to be.' I never looked at the matter in that light before, but I have thought about it a good deal since, and I must say it appears to me at present that there is a good deal in that point." Sir Samuel Griffiths, from Queensland, in his letter of the 28th March last to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote on the same subject as follows:—"I hope that an opportunity may arise during the Conference of discussing the practicability of consolidating and maintaining the Unity of the Empire by adding to the existing bonds a definite recognition of the principle that Her Majesty's subjects, as such, have a community of material interest as distinguished from the rest of the world; and of considering how far effect may be given to this principle by the several countries forming part of Her Majesty's dominions affording to each other commercial concessions and advantages greater than those which are granted to subjects of other States. Without for a moment suggesting any interference with the freedom of each Legislature to deal with the tariff of the country under its jurisdiction, I conceive that such freedom is not incompatible with a general recognition of the principle, that when any article is subjected to a duty on importation a higher duty should be imposed on goods coming from foreign countries than on those imported from Her Majesty's dominions." The same policy was endorsed by the general committee of the Imperial Federation League in Canada at a meeting held at Ottawa on June 20th last, and largely attended by members of Parliament. It was then resolved:—"That this meeting suggests for consideration Imperial Reciprocity as the trade policy most in accordance with the objects of the League, and reiterates the opinion that trade between different parts of the Empire should take place upon more favourable terms than trade with foreign nations." From these quotations it is evident that the plan brought forward by Mr. Hofmeyr and the undersigned only gives more precise expression to an idea which has already gained favour in South Africa, Australia, and Canada. It does not, however, seem to have attracted much attention as yet in England, and without a thorough discussion there of its various features, we cannot hope for much progress. The fundamental principle of this proposition for establishing an Imperial Customs' Union is that the tariff arrangements of the United Kingdom, of the self-governing Colonies, of India, and all the British dependencies should remain as at present, subject to the various authorities who now control them, save and except that an additional duty be levied upon all foreign goods, but not upon British productions, in order to encourage trade and commerce between the various parts of the Empire.

In the paper written by the undersigned in December, 1885, five per cent. is mentioned as a proper rate for this extra duty,

and in the proposition brought forward by the Cape delegates it is placed at two per cent. In both cases it was proposed that the revenue resulting from such extra duty should be applied to paying the cost of the British navy. But it would seem unwise at the present time to prescribe that the revenue from such a duty should be devoted to any particular purpose. An attempt of this sort would inevitably bring up other matters and produce much delay and entanglement. It would probably be found impossible to avoid discussing an arrangement for the representation in a council or parliament of those parts of the Empire which might agree to contribute towards Imperial purposes. Such a discussion would be entirely premature, and might endanger altogether the establishment of a Customs' Union. The latter object should be discussed and agitated for on its own merits, unconnected in the meantime with any of the other questions which make Imperial Federation such a large and difficult subject. As expressed very concisely in a recent number of *IMPERIAL FEDERATION*, p. 186, "we should aim first at identification of interests, and secondly at constitutional readjustment." With regard to the proceeds of the proposed Imperial differential duty, that would simply remain part of the revenue of the country or Colony where it happened to be collected, and be applied to whatever purposes the various local governments or parliaments thought fit.

It surely cannot be gainsaid that the institution of a British Customs' Union would be a great stride towards "identification of interests" throughout the Empire. Nor does it seem possible to deny that if the Imperial Federation League were to urge its establishment, it would only be trying to give practical effect to the principles which many of its members have already deliberately adopted. The plan for consolidating the Empire commercially, above described, if candidly considered, will be found to be in entire agreement with the principles upon which the League was founded, of "non-interference with local rights and of combination on an equitable basis for the maintenance of common interests."

THOMAS MACFARLANE.

Ottawa, Canada.

#### A BRANCH OF THE LEAGUE FOR TORONTO.

A PRELIMINARY meeting of gentlemen favourable to Imperial Federation was held on December 22nd in Shaftesbury Hall, and at the conclusion of the speeches between thirty and forty persons gave in their names to become members of a Toronto branch of the Imperial Federation League. Mr. Dalton McCarthy, Q.C., M.P., presided, and among those present were Mr. G. R. R. Cockburn, M.P., and Col. F. C. Denison, M.P.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said he had received letters from, amongst others, Hon. G. W. Allan, Mr. G. W. Yarker, and Mr. A. J. Cattanaach, approving of the principles of the League, and regretting inability to attend. Narrating the history of the League, he said it originated in England, and those who formed it there asked the people of Canada to come forward and unite with them in the scheme. He went on to say that things were moving, there was change almost in the air, and they had to consider what the future of this country was to be. He asked whether, in the event of the Australian Colonies deciding to enter a Federation, Canada was prepared to stay out? Canada must either go in or stay out. Canada must, therefore decide, and in his opinion the time had arrived to discuss the matter and think of the future before them. He would not be in favour of the surrender of any of their local rights in Federation. He did not see any impossible difficulty in arranging a fair basis. It would be well to have an arrangement whereby people living under the one flag would have advantages in their commercial relations. That, however, was a detail, and by no means essential to the success of the scheme.

MR. COCKBURN moved a series of resolutions which contained the objects of the League as adopted by the other branches, and affirming the expediency of forming a Toronto branch. The principles were, he said, as broad as the British Empire itself. He condemned a habit of speaking of the progress made by the United States as being greater than that made by the British Empire during the past hundred years, particularly in view of the fact that a great deal of American development was brought about by British skill, talent, and capital. When he heard people talking about Commercial Union and other things he asked himself whether Canadians are the missing links between the lower in Great Britain and the higher in the United States. (Laughter.) He insisted that we must get out of the habit of underrating ourselves. He went on to say that he knew there were difficulties in the preparation of a Federation basis, but he did not regard them as insuperable. MR. J. M. CLARK seconded the resolution.

After remarks by Messrs. George Kerr, jun., Septimus Denison, Alfred Howell, George Moberley, W. Hamilton Merritt, Edward Meek, and John Small, the resolutions were adopted. Nearly all those present gave in their names for membership, after which the meeting adjourned, to convene again at the call of the chair for the election of officers.

<sup>1</sup> [The paper referred to was a report of one read by Mr. Macfarlane at a meeting in Montreal. Our readers are aware that, while admitting suggestions from every side, the organ of the League has not given its adhesion to any particular scheme.—ED.]



## NOTICES.

THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

The annual payment of Five Shillings ensures inscription upon the Register of the LEAGUE, and the receipt of the JOURNAL of the LEAGUE monthly, post free.

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Editors of Newspapers, and others, sending papers to the EDITOR, will greatly oblige by marking the passages to which they wish to call attention.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire should become members of the LEAGUE, and promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves and introducing it to their friends.

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Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

## Imperial Federation.

FEBRUARY 7, 1888.

### THE FEDERATION OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE.

It is an ordinary criticism upon the administration of particular departments of State, that the work would be done much better by a private firm. Thus the Post Office is referred to the railway companies for a model, the Admiralty and the War Office to Sir W. Armstrong, or Messrs. Laird, the Civil Service *en bloc* to any leading City house. It is asserted that in methods of business, in efficiency, and in cheapness, the public offices have much to learn from private enterprise. The truth of the assertion seems to be admitted by the Government. For instance, an endeavour is now being made to re-model the organisation of Woolwich Arsenal upon commercial principles; and, in fact, the stock argument employed in controversy on the subject is not *non volumus*, but *non possumus*. The Government admit the superiority of private firms, but considerations of State make it impossible to reach the same perfection. To a certain extent, the plea is doubtless a fair one; the establishment of a Government dockyard must always be kept at a full strength in case of emergency, while private yards can dismiss their hands at discretion. In the Civil Service again, as compared with private houses of business, greater responsibility under less supervision is imposed, and to secure suitable men, the duties must be made more attractive and remunerative; but in each case the burden of proof lies with the Government; until they can show that the circumstances are different, they are bound, as far as possible, to assimilate public business to private enterprises, because, by their own confession, the latter are more economically and more efficiently conducted.

No feature is more conspicuous in private associations than their constant tendency to amalgamate on the lines of Federation. Whether we are regarding the professions or commercial circles, Philanthropic Societies or Labour organisations, Educational bodies or Sporting Clubs, we find the same tendency at work; only in official circles of Government administration there seems an insuperable barrier raised against consolidation.

In the professions we find members of the English Bar

admitted to practice in all the Colonies, and before long a similar courtesy will probably be extended to Colonial barristers in the Courts at home. The Church of England affords a remarkable example of Federation with her bishoprics in every Colony, and her Pan-Anglican Synod about to meet this summer in London. The Congregational Union has within the last few months shown how closely its members are bound together by the cordial welcome Dr. Dale experienced during his tour in Australia. In the Medical profession, an Inter-Colonial Congress met last year in Adelaide for the first time. In matters of trade and commerce the tendency to federal action is equally powerful; firms whose headquarters are in London are no longer satisfied with an agent or correspondent in the Colonies, but usually establish a branch house at Sydney or Melbourne, administering the whole business under one partnership or board of directors. In the United Kingdom every Chamber of Commerce is itself an example of Federation "for the maintenance of common interests," and these small Federal bodies have gone a step further by combining in a powerful association that expresses on occasion the wishes of the whole commercial community. The value of such a combination, having been frequently proved in this country, has been followed in the Colonies, and an Inter-Colonial Conference of Chambers of Manufacture recently assembled in South Australia, showing, not less by the presence of a large number of delegates than by the resolutions adopted at the Conference, that the leaders of perhaps the most prosperous trading community in the world believe in the superiority of Federal action to isolation. Masters and men, employers and employed, are equally convinced of the necessity for combination. The whole network of Trade-Unionism is a standing testimony to the power of Federation, and to that specialised form which involves joint-organisation in Great Britain and the Colonies.

The key-note of the University extension in these days is affiliation; and what is this but adapting the principles of Federation to educational purposes? The Science and Art Department at South Kensington made a tentative effort some months ago to bring science schools in the Colonies into connection with those already under its supervision at home; but the department appears to have been merely "flying a kite," for we have heard nothing more of the scheme since the issue of the original circulars. The contrast between the activity of the Universities and the sluggishness of the Government Department is as apparent in this as in every other comparison between public and private efforts. A Federation of scientific men throughout the Empire has been propounded by Sir William Dawson, formerly President of the British Association, and advocated expressly on account of the advantages that would accrue to the cause of science from such a concentration of intellect.

A love of sports and games is inherent in the British race, and of late not a year has passed without a friendly contest of some sort between representatives of Great Britain and her Colonies. It cannot be doubted that the interchange of visits between cricketers, rowing-men, football-players, riflemen, and athletes of various kinds does much to kindle good-fellowship and sympathy. But none of these contests would be possible, were it not for the existence of almost identical rules and regulations in every part of the Empire, thus practically realising a complete scheme of Federation.

We have marshalled a few out of many instances wherein our fellow-countrymen have advanced from isolation to Federation, and found the latter state most conducive to prosperity. Why should the department of Government be the only phase of our civilisation that makes no such progress? It is universally admitted that individuals manage their affairs with an economy and efficiency that the Government envy. If, then, individual inhabitants of Great Britain and Australia doing business with one another have learned by experience that they can do better in close partnership than upon separate establishments, why do not the Governments of this country and the Colonies, between whom an enormous business, far surpassing any private transactions in magnitude and complexity, is daily accumulating, make trial of the method that others have found so beneficial, and combine in Imperial Federation?



*BENEVOLENT BUT MALEFICENT.*

"LET each benevolent person take up one thriftless family as a charge and assist its emigration." Such are the words written, doubtless with the best intentions, by Mr. Francis Peek in the January Number of the *Contemporary Review*. It might be supposed that, in urging the benevolent to take up the thriftless family as a charge, and then promptly shift the burden to the shoulders of other benevolent persons 15,000 miles off, Mr. Peek was ironical. But as he goes on to point out that the thriftless parents will in all probability remain thriftless still, though there is hope that the keener air of the Colonies will strengthen the moral fibre of the children, there can be no doubt that the proposition is meant in all seriousness. Against it, therefore, we beg to enter our protest in the strongest and most emphatic language at our command. It is, we venture to assert, both cruel and short-sighted. Cruel to the thriftless family itself; short-sighted in the interests of Imperial unity and the community at large. Cruel to the thriftless family, we say, and for this reason—that if a man has not backbone sufficient to stand upright here in this crowded England of ours, with the public opinion of his mates in the workshop, of his friends and relations, with the charitable efforts of the parson and the district visitor, all acting as so many props placed round him to keep him straight, we may be sure that the most likely use that he will make of the ample elbow-room in the Colonies will be to lie down in the kennel an irreclaimable sot.

This, however, is comparatively a small matter. The thriftless will remain thriftless still; *cælum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt*, and whether a hundred such end their days in a London workhouse or in the Melbourne Immigrants Aid Society's Home, and the Adelaide Destitute Asylum, we need not much care. But what of the effect on others? Are the thriftless the only class whose children should be given the exceptional advantages of a start in life in the free field of Australia? What will be the effect of such a policy on the hundreds and thousands of industrious working men all over the country, who at this moment are painfully adding shilling to shilling in the Savings Bank that they may give their children the advantage to which Mr. Peek would secure the children of the thriftless a prerogative right? The charitable emigration societies with their petty funds and their one per cent. of the total number of emigrants can directly do little good or little harm, but indirectly, if their action tends to discourage the emigration of the remaining 99 per cent. from their own resources, they may do an amount of harm that will immeasurably overbalance their utmost possible good.

But even this is not the worst. The population of New South Wales and of Victoria is about one million apiece, that of Queensland and South Australia about a third of this number. The two former, we may say, have the population of Devon and Cornwall combined, the two latter of Cornwall alone. In all these Colonies there are many persons out of work at present. And now, bearing this in mind, let us ask Mr. Peek to consider what would be the feeling of the men of Devon and the Cornishmen if they were told that each benevolent person in London was going to take up as a charge to hand over to them "one thriftless family." Indeed, this comparison by no means represents the full extent of the injury. For if the said family became a charge upon the rates, in Plymouth, say, or Truro, it would be brought back to London at the expense of the metropolitan ratepayers. But there is no law of settlement by which our Australian fellow-countrymen can rid themselves of the burden if once we unfairly lay it upon their shoulders. As we have frequently said, we have no sympathy whatever with the dog-in-the-manger policy advocated by Mr. John Norton and his friends, which would shut up the boundless territories of Australia as a preserve for the handful of Englishmen who are there already. But Australia has as good a right to protect itself against being made a dumping-ground of English pauperism as Plymouth has to pack its London paupers off back again to London. And that, if we in England are foolish enough to give reasonable ground for complaint, every Australian Colony will exercise this right is abundantly manifest. What is more, once legislation is undertaken, partly under the

influence of Mr. John Norton and his class, partly from a laudable desire to protect the Colony at all hazards, we may be quite sure that the new law will peremptorily exclude many immigrants (e.g., all who have ever received parish relief) who might in fact be perfectly unobjectionable. On that point we may take an object lesson from the United States, whose laws at present would prevent Mr. Goldwin Smith from accepting a professorship in the States while resident in Canada.

That the danger we foresee is no imaginary one, every one who knows the feeling in the Colonies on this subject is well aware. The Montreal papers at this moment are ringing with complaints of the number of this year's immigrants—said to be no less than 126—who are applying to the City House of Industry for shelter and support. Here is how one of the Montreal papers introduces the subject:

## OUR PAUPERS.

THE CITY FLOODED WITH THEM DURING THE PAST SUMMER.

HOW THEY ARE BROUGHT TO OUR SHORES.

It should in fairness be said that there is no special allegation that these people are being sent over by benevolent persons who have taken them up. But the result with which we are concerned is the same in any case, and it is this: that, though it is admitted that the objectionable immigrants are only a fraction of the total number, a strong demand is being made for the establishment at Canadian ports of a system such as the States has in force at Castle Garden. In other words, so much sensation is produced by the arrival of one undesirable emigrant, that it is seriously proposed, in order to exclude him, not only to incur considerable expense, but also to put obstacles in the way of the ninety-nine remaining immigrants whom Canada is all the time only too anxious to attract. For all these reasons, having regard to the effect on the thriftless man who goes, and on the Colony which receives him, as well as on the thrifty man who is left behind, we are firmly persuaded that a person who takes up one thriftless family as a charge, and assists its emigration, may perhaps be benevolent, but will indubitably be maleficent.

*HOW THE AUSTRALASIAN NAVAL FORCES BILL WAS PASSED IN VICTORIA.*

THE *Melbourne Argus* gives the following interesting details concerning the recent passage of the Naval Forces Bill through both the Victorian Houses of Parliament at a single sitting. This occasion deserves to be recorded in British history as an instance of patriotism on a par with the magnificent outburst of New South Wales during the war in the Soudan in 1885. It is clear enough that once convinced of the necessity for any measure of Imperial defence, our Australian fellow-countrymen are second to none in their readiness to undertake any sacrifices for the public weal:—

## THE BILL CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY.

The principal work has been in connection with the Australasian Naval Forces Bill, which provides for the establishment of an auxiliary squadron for Australian waters as agreed upon at the Imperial Conference. It became necessary for a Bill to be introduced to provide for the payment of Victoria's share of the maintenance of the ships on a peace footing, and 5 per cent. on the cost of the construction. All the Colonies are taking similar action. Our contribution, it is calculated, will be £37,000 a year. The Bill was launched in the Legislative Assembly on Tuesday week, and passed through all its stages at one sitting with much *clat*. Every member approved, though but few spoke, and when the measure was passed out of hand it was decided that the official record should bear the fact that the Bill had been passed unanimously. In the Legislative Council the enthusiasm was greater. There every member spoke in a patriotic strain, and in approval of the excellent arrangement made at the Imperial Conference, and when the Bill was passed the whole House cheered loudly. On the following day His Excellency the Governor came down to Parliament, and amid all the accessories of a State ceremonial gave the Royal assent to the Bill.



## THE PROFESSOR AT THE BREAKFAST TABLE.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1887.

WELL, let us see what is the news this morning. We want a few successes to console us after that fiasco at Haldimand, but I think we can trust that in Nova Scotia at least the voters will go solid for Commercial Union.—(*Takes up paper and reads*):—

"Halifax, Nova Scotia, December 15th.—For the first time in its history Shelburne has elected a Liberal Conservative to the Dominion Commons to-day. After a most gallant fight, and in spite of a most vindictive canvass and the most spiteful efforts of the 'Grit' leaders, Major-General Laurie has redeemed the county. The victory ranks with that of Haldimand. . . . The result of the election trials has enabled the Conservatives to win another county, gain two on a division, and reduce the 'Grit' contingent from Nova Scotia to a beggarly half-dozen. The contest in Shelburne was over the Commercial Union fad, and the Conservatives are jubilant over the result."

I can't say that's exactly encouraging reading. Ah! here I see are the figures of the Yarmouth election. Surely in Yarmouth, at any rate, we can trust that the patriot will be lost in the fishmonger.—(*Reads*):—

"Lovett's majority was 567, a decrease of 125 from his February majority. Of the total decrease in the votes the 'Grits' lost 323, and the Conservatives 198."

We're not going to sweep the country just yet apparently. However, we've held the seat, and I suppose we must be thankful for small mercies. Still, after all, it is in Ontario, not in the outlying Provinces, that we must look for the true opinion of Canadians. What Ontario thinks to-day, Canada will think to-morrow; and here is the nomination for East Northumberland.—(*Reads*):—

"Warkworth, Ontario, December 15th.—Dr. A. E. Mallory, Commercial Unionist, and E. Cochrane, Conservative, were nominated here to-day for the vacancy for East Northumberland in the Commons."

Here is a good test election. Mallory's majority last February was only twelve out of between 4,000 and 5,000 votes. Now we shall see the result of his adopting the Commercial Union platform.

[Since the morning on which our familiar spirit was present at the Professor's breakfast-table, we have received in ordinary course of post the result of the East Northumberland election. The "Grit" majority of twelve has been turned into a Commercial Union minority of fourteen.—ED. IMPERIAL FEDERATION.]

Hallo! what is this? Here's another piece of news from the Maritime Provinces.—(*Reads*):—

"St. John, New Brunswick, December 15th.—John V. Ellis, Liberal M.P. for this city, has come out in the *Globe*, which he owns, plainly in favour of annexation as 'the one simple way in which the whole trouble over the fisheries and other troubles on this continent between Great Britain and the United States can be settled.' . . . The *Telegraph*, staunch Liberal though it is, says that had Mr. Ellis made known his sentiments before his election he would doubtless have been defeated, as hundreds of votes were given him that he would not otherwise have obtained. It challenges him to resign and test public opinion. It concludes, 'The *Globe* has not found any Canadian statesmen to quote in support of annexation, from the fact that no man in public life in the seven Provinces will speak as the *Globe* has spoken. It has voiced the sentiment, not of the friends of Canada or England, but of the enemies of both. It has mistaken the feelings and wishes of the people. Who is there outside the *Globe* who will profess his desire to change the flag of his country for that of any other? There are some such, but they are not the majority in this community. We should like to see them gathered into one camp and counted, and there is, as we have indicated, a way of bringing it about. We shall see whether it will be adopted.'"

Really, this is most unfortunate. How extremely injudicious and inconsiderate of Ellis! Commercial Union was such an extremely convenient term. It meant just as little or as much as the speaker chose, and as long as it was left in this vague, undefined condition it had its attraction

not only for the Nova Scotian fishermen and Ontario farmers, who hoped to get command of the markets of the States, but also for the ordinary consumer, who hoped to be able to buy American manufactures at less prohibitive prices than at present. And now, here is Ellis, who goes and enforces the lesson taught in such undiplomatically plain English by that provoking Chamberlain, that we can't eat our cake and have it; and shows that annexation—nasty sound it has, that word "annexation!"—is only Commercial Union writ large.

Ah! here's something about Chamberlain himself.—(*Reads*):—

"On the 13th instant the following telegram was sent:—'To the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Washington.—The Montreal Board of Trade, representing the commercial classes of this city, invite you to a banquet at date to be fixed by you.—GEORGE A. DRUMMOND, President.'"

Well, the Board of Trade—I wish they'd use the English phrase, and call it Chamber of Commerce; Board of Trade always sounds to me like a Government department—ought to know what's best for the Montreal traders. Let us hope they'll teach Chamberlain something if he comes.

Here's something else about the Montreal Board of Trade.—(*Reads*):—

"The President of the Montreal Board of Trade, invited to take part in the Boston Merchants' annual dinner, declines the invitation—says he is unable to take part in a Commercial Union Demonstration; that the scheme is regarded by himself and the majority of the Board of Trade as quite chimerical; hopes the Boston merchants will pardon his frank objection to being even by inference committed to Mr. Wiman's scheme."

Dear! dear! This is very bad. Why, what's this? worse and worse!—(*Reads*):—

"Mr. Drummond's action has been concurred in by Mr. Ince, president of the Toronto Board of Trade, and whatever is said on behalf of the commercial interests of Canada at the Boston Merchants' Association banquet, it will be understood that it in no way represents the views of the two most representative and powerful trade organisations in Canada."

[At this point our familiar spirit, shocked to see how cold the Professor's breakfast was getting, hurriedly took his leave, so we are unable to say how many more Job's messengers arrived in the course of that eventful morning.]

## COMPLIMENTS FOR THE COLONIES FROM MR. LABOUCHERE.

MR. LABOUCHERE is determined to have a warm reception if ever he visits any of Her Majesty's Colonies. In a recent issue of *Truth* he thus prepares his ground: "Colonial loyalty," he says, "is a somewhat spurious article. . . . A Colony is a very one-horse concern, and every man in it feels and knows that he and his country are in a very second-class style of business."

Fellow-citizens in Canada, Australasia, and South Africa, please observe these sentiments of Mr. Labouchere's, and ponder them in your hearts. All your boundless territories, your inexhaustible energy, your marvellous prosperity, your love of liberty, your tested patriotism, count for nothing in his eyes; he considers your loyalty spurious, your business second-class, your State a one-horse concern!

It would be interesting to hear whether Mr. Labouchere acknowledges any standard of true loyalty, high-class business, and national greatness; we are inclined to think he has not concerned himself much with such matters, or that his definitions are the converse of those generally accepted.

For instance, he calls the loyalty of Australia "spurious," but if "emphatic demonstrations of loyalty" and "the most enthusiastic exuberance of expressions of loyalty" are to be denoted spurious, if the same term is equally applicable to that practical loyalty which has induced men to fight and die for their Queen and country—and this loyalty the Colonies can claim—then Mr. Labouchere is misusing the English language; what he calls false we mean by true. We prefer the loyalty he condemns as "spurious" to the sullen, apathetic, selfish, unpatriotic state of mind



wherein, we suppose, his curiously-distorted vision would detect the seeds of chivalry and honour.

But, not content with accusing the Colonies of disloyalty, Mr. Labouchere sneers at their wealth and progress; but that wealth and progress are equal to and even surpass our own; in population, commerce, and realised wealth the United Kingdom has been advancing far slower than the Colonies. In some of these "one-horse concerns" the population is richer, man for man, than at home; in all of them the general prosperity is more widely diffused, wages are higher, poverty is less rampant. A glance into any statistical work is enough to disprove Mr. Labouchere's slanders. As to the "second-class style of business" engaged in by the Colonies, nearly the whole is transacted with the United Kingdom, so we must consider ourselves tarred with the same brush. We should have thought it rather late in the day to snigger and scoff at trade; we have always been accustomed to hold that British commerce is the mainstay of British greatness, and to rejoice in those inherited business instincts which are shared to the full by our Colonies: if Colonial business is second-class, so is English business. The situation reminds us of a certain foreign railway which possesses no "first-class" carriages, and the second are the best.

The consequence of a Colony being "a one-horse concern" in which "every man feels and knows that he and his country are in a very second-class style of business" is natural enough! According to Mr. Labouchere, "this damps his ardour and keeps him down, and his country, which he feels is only half a country, down with him." As to the Colonies being "kept down," we have already alluded to the marvellous leaps and bounds which have been made in each of them in spite of the depressing influence of a "second-class style of business;" but the picture of the despondent, meek-spirited, unassuming Colonist, humbled and chagrined by his wretched circumstances, is very amusing. We wonder how many of them will "own the soft impeachment." What a blow is here given to their reputation! Hitherto very opposite qualities have been more frequently attributed to our Colonial friends: it is said that so great is the pride they take in their country's progress as sometimes to convict them of a slight tendency to "bounce;" and, for our part, we believe they are amply justified.

The connection of the Colonies with Great Britain is, according to Mr. Labouchere, a sad misfortune; but we doubt whether he estimates the situation correctly. He would be glad to see Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa—"these places," he calls them—*independent to-morrow*. But why? Because, in the first place, he says, they would be more free to push and mind their own business; but any Colonial merchant could reassure him on this point. Our only interference at present is to lend them money to push their business with, and to buy the materials they send us. Secondly, the Colonies, if independent, would be "safe from the consequences of our European quarrels." But he forgets that our European policy is inseparably bound up with Colonial interests, and that all our quarrels are entered in order to maintain them; he forgets, too, that the Colonies now have European neighbours, at whose hands they might fare very differently when excommunicated from the British Empire. Thirdly, independent States would be, he thinks, as useful to us as Colonies are; but, judging by all precedents, Mr. Labouchere is wrong: our commerce with the Colonies is far greater, in proportion to population, than with any foreign State, and trade follows the flag. In war, our Colonies would certainly help us; but the laws of neutrality prevent even passive assistance from foreign States; we could not send a single soldier or case of ammunition to the East through Canada if she were an independent State. Fourthly, the Colonies would cease to cost us anything; but we defy Mr. Labouchere to prove that they cost us a penny now, when our receipts and payments are properly balanced.

Thus it appears that his desire to see the Colonies independent is based, like his vilification of them, upon a series of misapprehensions. One more we must notice that applies to our position at home. "As a British taxpayer," says Mr. Labouchere with a fine flavour of indignation, "I object to spending a penny on fortifying the towns and defending the coasts of Australia." "Let the Australians

fortify their own towns if they want them fortified." That is exactly what they are doing, so all the indignation is wasted! The British taxpayer in the United Kingdom has not contributed a single penny to the fortification of Australian towns or coasts: whether we might not have been wise to help in the work is another matter, but as the facts stand Mr. Labouchere has simply been frightened by a bogey of his own creation.

Perhaps we have taken him too seriously throughout; but the passages we have discussed are useful as showing the men and the methods that oppose us; if this is the worst, we need not be afraid, and, to prove our courage, we will even dare to quote his most terrible and withering peroration. "As for those lunatics, at home and abroad, who talk about the Federation of the Empire, I believe them to be quite harmless, and one or two of them I know to be respectable." We are grateful both for the creed and for the assertion; but, we fear, the character even of the lucky "one or two" will hardly be established thereby, for in the science of "respectability" Mr. Labouchere is no specialist.

### THE COMMERCIAL PROSPECTS OF THE CANADIAN DOMINION.

It was an English poet who wrote, "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war," and it was an English trading Company that conquered an Empire from whose outskirts Alexander the Great fell back baffled and disappointed. For all that, we doubt whether even the eloquent preaching of Professor Huxley has as yet brought home to the minds of English people the fact that the fiercest struggles of the past are likely to be reproduced in the history of the future, only that the battle will be fought not with sword and gun, but with ploughshare and with loom; not in entrenched camp and beleaguered city, but on the wide plains of Manitoba or Minnesota, in the coal mines of Durham or of Pennsylvania. In that conflict it can hardly be but that the British Empire will hold its own. Great Britain itself, with its accumulated wealth, with the trained skill of its workers, with the thread of the world's business all gathered up in London, should have little to fear.

For the future of India, of the island continent of Australia, of the Cape, with the innumerable millions of equatorial Africa behind it, no one surely need be alarmed. But what of Canada? Can the Dominion hold its own against the tenfold greater resources of its great rival to the south? How Professor Goldwin Smith, and others with less known names, would answer the question we know. They have told their Canadian fellow-countrymen that the competition is hopeless, and have urged that the Dominion should go as a humble supplicant, and beg to be admitted to share in the prosperity of the Great Republic. And they have received their answer in no uncertain voice from all parts of the Dominion; and the answer, as we read it, says that in conjunction with the rest of the Empire, Canada is prepared to take its chance in the battle. What, then, we must inquire, are its prospects of success? To us, we confess, they seem most encouraging.

It is not so long since that it was the custom in the States to sneer at the Canadian Pacific. The "Polar Bear" was, we believe, its soubriquet on the Wall Street Stock Exchange. But Wall Street is talking in a different strain nowadays, and complaining bitterly that the Canadian Pacific is robbing American railways of traffic from San Francisco to the Atlantic seaboard. They are discovering that a line, which has not only got the shortest route from sea to sea, but has it all under one management throughout, may after all be a more formidable competition than they thought. A short time since they were competing for freight to Vancouver, now they would be glad to bargain that each country kept to its own side of the boundary. But, after all, probably the American railways are not likely to lose American traffic. The traffic from China with its four hundred million inhabitants to Europe will ere long be a much more serious matter. And this trade is, we learn, advancing by leaps and bounds. A couple of years back the service was performed by sailing vessels. A year ago they were replaced by steamers. The steamers began with accommodation for twenty or thirty



first-class passengers; latterly they have been carrying fifty or sixty each journey. Steamers that can bear comparison with the great Atlantic liners, and that will be worthy to carry Her Majesty's mails, are to be put upon the station shortly, and then we may naturally expect the popularity of the line to increase yet further.

Nor is it intended that Canada shall continue to hand all this traffic over to swell the vast volume that centres in New York. It is said that there is every prospect that ere long a line of steamers of the highest class will run also from Montreal to Europe. It is pointed out that, though few people are probably aware of the fact, Montreal is actually several hundred miles nearer than New York is to Liverpool. Again, the trade of the great lakes and the wheat region beyond them is year by year assuming vaster proportions, and of this trade the Canadians are taking at least their share. Some months back we reported that a new canal was being dug on the Canadian side of the Sault Ste. Marie. Vessels then could sail from Duluth, where a ship of 3,000 tons was launched the other day, to Liverpool without ever re-entering American territory. The States, on the other hand, can never be independent of Canada as long as the St. Lawrence flows through its accustomed channel. And not by water only but by land, whether it be by the new Canadian Pacific bridge at Sault Ste. Marie or by the old Grand Trunk route through Detroit and Chicago or Milwaukee, Canada is taking at least its fair share of the traffic—a traffic whose total dimensions may be judged from the fact that of flour alone the single town of Minneapolis sent to Europe last year about two and a half million barrels.

We may be asked what have we to do with traffic and tariffs and trade routes? We reply that in this case we have much to do with them. Loyal though Canada has shown herself—and never more distinctly than in the course of the last few months—to the British connection, that loyalty could not permanently survive the fact that this connection was injurious to the development and prosperity of the country. Of such injury, however, we can see no trace; on the contrary, we believe that for nations, as for man, it is not good to be alone. The United States, we believe, is big enough both for its own interests and for the good of humanity at large. Canada, as an integral part of the British Empire, has shown herself capable of standing alongside of the States as an equal and independent, but always, we trust, a friendly Power. It must be left to the twentieth century to judge whether the States, with its patriotism confined within a ring-fence, or Canada with its sympathies and its nationality linked with the Great Britain to the east, and the greater Britain to the west, can display the nobler type of Anglo-Saxon manhood.

### THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN WELCOME TO LORD CARNARVON.

LORD CARNARVON'S visit to Adelaide at the beginning of December was made the occasion of a series of brilliant festivities. The Masonic Banquet on December 2nd was a magnificent entertainment, and a hearty reception was also given to his lordship by the municipality of the City. The distribution of awards in connection with the Adelaide Exhibition took place on November 30th, and all the opportunities were seized by those who were anxious to hear Lord Carnarvon speak. They were not disappointed, for on each occasion his lordship gave appropriate response to the compliments paid him, and showed that the people of South Australia were fully justified in esteeming him a large-minded lover of the Empire, with sympathies ever ready to recognise the claims of the Colonies upon the respect and affection of their fellow-citizens at home.

#### A FEDERAL BOND.

In the course of his speech at the Masonic Banquet Lord Carnarvon said:—

When I think, as I often have since I have been in Australia, of the marvellously admirable summary of English news which, only a few hours old, is day by day laid upon our breakfast-tables here; when I think that at a distance of many thousands of miles we yet know that which is going on in the heart of the Empire as freshly as many persons do in the remote districts of England itself; when I think we

know exactly what Lord Hartington said yesterday in Dublin; and that we almost can tell the latest tree which Mr. Gladstone cut down, and the number of strokes with which he cut it down—(laughter)—when I think upon the means by which we know of the last riot in Trafalgar Square, and of the latest Constitutional change in Paris, I feel how very closely indeed we are brought into connection here in Australia with the old world, and there bursts in upon me in this way, as in a thousand other ways, a sense of the close union and the feeling of interest and of thought which binds Australia and England together. (Cheers.) We often talk of Federation. There are many schemes devised and talked of, but after all this is, at least in one aspect of the matter, Federation itself. (Cheers.) It is in truth a Federal bond which unites us close together. May this not only last, but may it grow, and to all of us to whom life is longer vouchsafed may it be a great and never-ending satisfaction to feel that as every year goes on England and Australia understand each other better; that they rise more and more to the height of their true relationship; that they can mutually make allowances for each other, and bear and forbear with each other; and above all in the face of the whole world, if it is necessary, stand faithfully shoulder to shoulder with each other. (Cheers.)

At the gathering on November 30th, to hear the official declaration of the Exhibition awards, when 700 of the leading citizens of Adelaide were present, the Governor of South Australia (Sir W. F. Robinson) referred in eulogistic terms to the presence of Lord Carnarvon, and made some important observations upon the duties of the Secretary of State towards the Colonies. His experience of public feeling in the Colonies upon this subject adds importance to the Governor's words.

#### LORD CARNARVON AND THE COLONIES.

His Excellency said: I congratulate the Colony on the presence here this evening of one whose eminent services to the Colonies and to the Empire are known and appreciated wherever the Union Jack is displayed—in other words, throughout every quarter of the globe. (Cheers.) It may be said that British Ministers occupying the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies have both the capacity and the desire to discharge the important functions of their position with the zeal and ability which are happily traditional in the Government of England. (Applause.) Something more than this is, however, required. The Secretary of State may acquit himself faithfully as regards the Crown Colonies by exercising that constant and vigilant control over their affairs which the responsibility of the position demands. He may act with tact and wisdom to those great self-governing Colonies, interfering with their freedom of action only when some great national principle of government should happen to be at stake. All this he may do, and yet be lacking in that one quality without which the Colonies, and indeed men generally, can never be successfully ruled. I allude to that subtle influence for good which we understand by the name of sympathy, and which, happily for the Colonies, our distinguished visitor possesses in so marked and remarkable a degree. It is that which has always inspired in those who have served under him officially the feeling that in all difficulties and on legitimate occasions they could count on his hearty support. It was that which inspired in those Colonists who came in contact with him while in office the conviction that his interest in their affairs, in their aspirations for personal and national success, was a real, a sincere, and a heartfelt one—that it is, too, which inspires in us to-night the confidence that on his return to the Old Country his desire will be to convey to those at home a favourable picture of our young and vigorous national life; and as regards our own Colony, I am sure his lordship will feel happy in being able to say that though he came here at a time when our Province was only just emerging from a period of severe depression, he saw behind that temporary cloud signs of reviving prosperity, and a promise that South Australia, with her great natural resources, must speedily recover herself, and that we have, as none can doubt, a great future in store for us. (Cheers.)

**DRINK IN CANADA.**—It is estimated that for more than half the population and over considerably more than half the area of the whole Dominion the retail sale of intoxicating liquor is entirely prohibited.

**WHERE IS LONDON?**—Sir Robert S. Ball, in the course of his astronomical lecture at the Royal Institution, mentioned incidentally at the outset that there was a London in Canada, and stated that on his referring to London once in conversation with a Canadian, the latter exclaimed, "Why, you don't mean to say you have a London in England!"

**CATCHING UP THE UNITED STATES.**—In 1831 the population of Quebec, Ontario, and the Maritime Provinces combined was just one million; that of the New England States was only a few thousands short of two millions. Fifty years later Canada had caught up and passed New England. The population of the latter was 4,010,000, that of the former 4,140,000. This hardly looks as if the Dominion was being outstripped in the race of progress.



### MORE FRUIT FROM THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

THE Imperial Conference of 1887 has achieved another triumph. There can be no doubt that the Sugar Bounties Convention between representatives of the Great Powers, of which we give an outline in another column, is directly due to the unanimous condemnation those bounties received from the Colonial delegates. In 1884 the Board of Trade informed the representatives of the sugar industry that nothing could be done to procure the removal of the foreign bounties, "because the imposition of a countervailing duty in the last resort was put forward as a necessary element in any effective diplomacy." The West Indian planters and the sugar refiners of Great Britain had long been urging the Government to adopt that course; but the correspondence which closed in 1884 implied that the time was not ripe.

Now we come to the Imperial Conference of 1887. Three propositions were submitted as the basis of discussion by Mr. Neville Lubbock:—

1. That the maintenance of the Sugar Bounties by European Governments is injurious to a large Colonial industry.

2. That justice to our Colonial industries and trade should be no less an object of our Government than justice to home industries and trade.

3. The hope that Her Majesty's Government will spare no effort to bring about the abolition of a system so destructive of sound and healthy competition.

So convincingly did these propositions appeal to the representatives, and so strong was the sentiment in favour of a countervailing duty in case of necessity, that Sir Henry Holland summed up the discussion with these remarkable words:—"I understand there is no difference of opinion amongst the representatives as to these three questions as they are put on the paper. (Hear, hear.) I do not think that there is very much difference of opinion as to a question that lies beyond them, and that is that the delegates are of opinion that in the last resort it might be necessary to put on a countervailing duty." (Cheers.) We may be sure that there was little room for doubt as to the opinion of the Conference when the cautious President allowed himself to summarise it in this way. No formal resolutions were proposed at the sittings of the Conference, but perhaps this was the nearest approach to one; and, as Sir Henry Holland further significantly remarked, Her Majesty's Government would have an opportunity of reading everything that had been said, and would be able to form their own conclusions from the speeches which had been delivered.

Within seven months from the date of the discussion a Conference of the Great Powers met in London, which resolved upon the entire abolition of the sugar bounties. We are not able to explore the diplomatic correspondence which preceded, or the arguments which were employed by the British representatives at that Conference. But as the voice of the United Empire made itself felt in compassing the evacuation of the New Hebrides by France, so, in this question of sugar bounties, it is reasonable to infer that the deliberations of the Powers, and their rejection of a policy against which Great Britain has been working single-handed for years, was due to their appreciation of the Colonies having joined us heart and soul in the struggle. Whether the Convention be ratified or not, the lesson is the same. It was one thing to turn a deaf ear to Great Britain, and another to disregard the solid vote of the British Empire; and here we have one more example of the power of unity. Whether it be a question of foreign policy affecting a particular Power, or of international fiscal arrangements influencing the whole civilised world, we Britons can do infinitely more to secure our ends when we work together than when we stand apart. And the example teaches us, moreover, that we cannot work together effectively by correspondence. A decade of letter-writing would not have enabled Sir Henry Holland to get such an unanimous expression of opinion from the whole Empire as that with which an hour's open discussion furnished him. There is often more in the general tone of a meeting than in the actual speeches; but it is impossible to argue with any confidence from the wording of a letter as to the motives that are in the writer's mind. Therefore, let us have more Councils of the British

Empire, to make known the real wants of the people and to strengthen the hands of the Executive in endeavouring to supply them.

### SIR JOHN MACDONALD AND HIS INTERVIEWERS.

#### IMPORTANT STATEMENT UPON IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR JOHN MACDONALD, Prime Minister of Canada, has recently been interviewed by two enterprising journalists from the Old Country. On January 4th the veteran statesman figured as the "Celebrity at Home" in the *World*, and a week later, on his 73rd birthday, an interesting account of an interview with Mr. Henry Norman appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Our readers will naturally be anxious to hear what Sir John Macdonald, who was one of the original founders of the Imperial Federation League, has to say upon our progress and prospects, and we think that they may well congratulate themselves upon the glorious future which Sir John Macdonald anticipates for our cause.

Passing rapidly over his assurance that "there is no annexationist party in Canada," and that the secessionist cry in Nova Scotia is "merely a party move to get what they call better terms—that is large subsidies from the Dominion," we must dwell for a moment upon Sir John's answer to his questioner as to Commercial Union with the United States.

"There will be no uncertain sound about that," he said, "as soon as the House of Commons meets next January. It will be repudiated by a vast majority of the 215 members there. But I will answer you as I did an old farmer, not a great politician but a supporter of the present Government, who had been captivated by the Commercial Union idea, and who came to me in some trouble and put a question similar to yours. I told him that I thought Commercial Union might be a very good thing except for three objections: First, that England would have nothing to do with it; second, that the United States would have nothing to do with it; and third, that Canada would have nothing to do with it."

The gain to the farmers from unrestricted reciprocity of natural products would not be the same as under Lord Elgin's treaty; for in those days "over the border men were fighting instead of growing cereals;" then a better price for wheat was fetched in the United States, but now the development of the Western States and the condition of the market in London and Liverpool determine export prices universally; and "it is a striking and almost conclusive fact that wheat fetches a higher price in Winnipeg to-day than it does across the border." The only crop that the Canadian farmer would gain on is barley; but against this must be placed the certain ruin of Canadian manufacturing industries: "they are growing steadily, but still no great capital has been invested or generated, and they would be at once swamped by the wealth and long-trained skill of the Americans. We are in the gristle yet, and Americans understand that so well that they would make this a sacrifice market at first, simply to kill all our manufactures. The time will come when we can meet them on even terms, but it is not now. A very few could fight the Americans, but only a small minority."

As to the political effects of Commercial Union, Sir John speaks plainly enough: to exclude English goods from Canadian markets, and take in those of other countries free would be "what any person of common sense would consider an unfriendly act." And if Canada acts "in an unfriendly manner to her, we have no right to expect that England will waste her money and resources and run the risk of wars in our defence."

To the question whether he thought that annexation to the United States would necessarily follow upon Commercial Union, he replied:—

"One would say so. It occurs to me that England would at once say: 'If you shut us out, you must defend yourself. We are willing and eager to deal with you as a friendly nation, but we don't see how the relationship of mother and child can continue to exist in such circumstances.' And in case we are severed from England, annexation would be a necessary consequence. We cannot yet walk alone as an independent nation. It would be a continual case of 'the wolf and the lamb'; the frontier would be one long line of ever-recurring irritations. We should be absorbed in the union, just as Mexico is now



waiting quietly until her time comes. Moreover, when you think that the reason that the thirteen Colonies seceded from the Mother Country was that they were taxed by the Imperial Parliament and not by their own representatives, and that their patriotism in doing so has received the continued approbation of the world, it would look extraordinary for us Canadians calmly to hand over our rights as free men in the same matter, and be dependent for our tariff upon the mercy or the convenience of the United States."

After some further conversation upon the solid progress which the Dominion is making—improving her estate, as the Prime Minister called it—the interview concluded with the following important declaration upon the subject of Imperial Federation. It was introduced by Mr. Norman with a leading question, which, with the answer, we quote *verbatim*:—

"What is the view of Imperial Federation that is held in Canada, Sir John, and what, in your opinion, is its chance of realisation?"

"I am a member," replied Sir John, "of Lord Rosebery's league, or rather it was poor Forster that started it. As for a common legislature, that in my opinion is quite impracticable, but confederation in the sense of England as the Mother Country and paramount Power, making quasi-treaties for defence with the auxiliary kingdoms (for that is what the Colonies would be), is quite practicable. I look forward to the time when Australia, if not confederated so closely as ourselves, will have a Confederation for offence and defence, and when South Africa will also be a Confederation, and when there shall be determined by treaty the quota to be furnished by our auxiliary nations, the Mother Country being obliged, of course, to use the whole of her power. It may be said by the opponents of this view, and indeed is said, 'Why should the Colonies be dragged into a war which does not concern them—Canada, for example, for the defence of India—or to support the pretensions of Australia to Fiji or New Guinea?' The answer to this is that with England as a central Power, with Canada and Australia and South Africa as auxiliaries, we must control the seas, and the control of the seas means the control of the world. The danger of England is the danger from its limited area. By such a scheme as I have outlined this disadvantage would be removed and foreign nations would be chary of going to war with great and growing kingdoms. Why," added Sir John, enthusiastically, "it will be but an hour in the lifetime of nations before we here number twenty millions; and so with the other Colonies, and our combined power would ensure the peace of the world—it would be a power so obvious that instead of bringing the auxiliary nations into greater danger, as charged, it would on the contrary be the assurance of peace! That has always been my line."

"Then, finally, Sir John, what is to be the future of the Dominion as you conceive it?"

"It is best for the Old World," replied Sir John, seriously, "that the Greater Britain idea should be carried out. Nor would it be for the advantage indeed of the United States to become an English China, owning the whole continent without contact or possible conflict with other nations. The two peoples, with the same language, possessing different points of view and actuated by different inspirations, will work out the principles of civilisation, one under quasi-monarchical and the other under Republican principles, and this will be good for both. Where there are no possible enemies, there is apt to be apathy and carelessness of liberty."

Here the interview terminated, and we can only thank Sir John Macdonald for the invaluable support that he has so freely given to our principles—support which will especially strengthen the ranks of the League in Canada; our gratitude is also due to Mr. Norman for the energy and tact that enabled him to approach the Premier so successfully. The article in the *World* deals more particularly with the private side of the statesman's career; but it contains incidentally an important supplement to Sir John Macdonald's views of the Imperial situation: "he believes that the future of the whole Empire will be a great Federation of the Colonies with the Mother Country, and a speech of his in 1861 will give his views more clearly than the mere recollection of passing fragments of conversation. 'I hope that for ages, for ever, Canada may be united to the Mother Country. . . . There will thus be formed an immense confederation of freemen, the greatest confederation of civilised and intelligent men that has ever had an existence on the face of the globe.'"

This passage in a speech made more than a quarter of a century ago, proves significantly that Sir John Macdonald's adherence to the principles of Imperial Federation is not a thing of yesterday, or a policy adopted to meet the temporary exigencies of party, but has been for a generation the guiding star of Canada's greatest leader. With unrivalled

opportunities for studying every detail in the progress of his country through all the changes it has experienced, and untiring resolution to mould its destiny into the channels of prosperity, the Prime Minister has never wavered in his fixed belief that the future of Canada and of the United Kingdom must be union—"for ages, for ever."

### AN AGENT-GENERAL ON AGENTS-GENERAL.

On the eve of his departure for Sydney, whither we regret to say he was recalled by the sudden death of his eldest son, Sir Saul Samuel was interviewed by a member of the staff of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. In the seven years during which Sir Saul occupied his post in London the population had, he said, increased from 750,000 to over a million. Hereupon the reporter interposed:—

"It is marvellous that you were able to keep touch with the Colony all that time."

"No, it was not difficult. I still have property in the Colony. My sons lived there. I am a constant and diligent reader of the Sydney papers, and I sometimes think that sitting here I am able to form a clearer and more connected idea of the progress of events in New South Wales than many of those who are in the thick of the fight. You see I had served a long apprenticeship to public affairs before I came over here."

"Your status as Agent-General is much more important now than it was when you arrived in the country?"

"Yes; there has been a great change in the status of Agents-General; but I doubt whether the time is quite ripe for the scheme which you favour of constituting the Agents-General into a council with functions somewhat akin to those of the Indian Council. That may come, and I shall be glad to see the day arrive; but I do not think it will come until two federations have taken place—those, namely, of South Africa and Australasia. The three representatives of Canada, South Africa, and Australasia will then probably be admitted within the pale of the Government of the Empire. We began with being commercial agents charged with placing loans, receiving tenders, issuing contracts, and generally acting as the business agents of the Colonial Governments. Lately, owing to the designs of France and Germany in the Pacific, Australia has been unwillingly compelled to interest herself in foreign politics. The Agents-General, therefore, became more and more diplomatic agents, and their voice as the exponents of the wishes of the Australians was heard with increasing deference as the crisis became more and more acute. At the Colonial Conference, when the Agent-General for Victoria told the Prime Minister that his speech about the New Hebrides would have done credit to a French Minister in the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies, Lord Salisbury seemed almost for the first time to realise that Australians had to be reckoned with in the settlement of the foreign policy of the Empire."

We need not say that we are glad to find how entirely Sir Saul Samuel agrees with the opinion on which we have insisted in this journal times without number, that the day is past when Australia could do without a foreign policy. The European States system, be its population never so pauperised and its monarchies never so effete, is now and henceforward in close contact with the island continent. It is impossible for the Australian Colonies to avoid being drawn into its entangled web of rights and obligations, of treaties and understandings, of national jealousies and national aspirations. But the choice still remains for them in what manner they will enter it: whether as the free and equal members of a world-wide and unassailable Imperial Federation, or as isolated and detached republics, inferior not only in population, but in actual existing resources for defence, to states such as Holland or Switzerland. Of the answer that will be given to this question, if looked at from the point of view not of patriotism alone, but of hard-headed mercantile common-sense, we have no doubt whatever. We notice, too, that Sir Saul Samuel's experience gives support to the position we assumed in our last month's number in opposition to the views of the *Sydney Morning Herald*. New South Wales has had five ministries in seven years. Had the Agent-General been changed with each change of ministry, the practical result would have been that for a considerable part of the time New South Wales would either have had no resident representative in London at all, or, worse still, the incoming ministry would have been represented by a gentleman who was under notice to quit, as being a recognised member of the defeated party.



## THE AUSTRALASIAN NAVAL FORCE BILL.

AN ALL-NIGHT SITTING OF THE NEW SOUTH WALES ASSEMBLY.

ON Saturday, November 26th, at 5 o'clock in the morning, the Second Reading of the Australasian Naval Force Bill was carried in the Sydney Parliament by a majority of 41 votes to 9. "As the Legislature is at present constituted," says the *Sydney Morning Herald*, "it would have been folly to expect that a measure characterised as this is by patriotism, loyalty, and practical common sense, would be carried by a unanimous vote, but the division was of value as showing the insignificance of the party of malcontents. . . . The point of chief significance in the late proceedings is the support given to the Government and the Bill by the influential members of the Opposition."

The debate was wound up by a long speech from Sir Henry Parkes, in which he certainly showed no signs of exhaustion with the fatigues of the night.

The Prime Minister began by saying that if the present Government retired from office next morning there could hardly be a government formed without the aid of the gentlemen who were giving their whole support to this Bill. The whole of the conspicuous men in opposition, Mr. Abbott, Mr. Copeland, Mr. Dibbs, Mr. Lyne, Mr. See, Mr. Slattery, and Mr. O'Mara, had given their support to it. He continued in these words:—

Now, whatever might be the future of these Australian Colonies, he for one did not believe it would be a copy of anything that had gone before. He did not believe that at any time these Colonies would copy the constitution of the United States. He did not think they would copy any of the ancient republics. He believed it was within the range of human probability that the great groups of free communities connected with England would in separate confederations be united to the Mother Country—not by any scheme which had been called Imperial Federation, but by the Empire being a compact central power, and the groups of free communities such as the North American Colonies, these Australian Colonies, the African Colonies, and the settlements of India would be great groups of independent peoples connected by one new bond to the parent State. And he also thought that in all reasonable probability, by some such distinct bond, even the United States of America would be connected with this great English people. He believed the circumstances of the world would develop some such new complex nationality as that in which each of the parts would be free and independent while united in one grand whole which would civilise the globe. That was the hope he had of the nation, and its future progress and civilisation. Now he would hardly have detained the House to express in those imperfect terms his belief in the future of those Colonies in connection with the Mother Country, if it were not that it was necessary for every one to comprehend that view of the matter to understand his action in respect to that Bill.

He then went on to point out, in answer to a member who had asserted that the country should be appealed to on the question, that no English ministry had ever dreamt of anything of the kind. A constitutional government was at all times and seasons bound to maintain the integrity and the security of the country. As for a gentleman calling this an iniquitous scheme for the social aggrandisement of the English people, he might as well call it a violent attempt to transport people of this country to the moon. Sir Henry then reminded the House that an identical Bill had gone through both Houses in Melbourne without one word of opposition, and that it had been supported by Mr. Deakin, who had been heralded forth throughout the Australian world as the model of a true democrat.

And here we must quote again the report in full.

He believed that England at this moment was the greatest and most influential governing Power on the face of the earth. (Cheers.) He said the most influential governing Power—that she had a greater and wider-spread moral influence in the affairs of the world than Germany, or France, or Russia, or the United States; and that she wielded that power and influence with consummate skill, and exercised it more beneficially than any Power which had exercised its influence in any period of human history. (Hear, hear.) She had been the great civiliser throughout this century.

The concluding portion of his speech was as follows:—

The hon. member for Queanbeyan complained that the fleet was to be under the control of an Imperial officer. Well, should it be under the control of the hon. member for Queanbeyan, the hon. member for Mudgee, or the hon. member for

Northumberland? While we were part of the Empire, he maintained that the fleet ought to be under the control of an Imperial officer. The hon. gentleman mentioned the names of the various officers who had been commodore of the Australian fleet, and said it would be impossible for the most captious to raise the finger of reproach at any one of those very able and very deserving officers of the Queen, and urged that we had no ground for supposing that officers of less ability would be selected in future. As to the existence of a British fleet in the China Seas, that, he urged, was absolutely necessary in the interests of the Empire, and as an outpost of defence to the Australian Colonies. He thought a British man-of-war could not better serve us than by meeting a filibustering ship a thousand miles away, tracking her and sinking her. Hon. members one after another had persisted in saying that the measure was one to make us partners in the naval fortunes of the Empire. Well, there was not one line or one word of the Bill would justify that statement. Not a single loophole was left for our being thrown into any quarrel outside our own waters. He thoroughly believed in the country preparing itself in the best manner possible to defend itself. (Hear, hear.) The history of the world showed that we could not trust to sentiment when the hard tussle of war was before us. He held to the maxim of Lord Palmerston that the best way to preserve peace was to be prepared for war. The time had not yet arrived when matters of difference could be settled in a peaceful way, and therefore it was necessary that we should be well defended. He believed the £36,000 could not be spent in any better manner than in maintaining these seven ships. He believed the Bill would be carried by a large majority, and would be approved of by the country.

The House then divided, and the resolution was carried by 41 to 9. The declaration of the numbers was received with loud cheers. The Opposition then rose and gave three hearty cheers for Australia, and the members of the Government side followed with three lusty cheers for Old England.

## LORD BRASSEY ON THE DEFENCES OF THE EMPIRE.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

PART II.

WE parted company with the *Sunbeam* last month at Port Darwin, which Lord Brassey reported as absolutely defenceless. Since then he has been taken to task somewhat seriously by Mr. Stanhope in his speech at Spilsby, for suggesting that Port Darwin had any claim to fortification at all. The unpublished report of Lord Carnarvon's Committee (which said report the *Times* wittily compares to a vanishing gun, of whose existence adversaries only become conscious when the shot strikes them) declared, says Mr. Stanhope, that there were many other places of far greater importance. Only the other day the Colonial Defence Committee "came to the conclusion that Port Darwin was not one of those strategic points which urgently required strengthening." So it is perhaps worth while to revert to this matter for a few moments.

Of one thing we are sure, that even to the Hon. Treasurer of the League himself the security of the Empire is not more dear than it is to its Vice-Chairman, who at present worthily fills the high office of Secretary of State for War. Mr. Stanhope can never, we are convinced, have wished to imply that because a harbour was only of second-rate consequence, therefore he would neglect it altogether. His meaning we understand to be this: "I am doing all I can in the matter, but while other places of greater importance are still undefended, you would do well to say nothing about Port Darwin. If you do, the House of Commons will think there is no end to the expenditure, and may be tempted to decide that the insurance premium being so high, it is better to go uninsured and run the risk." Whether he is right or not it is hard for us to judge. After all, the amount of expenditure at issue is trifling. Lord Brassey only asks for "a few light guns of long range and a small force of volunteers led by permanent non-commissioned officers." And now let us start across the ocean.

In Mauritius we are glad to learn the improvement of the existing forts at Port Louis and the formation of new defences has been commenced. A torpedo and submarine defence has been provided. A native force that is being enrolled, with English non-commissioned officers at their head, will be sufficient to man these works, and it is hoped a similar arrangement will be made for fighting the guns of the new forts. The total expense is to be £110,000; half for works to be paid by the Colony, half for armament to be supplied from home. There are three graving-docks. If a loan of £50,000 on easy terms were granted one would be enlarged to admit vessels of the *Impériale* type. This would not only be of the greatest importance in time of war, but in time of peace it would be a boon to the East India squadron, if vessels could be sent to refit in one of the few harbours on the station that have a cool season.



Next we come to the Cape, with its two harbours of Table Bay and Simon's Bay separated by a long low isthmus. Simon's Bay, being the naval harbour, has been undertaken wholly at the Imperial cost. Five hundred men were employed on the works when Lord Brassey was there, and £50,000 was to be spent upon them. We trust the report that when completed they are to be armed with "muzzle-loading guns of short range" is a misapprehension. Lord Brassey certainly does not put it too strongly when he says: "It is highly unsatisfactory to remodel works at considerable expense to mount an obsolete armament." At Table Bay, when Lord Brassey was there, nothing had been done by the local Government, which had undertaken the task, towards constructing the works that were agreed upon. It is the more satisfactory to learn from Mr. Stanhope that "the defence of Table Bay is now actively proceeding, the big guns required are far on towards completion," and may be expected to be ready as soon as the fortifications are prepared to receive them. Here "we have at command a graving-dock of ample dimensions for a powerful ironclad, large engineering shops, and unfailing supplies of coals, and the extension of the breakwater renders the anchorage as secure as in Simon's Bay." So much for what Mr. Stanhope calls "probably the most important point in the defence of the Empire."

Passing on up the West Coast, at St. Helena the landing-places are defended by works of considerable strength, and new works are in progress which at a cost of £10,000 will give an extended range of fire to seaward. The guns are not yet to hand. Ascension, which is at present the head-quarters of our fleet, has an ample stock of coal, solid and capacious buildings containing £50,000 worth of stores, tanks, hospitals, &c., and is at present entirely undefended. The island is, however, little better than a heap of cinders, and rollers often interrupt the process of coaling. Now that the slave trade is a thing of the past, the best thing in Lord Brassey's opinion would be to abandon the place altogether, and transfer our head-quarters to St. Helena. If we are not prepared, after all we have spent there, for so heroic a policy, we must consent to throw a little good money after the bad, and provide three or four long-range armour-piercing guns and a few machine guns to give security against a *coup de main*. Under existing conditions the place would offer an irresistible temptation to an enemy's cruiser.

Finally, at Sierra Leone the harbour is large and safe for vessels of heavy tonnage. Works of defence at a cost of £22,000 and £15,000 for armament are in active progress. But as a coaling-station of the first-class the place should also have a new battery with long-range guns to prevent an attack from seaward.

Here our tale concludes. "We have seen them one by one, every shore beneath the sun, and our voyage now is done." On the whole our readers will, we think, agree with us in being thankful that things are no worse. That there is no dock in all India that can admit even a second-class ironclad is a national disgrace, and may before long cause a national disaster. That the defences of King George's Sound and Thursday Island still exist on paper only is a state of things little less discreditable. But on the other hand, the great Australian capitals, Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney, and Brisbane, are either safe or in a fair way to become so. At Kurrachee, at Mauritius, at the Cape, even if much remains to do, much has certainly been done. Public opinion has not yet perhaps waked up, but certainly it has begun to rub its eyes on the subject. We make bold to think that to the efforts of members of the League, both in speech and in print, this salutary result is in no small measure due. For our own part, we have no intention of allowing either Parliament or the country to turn over and go to sleep again just yet.

When the Imperial defences are complete, and from Victoria in British Columbia, to the Greater Victoria beneath the Southern Cross, there rings out in defiance of all possible foes the proud motto of the nation, whose sons have borne so conspicuous part in establishing the greatness of Victoria's Empire, "*nemo me impune lacessit*," then we shall only admit that we have reached the threshold of our task. We shall point to these petty forts, this £10,000 for a few guns there, this £50,000 for a graving-dock elsewhere, and ask whether this is all that a great nation, whose flag floats on every ocean, and whose commerce is valued by hundreds upon hundreds of millions, can unite to accomplish for the defence of our common country. Co-operation between the Home Government and the Colonial Government is well; but there is something better, and that is that an Imperial Ministry of Defence should dispose of the resources of all for the defence of the whole. We trust that Lord Brassey may live to chronicle, in one more series of *Sunbeam* papers, the manner in which the first Imperial War Minister shall have performed his trust.

**VICTORIAN REVENUE RETURNS.**—The revenue of Victoria for the quarter ending December 31st, 1887, amounted to £1,867,000, being an increase of £165,000 compared with the corresponding period of 1886, and an increase for the half-year of £321,000.

## PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

*Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.*

**DALKEITH.**—At the fortnightly meeting of the Junior Liberal Association on January 10th, Mr. Jamieson, president, in the chair, Mr. G. D. Innes delivered an able and interesting lecture on the subject of "Imperial Federation." At the outset of his remarks he referred to the various objections which were formulated against the principle of federation by leading men. The question was often asked—"Why not leave well alone? Why disturb the present relation of things?" To this he could only reply that having given self-government to our Colonies we had introduced a principle, which, if not accompanied by a federating and consolidating influence, would ultimately sever the connection between Great and Greater Britain. It has been urged by Lord Lorne and others that by Federation the Colonies might be called upon to pay taxes to the Mother Country, for the support of her foreign policy, in which they were disinterested. But to this he must say that the army and navy existed for the defence of our Colonial Empire not less than the Mother Country, and it was only just that the Colonies should bear some share in supporting the two great fighting departments. He denied altogether that they had no interest in our foreign policy. A Scotchman in Canada did not cease to be a citizen of the United Empire, and, therefore, he could not, and in truth, he did not claim selfish isolation in regard to anything that concerned the welfare of the Empire. A stronger argument in favour of Federation could not be conceived than the loyalty and devotion manifested by our Colonies to the Mother Country in the Egyptian Campaign—an instance which he recalled with patriotic pride; and it served to show that where there were common interests it was highly desirable to establish a larger measure of relationship, which would link the Colonies to the Mother Country with bands of iron which no power on earth could sever.

**FALMOUTH.**—An address on "Imperial Federation" was delivered on the 18th January, at the Conservative Working Men's Club, Falmouth, by Mr. Reginald N. Rogers (member of general committee, I.F.L.). The chair was taken by MR. W. CAVENDISH BENTINCK, M.P., and the meeting was well attended. At the close the following resolution was passed unanimously:—"That a closer Legislative Union between Great Britain, India, and the Colonies is desirable."

**GAMLINGAY.**—A meeting of the two political clubs in the village, the "Reform" and the "Conservative," was held recently in the Board School, close upon 180 being in attendance. The meeting was a non-political one, and was held to discuss Federation with our Colonies. Mr. Sebright Green attended from the Federation League, and with the assistance of others gave an interesting and instructive lecture on the Colonies and why we should unite together for the purposes of defence. A discussion followed, Mr. W. J. Arnold laying particular stress on the necessity of keeping up a strong navy. Dr. Perkins thought that the Colonies like the Athenians of old should provide their share of ships or men to protect our vast Empire. Mr. Fowler drew attention to the sympathy that existed between the Colonies and the Mother Country, as evidenced in the sending of troops unsolicited to the Soudan War, and to the necessity of a closer bond of union, so that in time of a great war we might entirely draw our food supplies and raw material from them. Messrs. H. Dew, E. Garrott, and J. Gear also spoke, and a hearty and successful meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the lecturer, and hearty cheers for the chairman.

**LIVERPOOL.**—MR. J. F. HEYES read a paper upon the Significance of Geography to the Nation, before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, on the 9th of January. The President, Mr. James Birchall, was in the chair, and despite a thick fog, and other meetings, there was a large attendance. Mr. Heyes treated his subject in neither a narrow academic nor a mere mercantile spirit, but demonstrated to a most appreciative audience that the study of the history and politics of Europe alone was utterly inadequate to the people of the United Kingdom. Mr. Heyes received a cordial vote of thanks, and his paper will be printed in the Transactions of the Society.

**LONDON, PADDINGTON.**—At the St. Saviour's Parliamentary Debating Society, Paddington, MR. GORDON brought forward the following motion on Tuesday, the 17th January:—"That in the opinion of this House, Imperial Federation is impracticable, and even if feasible, is highly undesirable." Mr. Gerard Bicker-Caarten (member of the League, Paddington Branch) strongly opposed the motion. He contended that Federation was not only practicable but a necessity. He drew attention to the fact that notwithstanding that foreign



countries could manufacture cheaper than us, we still monopolised the largest share of the Colonial trade. He pointed out that without the Colonies it would be impossible to have coaling stations for our shipping, and argued that Federation tended greatly to peace. He alluded to the patriotic action of New South Wales and other Colonies with reference to the Sudan, and also to the loyal way in which the Colonies were supporting the decisions of the Imperial Conference, which showed that our Colonial brethren were prepared to take their share of the responsibilities of the Empire. He deprecated any hasty action in the matter, but maintained that it was for the best interests of the Mother Country and of the Colonies that the subject of Federation should be supported. Mr. Shearwood, the Rev. M. Tweddell, Mr. Swainson (Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge), Mr. Ward, Mr. Clack, and others, having spoken, a division was taken, and the motion was defeated by a substantial majority.

OTTAWA.—In connection with the new branch of the League at Ottawa, Mr. Sandford Fleming, C.M.G., the President, addressed a large meeting in St. Andrew's Hall on December 15th. He began by explaining the aims and objects of the League, and asked whether it was possible for any true-minded fellow-subject of Queen Victoria to be indifferent to them? Every man who enjoyed the privileges which his allegiance conferred must feel that the movement was one in which he was deeply concerned—be he a Canadian, an Australian, or an Englishman, or by whatever name he may be geographically distinguished. Every true British subject of the present generation must be impressed with the importance of the movement, not on his own account alone, for he must feel amenable to his descendants for the maintenance intact of those precious rights and liberties of which he was the guardian. Professor Macoun then read an able paper on British Customs Union, after which addresses were made by Messrs. Hulbert, Macfarlane, Ross, and others, after which the meeting was brought to a close. The membership of the society has largely increased.

#### HERE AND THERE.

THE Federal Council of Australasia met at Hobart, Tasmania, on January 16th. By the constitution of the Council it is compelled to meet at least once in two years; but there appears to have been only a formal assembly, and little business submitted. The Council separated after three days sittings.

ON December 20th Mr. Norquay (of Red River Railway fame) resigned the Premiership of Manitoba, and was succeeded by Dr. Harrison. A few days afterwards, however, Dr. Harrison also resigned, and the Conservatives were succeeded by a Liberal Ministry, with Mr. Greenway—a Cornishman by birth—in the position of Prime Minister.

SIR HENRY PARKES recently informed a deputation from the Trades and Labour Council of Sydney that he was in communication with the other Colonies with the view of arranging united action against Chinese immigration.

IT is stated that a French protectorate has been proclaimed over the Wallis Islands in the South Pacific.

SIR GRAHAM BERRY recently brought under the notice of the Premier of Victoria the fact that a request had been made to the Imperial authorities for permission to allow liberated prisoners from New Caledonia to trans-ship at one or other of the Australian ports, and that a number of these people are being allowed to proceed to California. The British Consul at New Caledonia had inquired of the Imperial Government whether permits would be issued. Mr. Gillies having interchanged views with the other Governments, despatched a communication to the Agent-General, desiring him to represent to Sir Henry Holland that it would be highly undesirable in the opinion of the Colonial Governments to allow such permits to be issued.

THE steamers of the Dominion Line embarked 9,938 Canadian cattle for England last summer. Of these all but eighteen were landed alive.

THE Government of New South Wales have accepted a local tender for fifty locomotive engines at a price  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. above the cost of English engines landed in the Colony.

THE Congregational Union of Queensland has passed a resolution recording its high sense of obligation to the Congregational Union of England and Wales for its kindness and sympathy in sending Dr. Dale and Mr. A. Spicer as a deputation to the Congregational Churches in the Australian Colonies. It was also decided that the deputation appointed by the Union of England and Wales, viz., the Rev. Dr. Hannay and Mr. Goddard, to visit Australia should be especially requested to visit Queensland.

WE are requested to correct an error in the report of Lord Rosebery's speech at the banquet to Mr. Service on December 7th. In the concluding sentence, instead of "lay broad the foundations of the British Empire," the words should read, "lay broad the foundations of British empire."

THE Imperial Treasury has declined to contribute a sum of £5,000 to the proposed Antarctic expedition. It is stated that no commercial benefits could be expected from an expedition on so small a scale, and that the Australian Colonies showed little enthusiasm on its behalf.

AT a meeting of the executive committee of the Kensington branch of the League on January 23rd, Sir Rawson Rawson, K.C.M.G., was unanimously elected president to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the late Sir William McArthur.

#### LEAGUE NOTICES FOR THE MONTH.

A LARGE outline Map of the World on Mercator's projection, specially designed for lecturing purposes, has been constructed by Mr. James Wyld, of Charing Cross, for the League. The dimensions of the map are fifteen feet by twelve feet, but it is constructed to fold so as to admit of its travelling in a portfolio three feet by two feet. The British Empire is coloured in red, the self-governing Colonies being distinguished by a deeper tint of that colour. The principal ports and strategical positions of the Empire are named, the Canadian Pacific Railway and other undertakings of Imperial interest being also shown. The use of the map can be obtained by members of the League for the purposes of lectures on application to the Secretary, subject to the conditions of prompt return and payment of carriage both ways. The member who borrows the map must make himself responsible for any damage which may be done to it during its absence from the office. Early application is recommended, as during the lecturing season the map is much in request.

A SERIES consisting of twelve large scene-pictures of the Empire, in black and white, each eight feet by four, strongly bound and mounted on rollers, is now ready. They provide singularly vivid, yet faithful, representations of characteristic scenery in different parts of the Empire, and are admirably adapted for assisting lecturers and speakers to enable the audience to realise for themselves some of the wonderful sights in the Colonies. The subjects of the various pictures are as follows:—

- I. The Canadian Pacific Railway through the Rocky Mountains.
- II. Houses of Parliament, Ottawa.
- III. A Rancho in the Rocky Mountains.
- IV. A Salmon River, Newfoundland.
- V. A Sugar Plantation, Jamaica.
- VI. Government House, Melbourne.
- VII. Sydney Harbour, N.S.W.
- VIII. Railway in the Blue Mountains, N.S.W.
- IX. Sheep-Farming, South Australia.
- X. Hall's Arm, New Zealand.
- XI. Table Bay, South Africa.
- XII. The Diamond Fields, Kimberley, South Africa.

These pictures are now available for use by members of the League upon the same terms as the large map. They are packed in a wooden case, and travel as "Panoramic Views" at a special railway rate.

ARRANGEMENTS have been made with a London firm of bookbinders for the uniform binding of the volume of IMPERIAL FEDERATION for the year 1887, at a charge of 2s. 6d. Members wishing to have their Journals bound should send them to the Secretary. Samples of the binding can be seen at the Offices of the League.

AN Index to IMPERIAL FEDERATION for 1887 has been compiled, and is ready for binding with the volume.

A FEW bound volumes of IMPERIAL FEDERATION for the year 1886, complete with Index, can be obtained, price 6s. 6d.

A NEW pamphlet, entitled "The Imperial Conference of 1887," is now ready, price 2d. Post free,  $2\frac{1}{4}$ d. In accordance with the terms of membership, the pamphlet has been sent free to all members who subscribe one guinea and upwards.

"A SYNOPSIS OF THE TARIFFS AND TRADE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE," prepared by Sir Rawson Rawson, K.C.M.G., C.B., will be published by the League early in February, price 2s. 6d.

QUEENSLAND REVENUE RETURNS.—The revenue of Queensland for the half-year ending December 31st, 1887, amounted to £1,672,700, being an increase of £224,800 over the corresponding period of 1886. The expenditure was £1,631,500, showing an increase of £86,500.

LONDON TO AUSTRALIA IN TWENTY-THREE DAYS.—The time occupied in the transit of the mails from London to Albany, in Western Australia, was, on the last outward voyage of the *Ormus*, twenty-three days, sixteen hours. The mails make the transit of Europe by the overland route.

NEW SOUTH WALES REVENUE RETURNS.—The official returns of the revenue for 1887 are much better than anticipated. Increased receipts have been obtained from the railways, stamp and Excise duties, the Postal and Telegraph services, and from the pastoral occupation of Crown lands, making a total revenue of £8,589,000 for the year. This is nearly £1,000,000 in excess of the revenue for 1886.



**THE ORGANISING LECTURER AT WORK.**

THE following is a summary of Mr. W. S. Sebright Green's labours on behalf of the League for the three weeks ending January 21st, 1888:—

**KIMBOLTON.**

A lecture was delivered by Mr. Sebright Green at this place on Wednesday, January 4th, when the chair was taken by Mr. W. H. Haughton. There was an attendance of about sixty, and the audience was extremely appreciative. A number of questions were asked, showing an intelligent interest in the subject; and the lecturer had to state the views of the League upon various topics, including the treatment of India in any scheme of Federation, and the possibility of commercial treaties with the Colonies. Among the principal supporters of the League in this district, in addition to the chairman, may be mentioned Rev. R. K. Vinter, Rev. J. Wrigley, and Mr. E. L. Welstead, J.P. A number of other gentlemen have also signified their interest in the cause.

**ST. NEOTS.**

A large and influential meeting was held here on January 10th. The chair was taken by Mr. J. McNish, a vice-president of the Huntingdonshire Branch of the League; and Mr. Green was welcomed by an audience of between 300 and 400 people, who listened most attentively to the lecture. Speeches were also delivered by Mr. A. W. Marshall, Lord Esmé Gordon, Rev. R. D. Cooper, and the Chairman. To prove the hold which the League has taken in this neighbourhood, it is encouraging to notice that Mr. A. W. Marshall drove a long distance to the meeting, in order to show that it was supported in other parts of the county. Lord E. Gordon spoke in spite of severe indisposition, and promised to be responsible for the regular supply of the League's publications to the institutions and reading-rooms of St. Neots. In addition to those already mentioned, Mr. A. C. McNish and the Rev. R. C. Meade are actively engaged in advocating our principles.

**PETERBOROUGH.**

The Mayor of Peterborough, Mr. T. L. Barrett, presided at a meeting in the Wentworth Rooms on January 19th. There were about sixty persons present, and the number of young men among the audience was an especially welcome feature. Letters were read from the Marquis of Huntly, Hon. J. W. Fitzwilliam, the Dean of Peterborough, and others, expressing regret at their inability to attend. Great interest was manifested in the subject of Imperial Federation, and a resolution was passed in its favour, having been proposed by Canon Syers and seconded by Councillor Redhead. Councillors Beaver and Batten had seats on the platform, and were instrumental in carrying a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Sebright Green. Imperial Federation has been very warmly taken up in Peterborough, Alderman Thompson, Councillor Keeble, and Mr. W. Mellows, Town Clerk, and other leading men in the city, being keen adherents of the movement. Several gentlemen were enrolled as members of the League at the conclusion of the meeting.

Our thanks are due to the *Hunts County News*, the *Peterborough Standard*, and other journals, for the valuable assistance they have given to the Huntingdonshire Branch of the League by able advocacy of our principles and advising their readers to join us.

**CORRESPONDENCE.****SIR JOHN DOWNER AND THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.**

To the EDITOR of THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—In your issue of November, I observed at page 240 that, referring to the discussions at the recent Conference on the subject of Coaling Stations, you stated that "an unexpected obstacle to the unanimity of the Conference, one which we cannot help thinking must have influenced the Cabinet in their subsequent consideration of the question, and thus probably stopped the achievement of this important step in connection with Imperial Defence, was the uncompromising attitude adopted by Sir John Downer, who said 'he was not prepared to assent for one moment to the proposition that the mere supply of the armament even of the improved type by the Imperial Government would be all that could be reasonably and fairly expected.'"

"He complained that the proposed arrangement was based upon no principle of assessment, and demanded a comparison 'in a careful and scientific way' of the relative advantages to 'be obtained and the relative dangers to be faced by the Mother Country and the several Colonies.'"

Recognising how warmly your Journal supports everything that may be of advantage to any part of the Empire, and the great fairness you have shown to the various delegates at the Conference, I felt somewhat regretful that you should have—though not unkindly—attributed to me anything that might

have the effect of lessening or of not advancing the unity of the Empire.

Throughout the Conference it was certainly my most anxious endeavour to place the Empire first, and to treat the rest as subsidiary, and the fact that the two Colonies, South Australia and Victoria—which departed somewhat from the other Colonies in suggesting that the Imperial proposals might fairly be subjected to some slight degree of investigation and criticism—have nevertheless been the *first* to pass that most important measure of Federation, the Naval Defence Bill, and that, too, without *one* division, is a somewhat significant comment on any suggestion of half-heartedness on the part of those two Colonies.

From Queensland having postponed the consideration of that measure till next Session, and New South Wales having adopted the Bill with much less enthusiasm, it would almost seem that the course adopted by the more critical Colonies had the result that they anticipated.

With regard to the defence of King George's Sound, etc., I still maintain the position taken by me at the Conference, and contend that the mere supply of armament, of however improved type, is not a fair contribution by the Imperial Government, and though your statement that I did not suggest a means of arriving at a fair proportion is correct, yet I would have endeavoured to have done so had the Government received the suggestion favourably; but as they refused to supply armament of the improved type, *a fortiori* did they decline to consider the question on a still more liberal basis.

That in the end the matter will have to be reopened and considered on something like an intelligible basis I have no doubt, and the action which you deprecate as obstructive, so far from having been taken with a view of creating difficulty, was, on the contrary, intended to secure at the earliest possible moment the concurrence of all parts of the Empire on this most vital question.—I am, Sir, etc., JNO. W. DOWNER.

Adelaide, South Australia, Dec. 16, 1887.

[Sir John Downer's letter has reached us just as we go to press, so we are compelled to postpone any comment until our next issue. Meanwhile we must point out that the passage in question referred solely to the discussion on King George's Sound, and that so far from attributing half-heartedness to any member of the Conference, we have again and again insisted upon the zeal, no less than upon the broad and statesmanlike attitude, with which the Imperial problems were approached.—ED.]

IMPERIAL UNITY.—The history of the Empire is the history of every colonist; her way has been a worthy one, and her future can be ours. In one navy, one army, one flag, a bright and glorious future lies ahead.—*Halifax (N.S.) Critic*.

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN REVENUE RETURNS.—The revenue of the Colony for the quarter ending December 31st, 1887, amounted to £483,900, being an increase of £60,000 as compared with the corresponding period of the preceding year. The Customs revenue increased by £20,000, and the railway receipts by £51,000.

## IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE IN CANADA.

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# Imperial Federation.

MARCH 1, 1888.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE EARL of ROSEBERY, Chairman of the League, will, we understand, make an important statement concerning the future policy of the League at the forthcoming Annual Meeting. It is hoped that as many members as possible will attend.

WE purposely abstain from comment upon the Fisheries Treaty, signed on February 15th, as the terms of the settlement between Canada and the United States have not reached us in time for that careful scrutiny which the importance of the subject demands. Since, however, SIR CHARLES TUPPER, the Canadian representative on the Commission, has expressed himself well satisfied with the result, we do not anticipate that there will be much room for criticism. The early telegrams which reached this country from the United States proved as misleading as usual. When will our great daily papers have special correspondents in Canada?

LORD BRASSEY is untiring in his efforts to promote the cause of Federation by giving the public the benefit of an experience in Colonial affairs such as few Englishmen can boast of. Our columns contain reports of powerful speeches delivered by the Treasurer of the League during the past month at Cambridge and before the London Chamber of Commerce, and we can only regret that space precludes us from dealing at length with his admirable address to the Colonial Institute on Feb. 14th, full of suggestiveness to advocates of Imperial Federation. "It might be difficult," said LORD BRASSEY, "to frame plans for closer Federation; but something was gained if its desirability were admitted." We should like to add that something more has been gained by the readiness of popular and eloquent men, whose opinions command universal respect, to come forward and support the cause.

THE *South Australian Register* states that the Legislature of the Colony has not driven a very hard bargain in respect of its agreement to the Australasian Naval Forces Bill, which will cost about £13,000 a year. The reason it assigns for approaching the question in a generous mood is worth quoting. "The desire to give effect to any proposal which seems to tend in the direction of Federation is growing in intensity, and probably the fact that South Australia is a partner in the maintenance of the Federal fleet will cause a feeling of satisfaction among a very large proportion of the people."

ALTHOUGH we have seen several suggestions for the rechristening of New South Wales made from this side, they have of course been more rife in the Colony than at home. The Sydney papers contain a curious collection. Among them are Yorkland, Cookland, Eastralia, Austral, Britannia, Englandia, Aurelia, Cambria, Neocambria, Austrambia, Antipodia, Budgeria (from a native word, meaning "good"), Oriencia, Centenaria, Virginia, Wiseland (from the initials of Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and England), South Britain, and Cleveland. There is plenty of choice, at any rate, but none of the names suggested are so well adapted to their purpose as would be "Eastern Australia."

At the recent Adelaide Exhibition, visitors were immediately struck with admiration of a splendid model of old

Temple Bar, in one of the Courts. This is one instance of the union through tradition between the City of Adelaide and the City of London, to which LORD CARNARVON alluded in his visit to South Australia. Another is the fact that on the election of each Mayor of Adelaide a fresh link is added to the Civic chain. We may well re-echo LORD CARNARVON's words, when he expressed a hope "that these old traditions will never be lost sight of or forgotten in young Australia."

FOR a well-written and concise summary of the origin and progress of the Imperial Federation League, we commend to our readers the current edition of "Hazell's Annual Encyclopædia." Although the article covers five columns of print, we use the word "concise" advisedly, for the space would have been inadequate to record even an outline of our work, had not great pains been taken to select and emphasise the salient points. Thus, under this notice of the League, is very properly included an account of the Imperial Conference, which is shown to have originated in our deputation to the PRIME MINISTER, and to have been the greatest triumph as yet secured for our cause. The essay is brought closely up to date with apt quotations from MR. CHAMBERLAIN's speech at Belfast on October 12th, 1887, and LORD ROSEBERY's important address at Edinburgh on November 17th.

A DEMAND for "larger and more Imperial Conferences" will be the petition which we may expect to see presented to the House of Lords before long, now that SIR HENRY HOLLAND is to be raised to the peerage. LORD KNUTSFORD—that is the title he will take—will continue to fill the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies, and in the calmer atmosphere of the Upper House, where party leaders have more leisure for statesmanship than in the Commons, he will be able to devote the whole of his energies to maturing plans and formulating measures beneficial to the Colonial Empire. His connection with the Imperial Federation League indicates plainly the direction in which his Colonial policy inclines. And if we desire a more definite forecast of his aims, it may be found in a speech to his constituents at Hampstead on February 6th, when he said that the Imperial Conference last year "certainly tended to strengthen the links that bind these Colonies with the Mother Country, and one result had been that we had increased the Australian squadron for the protection of the Australian trade. HE HOPED THIS FIRST CONFERENCE WAS BUT THE FORERUNNER OF WHAT HE WOULD CALL LARGER AND MORE IMPERIAL CONFERENCES."

WE have received, reprinted from the *City Press*, a paper on emigration by MR. WILSON TICKLE, a member of the Common Council. MR. TICKLE makes a valuable suggestion when he says that all public and Board schools should make information about the Colonies a special subject of education, "not merely limited to the bare geography book, but a matter of real interest, so that all children should be acquainted with Colonial history, governmental system, climate, and industries." Further, he points out how immensely orphan asylums and such-like institutions would add to their usefulness if they had branch establishments in the Colonies, and looked to placing out their pupils in every case there and not here. Granted that they can find openings here, it will not be denied that failing them there are a dozen other children equally qualified to fill each vacancy that occurs in this country. But an orphan placed out in Canada or Australia means so many more acres reclaimed from bush, or forest, or prairie for the uses of civilisation. MR. TICKLE's main idea of a Central



Board in England, in correspondence with the different Agents-General, with a voice in the selection of emigrants, and defraying in return a proportion of the cost of their passage, is too large for discussion in a note. In principle we need not say that the united action of the Home and Colonial Governments towards so useful an end would have our heartiest sympathy.

THE magnificent speech upon Imperial Federation delivered by MR. MCNEILL, M.P., Vice-President of the League in Canada, at Paris, Ontario, which we report elsewhere, contains the most eloquent and stirring appeal to the hearts of all true Britons that we have read for a long while. Our good friend the *Empire*, of Toronto, gave a verbatim report, extending over six columns, and our only regret is that we have been unable to reproduce the whole. "Britons, hold your own," is a grand motto, to which MR. MCNEILL'S eloquence did full justice. Truly "this Canada of ours" is a dominion we may well be proud of; her industry and enterprise, her loyalty and love for the Old Country are a shining light in the Empire. As the eye glances over MR. MCNEILL'S enthusiastic sentences, what man is there who will not feel his heart glowing with pride in that grand young Dominion, and resolve to make every sacrifice and strain every nerve, rather than by a single discouraging word or deed damp the ardour and alienate the affection of a devoted and patriotic people?

MR. MATTHEWS, the Home Secretary, referred in appreciative language to the Imperial Conference, when speaking at Birmingham on January 26th. He said, "That in relation to our Colonies this year [had not been an unprofitable one. We had, for the first time, seen in London a conference of Colonial representatives, who had voluntarily and in the most generous way offered to contribute to the Imperial defence, and had taken substantial steps to effect their purpose. To what that might lead it would be unwise to speculate, but to SIR HENRY HOLLAND'S tact was due much of the success which had attended the recent efforts to bind our Colonies closer to us."

THE same day at Wolverhampton, the Postmaster-General, MR. RAIKES, made an important announcement which doubtless foreshadows the establishment of a cheaper rate of postage to Australia. He stated—we quote from the *Times* report—that "The paramount importance of England and the Colonies being brought into closer communication had led the Post Office authorities to consider how far they could make a joint service more satisfactory and of a more regular character than it was at present. In the course of the ensuing year the country would be asked to sanction a more perfect and complete service of mails for Australia. We were going now to have a weekly mail as we had hitherto, and it was to be independent of the Indian mail. It was to go to Adelaide, and to be carried by the P. and O. Company, it was to be more rapid than at present, and he thought it was to be 35 days to Adelaide, and 35 days from there, Adelaide being made the centre for the Australian mails, and in the great group of Colonies. It was hoped that they would be able to reduce the cost of passage from this country to the Australian Colonies. They believed, when this was done, there would be a saving effected of £4,000 to £6,000 a year, and that an opportunity would be given for correspondence between persons here and friends in Australia, which they had hitherto not had, and at a price much below the present rate. (Cheers.)" Thus another step in the League's programme seems likely to be accomplished at an early date.

PEOPLE who lend their valuable pictures and other works of art for exhibition at Melbourne, as requested by the Royal Commission, of which LORD ROSEBERY is chairman, will be doing no mean service to the cause of Imperial Unity. Our Australian fellow-subjects will be enabled to witness for the first time a representative collection of the great English schools of painting, of which they are as justly proud as ourselves; for pride in the great artists of our race is the common property of the whole Empire. The possibility of exhibiting a loan collection at the Antipodes will also show that Melbourne stands in the same relation to the Empire as Glasgow or Manchester, and that if the distance be greater, the risk to owners of pictures is just the same as though they exhibited in one of our English towns, no more and no less. Life Insurance Companies, we believe, consider that no additional risk is incurred by the person insured embarking on one of the regular liners for Australia.

LORD CARNARVON has continued his series of admirable speeches in the Colonies upon the question of Imperial unity. On December 9th he was entertained at a banquet by the members of the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly of Victoria. In addition to the ministers and members of Parliament, there were present the Governor of the Colony, the Judges of the Supreme Court, the naval and military officers and heads of departments. LORD CARNARVON devoted his remarks mainly to discussing the closer union of the Empire, and spoke with his accustomed force and eloquence. In an after-dinner speech it is a *sine quâ non* that the topic shall be congenial to the audience, and arrest their sympathies as a prelude to their attention. The occasion seems therefore to bear striking testimony to the unanimity that prevails among the leading men of Victoria in favour of strengthening and cementing the connection with the Mother Country. They feel, as LORD CARNARVON said, that "if England and her Colonies hold together, no limits can be placed on the dream of Imperial greatness and power."

It is hard to explain on what principle our contemporary the *Echo* allows such absurd misstatements as the following to appear in its columns. "The Mother Country," says the sapient writer of an effusion styled "From Dan to Beersheba" in a recent issue, "continues to pay very high salaries for the Governors whom she sends to preside over the Colonies. The Governorships of the three Colonies (to name these only), of Queensland, New South Wales, and Victoria, cost this country £22,000 a year." Of course every schoolboy knows this to be untrue, and that the Colonies themselves pay every penny of the Governor's salary.

It is not long since we ventured to predict that SIR COUTTS LINDSAY'S enterprise in exhibiting in Australia a collection of pictures from the Grosvenor Gallery would be fraught with profitable results to English artists. We are therefore extremely glad to hear that the National Gallery of Victoria has purchased from the collection two large pictures by MR. KEELEY HALSWELLE—"The Heart of the Coolings" and "Welcome Shade"—for £1,000, and also MR. G. F. WATTS'S "Love and Death" for £840. No doubt these public purchases have been accompanied by a number of private bargains. Our expectation has been realised in a most satisfactory manner, and the event is a capital example of the practical advantages which are inseparable from the Federation movement. But for the sentiment of promoting artistic unity, the Exhibition would probably never have gone to Australia,



and several English artists would have been poorer men than they find themselves to-day.

REFERRING to the movement in favour of responsible government for Western Australia, the special correspondent of the *Melbourne Argus* at Perth says that there is no enthusiasm for the change amongst the members of the West Australian Legislature. "They already," he writes, "have almost complete control of the public policy of the country, and there are few of them particularly inclined for the troubles and worries of executive office." If this account be correct, it is probable that SIR HENRY HOLLAND's objection to sanction the scheme, unless the Colony be divided and the northern territory reserved to the Crown, will cause it to drop into abeyance for the present.

By the appointment of LORD STANLEY of PRESTON to succeed LORD LANSDOWNE as Governor-General of Canada, the Imperial Federation League in the Dominion will gain a hearty sympathiser. We quoted at the time some remarks made by LORD STANLEY at the Fishmongers' Banquet last summer, but they deserve to be reproduced now that the speaker is about to have such a splendid opportunity of giving effect to his aims. To make Canada in all sincerity a partner in the Empire, to give her the responsibilities and duties of partnership, would be indeed a worthy object of ambition for the new Governor-General to keep in view, and it is satisfactory to think that the ground has been already well prepared for official action by the energy and industry of the League. LORD STANLEY could not have found any portion of the Empire in which there exists greater love for the old country or more willingness to draw closer the bonds between us by some tangible and permanent measure of union.

"I BELIEVE," said LORD STANLEY, "it is the desire of the vast majority of the people of this country that our Empire shall be more and more closely united and knit together, and that we shall bring into closer touch with us those Colonies which the enterprise of the Anglo-Saxon race has led us to found. We are approaching the time when our children will emerge from tutelage, and when they will demand to be admitted into partnership with us. I am glad that an endeavour has been made to seize the opportunity of conferring with the Colonists who are now among us on this subject, in order that when they return home they may take back with them the message that we in England are earnestly desirous of working with them, and that we have no wish to cast off the ties which bind them to us." LORD STANLEY will soon be able to deliver this message himself to the greatest of our Colonies, and we venture to say that none more welcome to Canada could be desired.

AN important piece of news reaches us from the Cape. It is stated that "the Conference of the Delegates of the Cape Colony, Natal, and the Orange Free State, which has been sitting in Cape Town, under the presidency of SIR GORDON SPRIGG, to consider the question of the Inter-colonial Railways and Customs Union, has unanimously agreed to a report recommending the establishment of a South African Customs Union upon defined lines, and also the extension of the Colonial railways through the Free State to the Vaal River, the extension to be undertaken by the Free State Government." South African affairs are subject to so many vicissitudes, that we shall await some definite and practical step towards the accomplishment of the proposed Customs Union, before venturing to congratulate the Colonies upon what would undoubtedly be a beneficial measure.

## THE HOLLESLEY BAY COLONIAL TRAINING COLLEGE.

STONE-BREAKING, cab-driving, and hotel touting, are, if common report may be believed, the not infrequent if uncongenial occupations at the Antipodes, of men who in this country once occupied the position of gentlemen. How far their failure is the result of personal unfitness, and to what extent it is due to lack of training for Colonial life, is a question to which it is impossible to give an answer, and which, therefore, it can scarcely be profitable to discuss. But that the result is lamentable all must agree, whether we regard the interests of the emigrant himself, or of the Colony to which he goes. It will not be the least of the services that the new Colonial College at Hollesley Bay will render, if it tends to put an end in the future to this class of failures. For, indeed, not only the course of training there prescribed, but the actual existence of such a college at all, must convince the most unthinking that, even in a country where swans are black, and where Christmas falls at midsummer, men do not gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles. The conditions of success in Colonial life are shown to be after all not so very unlike those that obtain in the old country at home. A lad who is to pass through the Hollesley Bay curriculum with credit to his masters and satisfaction to himself, will need to be patient and persevering, apt to learn for himself, and ready to be taught by the observance of others,—qualities that are not without value here at home. And though doubtless a career is more open to honest effort and determination in the Colonies than it is in this crowded old England, no one who reads what are the varied subjects of instruction at Hollesley Bay will be likely to suppose that life in the Australian bush is like that on some South Sea island, where the bread-fruits fall into the mouth of the inhabitants while they lie on their backs and doze.

And if Englishmen at home who are asking the old question what to do with their sons have reason to be grateful, the Colonists to whom the pupils will in due course go out should be no less so. For absolute perfection of workmanship, for solidity as well as finish of construction, the English handicraftsman has always been able to challenge the competition of the world. Unfortunately, he has not always (to use Mr. Matthew Arnold's favourite phrase) let his mind play freely enough about his work. He has clung tenaciously to a few fixed ideas and settled types, though the world was changing about him. And the failings of the handicraftsman have been also the failings of the farmer. From this national failing it is the mission of Hollesley Bay, as of other agricultural training colleges, to rescue its pupils. They will not learn merely, let us say that oats succeed turnips and precede sown grass, but why the course runs in this order and not otherwise. They will learn not merely that certain crops are manured with nitrates and certain other crops with phosphates, but the why and the wherefore of it all, so that whether their lot be cast in Manitoba or Madras, they will be able intelligently to adapt their methods to all the changes of climate and of demand to which they may be exposed.

For these reasons, then, we are happy to hear that Hollesley Bay College is already a pronounced success. Begun in February, 1887, with three pupils, in June it had nineteen, in December, forty, and it might have had twice forty if it had had room to receive them. The honest hard work of the place will, we trust, frighten away any one who is not prepared for a life of steady and sometimes monotonous industry. Those who go out (and there are, we understand, nearly forty ready to leave shortly, all but seven, we are glad to think, prepared to follow the flag), may be trusted to form so many fresh links to bind the Mother Country and the Colonies together. For the Hollesley Bay students are not likely to fail, and then either come home and lay the blame on the Colonies, or remain out there to saddle their more energetic neighbours with their support. With a thoroughly good technical training built on the solid foundation of the character of English gentlemen, with probably in most cases some capital at command as well, they will form a class of emigrants of which no Colony is ever likely to complain that it is asked to receive too many.



## OUR REPLY TO SIR JOHN DOWNER.

SIR JOHN DOWNER, in a letter which we published last month, found fault with our criticism of his attitude at the Imperial Conference concerning the defence of King George's Sound. We have carefully looked into the matter again, and our opinion is confirmed that had not Sir John Downer assumed that "uncompromising attitude," the fortification of King George's Sound would have been agreed upon there and then. Before briefly stating the grounds upon which we formed that opinion, we must point out that our remarks had no reference whatever either to Sir John Downer's motive in raising the objection, or to the general question of the Imperial concert; they were confined solely to the facts in connection with the proposals for joint defence of King George's Sound, and are not in the least affected by the conduct of Sir John Downer in dealing with the Naval Force Bill or any other matter that was discussed at the Conference.

We proceed to submit to our readers' judgment the particular point at issue. The first discussion on King George's Sound took place on April 21st. On that occasion the Imperial Government proposed that they should provide an armament, if the Colonies would undertake the necessary works and maintenance. But this proposal was summarily condemned by the representatives, on the ground that the armament offered consisted of old-type inefficient guns. Sir John Downer asked "whether a little more liberal proposal could not be made," and said "I think I can say for South Australia, we think that the Imperial Government ought to bear some more reasonable proportion of the cost attending that defence [of King George's Sound—Ed.] than is contained in the proposal which is now laid before us."

On the following day Mr. Forrest, representative of Western Australia, asked Mr. Stanhope whether the Imperial Government would be prepared to supply the new type of gun for King George's Sound if the Colonies interested could arrange for the remainder of the work. Both he and his colleague, Mr. Burt, intimated that Western Australia would be ready to bear more than their actual share of the cost of constructing the works, and thus hoped to secure the co-operation of the other Colonies. The new type-guns would raise the cost of armament from about £12,000 to £15,000. The works and barracks would cost £12,700, and annual maintenance of garrison £6,000. Mr. Burt said he could "hold out a hope of being able to induce the Government of Western Australia out of that £12,700, which the Colonies would have to bear themselves for the construction of forts, to contribute a sum of £5,000," and also to contribute one-fourth of the sum required for annual maintenance.

Mr. Stanhope's reply to Mr. Forrest's question was in these words:—"After the public-spirited manner in which Mr. Forrest has come forward, I may say that I, on the part of the War Office, shall, of course, be very glad indeed to consider the suggestion which he has made. I cannot go further than that at present. In fact, I have not the power to bind Her Majesty's Government in the matter, but I shall be very glad to consider the suggestion." From this it may be reasonably inferred that the War Office would not be long in conceding the new type of guns, if the Colonies accepted Mr. Forrest's liberal proposal.

On May 2nd the discussion was resumed by Mr. Forrest, who said that if the Imperial Government would provide the desired armament, he thought the rest might be left between the Colony of Western Australia and the other Colonies to arrange. "I myself," he added, "have every hope, in fact I feel certain that some satisfactory arrangement could be arrived at."

Mr. Stanhope being unavoidably absent, Sir Henry Holland showed plainly enough which way the Government inclined:—"The point for the consideration of the War Office and of Her Majesty's Government was *whether an advance should not be made in respect of the armament, whether the new type of guns should not be substituted for the guns that are mentioned in the paper that is before the conference.*" If anything were needed to exhibit the intention of the Government still more clearly than the words we have italicised, it might be found in the Secretary of State

for the Colonies volunteering "to press upon Mr. Stanhope the views of the delegates."

At a subsequent stage of the discussion, the President asked whether the representatives would recommend the acceptance of the proposition put forward by Western Australia, "assuming that Her Majesty's Government having had placed before them the arguments and views of the delegates, agree to give the new type of guns for King George's Sound."

Then followed Sir John Downer's reply:—"I am not prepared to assent for one moment to the proposition that the mere supply of the armament, even of the improved type, by the Imperial Government for the defence of King George's Sound, would be all that could be reasonably and fairly expected. . . . I feel, speaking for myself, that I could not get up before our own Parliament, and tell them that I thought that the mere contribution by the Imperial Government of the armament for King George's Sound would be a fair and reasonable contribution." Sir John Downer insisted upon the institution of some principle of assessment to decide what would be the correct shares of the Imperial Government and the Colonies, but as we said in our remarks on a former occasion, he made no effort to say how they could be arrived at. In the letter addressed to us last month, he says, "I should have endeavoured to have done so had the Government received the suggestion favourably; but as they refused to supply armament of the improved type, *a fortiori* did they decline to consider the question on a still more liberal basis."

Here Sir John Downer is distinctly in error. At the time when he raised this objection the Government, so far from refusing, had plainly indicated their intention of granting the improved armament. It was only, in our opinion, when Sir John Downer, with some support from the Victorian representative, showed his dissent from the proposed arrangement, that the Government decided to go no further in a matter where unanimity seemed impossible. This appears to be the obvious explanation of the final memorandum read by Sir Henry Holland on May 6th, in which the old position was resumed, and it was stated that "after full consideration, Her Majesty's Government are unable at present to go beyond the terms of their original offer." But the Secretary of State for the Colonies added, "I have received a letter from Mr. Stanhope, dated the 5th May, in which he permits me to state that he is personally favourable to the desire so strongly expressed by the Colonial Delegates for a breech-loading armament for the defence of King George's Sound. . . . I also personally entertain the same view." It is hardly conceivable that the arrangement, advocated by two Secretaries of State, involving an additional expenditure of only £3,000, would not have been consummated had the Colonies accepted it unanimously. On May 2nd the Government were clearly ready to concede the new type armament. Then came Sir John Downer's objection; and the result was that the Government reverted to their original terms.

It only remains for us to show the feeling of the other representatives, as expressed on May 2nd:—Sir Samuel Griffith (Queensland) said:—"I do not think anything more is suggested than that Her Majesty's Government should be asked to contribute the armament." Sir F. Dillon Bell (New Zealand) said:—"I confess to the same strong feeling of disappointment at hearing the observations of Sir John Downer as was felt by Sir Samuel Griffith." He proceeded to support the proposed scheme, and concluded with these prophetic words:—"While we apparently were unanimous, as I thought, before, we may find that the introduction of this objection to-day by Sir John Downer may dissolve that unanimity." Sir Patrick Jennings (New South Wales) said:—"I think it would be impossible for us to submit for the consideration of our Governments any proposal to ask the Imperial Government for a further contribution beyond what they have already offered." Sir William Fitzherbert, Mr. Burt, and Mr. Forrest also spoke in the same strain.

We fear our readers' patience may have been tried by this lengthy vindication of our former remarks, but we were anxious to show Sir John Downer that our opinion was not formed without a careful study of the facts in question. We may be right or wrong, but at all events we have not spoken without strong reasons in support of our contention.



THE ENGLISH IN THE WEST INDIES.<sup>1</sup>

MR. FROUDE has qualified himself in the best possible manner for writing this interesting book. He has paid a long visit to the West Indies, taken especial pains to see things for himself, and to discuss them with the best authorities on the spot. He has sifted the evidence of his senses with a mind accustomed to weigh facts and to discount theories, and brings to bear upon the subject of his inquiries a lifetime of varied experience and contact with similar problems in other parts of the world. It is necessary that our readers should remember this, because it is the fashion in some quarters to discredit Mr. Froude as a witness. In the present volume, as in "Oceana," inaccuracies are doubtless discoverable, but the value of both works lies in the fact that Mr. Froude is a shrewd and observant Englishman, with an abundance of common sense and with no axe to grind. He has had better opportunities than the majority of his countrymen for investigating the real condition of the Empire. What he believes, that he writes without fear or favour. He is not infallible, but he is less liable to error than arm-chair politicians, who never leave our shores, though the ends of the earth are not safe from their criticism. In short, we do not hesitate to believe that Mr. Froude is right, until he is specifically proved to be wrong.

The picture of affairs, material, moral, and political, in the West Indies is gloomy enough; unpleasant truths are seldom welcome, and the desire to keep our skeleton in its cupboard may account for the hostility Mr. Froude's book has aroused. Possibly, if the conclusions of the Sugar Bounties Conference could have been foreseen, the tone of the English residents would have been more cheerful, and here we must pause to enter a protest against Mr. Froude's statement that "the English Government, on some fine-drawn crotchet, refused" to sanction the proposed treaty of reciprocity between the West Indian Colonies and the United States, by which West Indian sugar would have been admitted duty free into the American market. There were two reasons for rejecting the treaty: one was that it would constitute a breach of the most favoured nation clause in treaties with other countries; the other was that the proposed treaty provided that all produce which came within its scope should be carried in the shipping of one or other of the contracting parties. We do not wish to pronounce upon the adequacy of these objections, but they constitute something far stronger than "a fine-drawn crotchet."

Mr. Froude's account of the position in the West Indies can be briefly summarised. The English residents are melting away and the negroes rapidly increasing. This process continues despite the amazing fertility of the islands and their great wealth-producing capabilities. "There are dollars in that island, sir," said an American gentleman in Jamaica, "if they will only look for them in the right way," and the remark applies equally to the rest, indicating that the planters have probably put their trust in sugar too exclusively. But the political situation is at the root of all the evil, in Mr. Froude's opinion. The tendency of the Home Government to try constitutional experiments and enfranchise the negroes frightens the English residents; whites and blacks might be nominally equal, but from their enormous numerical preponderance the blacks would have it all their own way; no Englishman would count life tolerable under the rule of a black prime minister and a black legislature. The condition of the black republic of Hayti, where cannibalism has been revived, and no white man is allowed to hold land in freehold, is a standing warning against allowing the white race to be constitutionally overwhelmed. Mr. Froude would not encourage the contrary evils which would arise from permitting the white residents to govern the islands themselves. His policy is to rule the West Indies as we do the East Indies. The conditions are similar and the results would be equally successful; under a stable government capital would return to the islands, immigration from Europe would re-commence (for the horrors of the climate have been greatly exaggerated), and even-handed justice would be meted out to all.

But there may be some people who would be ready to

face the establishment of black republics and even the disappearance of the British flag from the West Indies, if they cease to be commercially profitable to us. We sympathise heartily with Mr. Froude's significant reply. "Such a course," he says, "will not be for our honour, nor in the long run for our interest. Our stronger Colonies will scarcely attach more value to their connection with us, if they hear us declare impatiently that because part of our possessions have ceased to be of money value to us, we will not or we cannot take the trouble to provide them with a decent government, and therefore cast them off." We believe, indeed, that the nation has a higher sense of its responsibilities as an Imperial power than one of mercenary advantage; but this candid admission that Colonial public opinion can claim to exercise a legitimate influence upon the Government policy is a remarkable sign of the times, and leads us finally to the consideration of Mr. Froude's views concerning the relations of our great self-governing Colonies to the United Kingdom.

We will begin with a quotation which might well be used as a profession of faith by any member of the Imperial Federation League. "Here is the answer to the question so often asked, 'What is the use of the Colonies to us?' The Colonies are a hundred-fold multiplication of the area of our own limited islands. In taking possession of so large a portion of the globe, we have enabled ourselves to spread and increase, and carry ourselves, our language, and our liberties into all climates and continents. We overflow at home; there are too many of us here already, and if no lands belong to us but Great Britain and Ireland, we should become a small, insignificant power beside the mighty nations which are forming around us. There is space for hundreds of millions of us in the territories of which we and our fathers have possessed ourselves. In Canada, Australia, and New Zealand we add to our numbers and our resources. There are so many more Englishmen in the world able to hold their own against the mightiest of their rivals."

This is an eloquent panegyric upon the British Empire; strength, wealth, and power of expansion are its acknowledged attributes. Without Colonies the Mother Country would be deprived, to a great extent, of all these attributes. Without the Mother Country the Colonies, though they do not as yet suffer from an overflowing population, would lose in strength and wealth. It is, therefore, plain that Mr. Froude believes in the necessity of such a connection between all parts of the Empire as shall produce the highest efficiency for purposes of defence, of commerce, and of colonisation. We do not suppose he would maintain that perfection is already achieved, and he distinctly admits that "the relation which now exists cannot be more than provisional." Therefore, looking forward to a change in the existing relations as inevitable, how is the British Empire to be efficiently organised for mutual defence and prosperity? This is the problem that appeals to Mr. Froude, and having travelled thus far together we must now, for a while, part company. For he will do nothing to solve the problem; he takes refuge in the *laissez faire* principle, out of which no good ever yet came to humanity. He would trust to "circumstances and silent impulses" (though in another passage he pleads for "strength and resolution" as an antidote to the "centrifugal force" that "will sweep away" the Colonies "into orbits of their own"). He grants that difficulties may arise, "but we need not anticipate them." Yet he has himself propounded one of grave import without providing a solution. "The Australians are either British subjects or they are not. If they are not, the connection is a shadow, and it is as well to have done with illusions." But we have shown that Mr. Froude is far from adopting this view. "If they are British subjects the nation with whom they quarrel will acknowledge no fine distinctions, and will fix the responsibility where it rightly belongs. To leave a Colony to go to war on its own account, is to leave the peace of the Empire at the mercy of any one of its dependencies." And we may add this corollary—to leave the United Kingdom to go to war on its own account, is to leave the peace of the Colonies at the mercy of one constituent part of the Empire. This is one of the difficulties that not only may, but must arise under the *laissez faire* system. Mr. Froude carries it to the furthest extent when he says, "It is conceivable that Great Britain and her

<sup>1</sup> "The English in the West Indies." By J. A. Froude (1 Vol., 18s. Longmans, 28



scattered offspring, under the pressure of danger from without, or impelled by some general purpose, might agree to place themselves for a time under a single administrative head. It is conceivable that out of a combination so formed, if it led to a successful immediate result, some union of a closer kind might eventually emerge."

Shall the efficient organisation of the British Empire, desirable as Mr. Froude allows it to be, have to await so hazardous a future? Shall the centrifugal force be left to work unchecked? Shall there be no attempt to prevent difficulties and disputes rather than to cure them? Shall the defence of the Empire be proved wanting in the stress of battle before we take steps to protect ourselves? Must closer union remain a shadow, and the ties that bind us grow weaker—for "the relation which now exists cannot be more than provisional"—as a sacrifice to the *laissez faire* demon, whom Mr. Froude is striving to exorcise from the West Indies in order that it may prey upon the vitals of the British Empire?

No! a thousand times no! Let us try rather to get our task accomplished before the storm comes. While the piping days of peace are with us, let the fabric of Federation be reared, and stand four-square to all the winds of heaven, impregnable by all the nations upon earth.

#### LORD BRASSEY'S ADDRESS TO THE LONDON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

ON January 25th Lord Brassey addressed a large and influential meeting at the Cannon Street Hotel, convened by the London Chamber of Commerce, upon the defences of the Empire and the protection of trade. His speech was chiefly occupied with a statement of what he had seen during his recent voyage in the *Sunbeam*, of which the results have already been discussed in these columns. He briefly summed up the various omissions he had noticed in the scheme of defence as follows:—

(1) At Aden, dredging operations; (2) at Bombay, additional monitors and the organisation of crews for the harbour-defence flotilla; (3) at King George's Sound, Thursday Island, and Port Darwin, armaments of sufficient power to deny the harbour and the coal supply to hostile cruisers; (4) at the Cape, additional heavy breechloading guns and a light military railway some six miles in length; (5) at Colombo, Singapore, Mauritius, St. Helena, and Sierra Leone, a local artillery militia; (6) at Ascension, if retained as a naval establishment, some armament is necessary.

This enumeration, said Lord Brassey, would scarcely alarm the most zealous guardian of the public purse, and the gaps in our armour might be filled up at a very moderate expense. He then proceeded to advocate the extension of the system whereby Government grants are given to aid private enterprise in constructing graving docks of large size, capable of holding iron-clads, at all our first-class naval stations. The principle had already been recognised, with excellent results, at Hong Kong and Vancouver, and should be applied elsewhere, especially at Gibraltar, Bombay, Singapore, and Mauritius. This would be far more economical than duplicating at the public expense means that already lay at our disposal in the splendid accommodation required for the mercantile marine.

At the conclusion of Lord Brassey's address the following resolution was put to the meeting, and eventually carried unanimously:—

"That this meeting of the members of the London Chamber of Commerce tenders its hearty thanks to Lord Brassey for the able manner in which he has placed before it the present condition of the defences for our trade; and, believing that the suggestions made are of a practical nature, records its emphatic opinion that Her Majesty's Government should in no way relax, but rather increase, its efforts to render the means of defence for ocean routes thoroughly efficient, and thus avoid undue disturbance of the national finances by the recurrence of costly and spasmodic action under sudden emergency."

H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, Admiral Sir J. Commerell, Lord Charles Beresford, and Mr. John Glover spoke in support of the resolution.

Mr. Glover stated that as one who frequently used the coaling-stations, he was convinced that if they were not sustained, when some naval trouble arose our whole business as a mercantile country would be at an end. He also strongly urged that an international agreement should be made for exempting private property at sea from capture or destruction in war time.

The proceedings terminated shortly afterwards.

AUSTRALIA AT THE ADMIRALTY.—"I do not think you can place full reliance upon the future naval safety of this Empire until its contributing Colonies, such as Australia, have a voice in the administration of naval affairs."—*Captain Colomb, M.P., at the Colonial Institute.*

#### CANADA AND ITS POSITION TOWARDS IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

It is not many months since we commented on a sympathetic article of the rejuvenated *Westminster Review*. And now again the February number of the same periodical has a long and important paper on Imperial Federation, this time with special reference to the position and prospects of the Canadian Dominion.

The author draws (no difficult task, alas!) a terrible picture of the neglect and ignorance of all things Canadian shown by English Ministers and English statesmen a quarter of a century since. "Canada was the object, not to say the butt, of the specially contemptuous indifference with which Whig statesmen treated her, and our own best Imperial interests, in the matter of the Reciprocity Treaty and at other specially critical times." The author considers that we owe the fact that Canada is not to-day a portion of the United States to the "saving effects of the exhausting war of North and South in 1861—1865." To show what this might mean (or, as we should prefer to say, might have meant) to England, he quotes from a powerful speech of Mr. (now Sir Edward) Watkin delivered twenty years back, when the event contemplated was still within the region of practical politics. "In what state would England find herself, if all the food exports of North America were placed under the control of the Government of Washington? . . . Suppose that Canada belonged to America. In the event of a quarrel with England there was nothing to prevent the United States from declaring that not an ounce of food should leave its territories, which would then extend from the Arctic Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico." Since this speech was delivered, the population of the United Kingdom has not diminished in number, nor have the wheat lands of Great Britain increased in productiveness, and yet there are to be found here and there politicians, boasting themselves, forsooth, that they are practical men, who believe that Professor Goldwin Smith is a great and far-seeing statesman, and that the advocates of Imperial Federation, who honestly confess their dislike of the prospect of being starved into surrender, are sentimental visionaries.

Here is another piece of history, ancient, no doubt, and let us trust forgotten, or if remembered, remembered only as a warning and an example of "how not to do it." The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 was allowed to expire in 1866, in spite of the warnings given by the Canadian Executive Council more than a twelvemonth before. In February, 1865, they wrote, "There is imminent danger of its abrogation, unless prompt and vigorous steps be taken by Her Majesty's ministers to avert a great calamity." But "in May, 1865, when questions on the subject were asked in the English House of Commons, the answer was there were no papers, and there had been no negotiations." At Washington, however, the matter excited a keener interest than at Westminster. "On the 2nd of July, 1866, a Bill was introduced into Congress, read twice, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, for the admission into the American Republic of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Canada East and West, and for the organisation of the territories of Selkirk, Saskatchewan, and Columbia. It enacted that, on notice of consent by Great Britain and the Provinces concerned, the President should proclaim them constituted and admitted as states and territories of the United States accordingly." The conclusion of the tale is characteristic "The British Ambassador took no notice of the Bill." But next year the House of Commons found a little leisure even for Canada. "The British North America Act became law on March 29th, 1867, and since then the making of the Canadian nation out of the seven Provinces has gone on apace."

We have followed the history of the past at such length that we can say but little of the writer's forecasts of the future. He insists strongly, but none too strongly, on the material strength of Canada's position, and quotes with approval the words of Professor Bryce of Winnipeg, who speaks of independence as likely to be the prelude of annexation, and of annexation as a "contingency which the interest, sentiment, and patriotic attitude of the great mass



of Canadians forbid even to be discussed. . . . The eyes of Canada are turned to Imperial Federation." On the other hand, he is equally in agreement with the Professor in declaring that "the temper of Canada is plainly to insist that in treaty making she shall be represented." He quotes also another writer from Winnipeg, Mr. Turnock, who says, "Since confederation, nineteen years ago, a national spirit has been each year on the increase. But the Canadians have not a voice in the making of their treaties, neither can they prevent a war by which their country might be desolated. . . . Canada cannot long continue as she is. . . . Is England prepared to offer to Canada the same as the United States does? Is she prepared to confer the full rights and privileges of British citizens? If she is, there is not the least question as to which Canada will adopt. . . . Give the Colonist the same voice as the old countryman in Imperial affairs. We believe that with a scheme that accomplishes this, he will be perfectly satisfied." For our own part, we venture to assert, without fear of contradiction, that, if Canada will show the way, there is no fear that England will lack the will. In the latest attempt at treaty making, an attempt that as we write seems likely to have been crowned with success, it is satisfactory to know that Canadian and English Commissioners have worked side by side. But how is a reform so vast, a reform for which the political history of the world affords nothing approaching to a precedent, to be accomplished? On such a subject the irresponsible speculations of individuals, be they never so gifted and never so clear-sighted, are little worth. But Parliaments, like men, should be more enterprising and more capable of new ideas in their youth than in their old age, so we sincerely trust that the rumour that the Dominion Parliament is likely this session to discuss its relations with the Mother Country is not without foundation. That its conclusions will find not merely a respectful but a warmly sympathetic reception on this side the Atlantic we have no doubt whatever.

### HOME VOICES ON THE NEW SOUTH WALES CENTENARY.

No full report of the New South Wales Centenary celebration has yet reached us. But our Colonial friends will be glad to know that the thoughts of their fellow-citizens in the old country were with them on the memorable 26th of January. From end to end of the United Kingdom rose a chorus of congratulation from countless well-wishers, echoing through the columns of every section of the Press. We are not able to give more than a few brief extracts from the numerous articles that have come under our notice, but the subjoined passages contain a fair sample of the sentiments that prevailed universally. Britons all over the world have welcomed the occasion as one of unfeigned rejoicing. They have seen in the wonderful career of New South Wales a tribute to the indomitable pluck and practical ability of the British race. In the vista of boundless progress that seems opening before the young giant of the south, they hail the dawn of a new era of prosperity for themselves; and from the loyal and patriotic spirit that yearns for a closer union of hearts and hands across the ocean, they prognosticate the rise of a stately, peace-compelling Empire-Federate, solidified by the wisdom of years, and endued with the freshness of youth.

From the *Standard*.

The New World which Englishmen have built up in the Nineteenth Century may in the end equal or surpass the other New World which they lost in the Eighteenth. But be this as it may, Australians can at least be confident of one thing. Their success is as much admired and as keenly appreciated by all classes of Englishmen as it is by themselves. The time has gone by when we can view the growth of a Colony—even though in time it should become great enough to overshadow ourselves—with angry or with jealous eyes. The old policy of narrow and illiberal interference has been laid aside for ever. . . . Englishmen are prepared to believe that if their country is to continue to be the greatest nation of the world, it must be not merely by her own strength, but as the centre and nucleus of a mighty naval confederacy which has its harbours in every sea, and its seats in all the five quarters of the world. And the Colonies have added to their old sentiment of loyalty towards the Mother Country, the conviction that

their best interests lie in remaining members of a great Empire, rather than in striving after a perilous isolation. The world is not yet in such a state that young communities should be too anxious to stand up alone against the earth-bunger of half-a-dozen great Powers, armed to the teeth. Such considerations as these have been strengthened by the judicious efforts made in the last three years to foster the sentiment. The Colonial Conference, the Colonial Exhibition, and the plan of Australasian Defence have all done their part towards promoting the Unity of the Empire, while the work of the Imperial Federation League, at home and in the Colonies, tends the same way. A few years ago it was a commonplace of politics that Australia must "cut the painter" before long. Now, a precisely opposite expression is on everybody's lips. The Colonists who are celebrating their centenary may indulge a well-grounded hope that a hundred years hence New South Wales will not only be infinitely greater and more populous, but also that it will be even more firmly attached to the Imperial Crown of the British peoples than it is to-day.

From the *North British Daily Mail*.

La Perouse, the famous French navigator, happened to be at Port Jackson at the time when Captain Arthur Phillip gave his modest festival to celebrate the founding of the new Colony; and the Frenchman may have laughed at the spectacle of a handful of English planting themselves permanently on the selva of a new continent. The mustard-seed planted by Governor Phillip at the head of Sydney Cove on the 26th of January, 1788, has not only grown into the mighty tree which stands by Sydney Harbour, but has propagated its kind all over Australasia. The seven Australasian Colonies have a present population of over 3,000,000, and each of them is still a young and rapidly-growing country. The present occasion may do something to bring about some closer relations between the Colonies, peopled as they are by one and the same race; and there would be a singular fitness in the Australian Dominion of the future dating from the year when the centenary of Australian Colonisation was celebrated.

From the *Staffordshire Sentinel*.

The tie which at the present moment binds the Colonies to the Mother Country is little more than nominal. The Crown is the real symbol of union. Yet nowhere in her wide realms has her Majesty Queen Victoria more loyal or more affectionate subjects. The cry from the self-governing Colonies is not for separation, but for a closer federation. We cannot forget that, young as she is, Australia sent her Volunteer contingent to the Soudan. Nor should we omit to notice the friendly rivalry that has sprung up between the Mother Country and the Colonies in the cricket field. The Australian and English Elevens now exchange visits almost yearly, and the stalwart forms of Spofforth or Bannerman are almost as familiar at Lord's or at Kennington Oval as those of Dr. Grace or Ulyett.

From the *Winchester Journal*.

The history of human progress presents few pictures more striking than the contrast between the splendid Sydney of to-day, whose crowded streets and handsome buildings overlook the land-locked waters of a harbour that claims to be the finest in the world; and the uninhabited wastes amongst which, on the 26th of January, 1788, Captain Phillip predicted, after having read his commission beside the first British flagstaff ever planted in Australian soil, that the desert on which he had just set foot would one day take its place among the great countries of the world. Exactly a hundred years have passed since Governor Phillip uttered that prophecy; and Australia has already made extraordinary progress towards its accomplishment. Our Australian Colonies are passing from a vigorous youth into a splendid manhood; and what they may be when the Southern Cross shines down on a Sydney illumined for the second centenary of the settlement of New South Wales it would tax the prophetic powers of a second Governor Phillip to predict.

From the *Cheltenham Mercury*.

How the glorious Colony has increased, and advanced, and gone on, and prospered! A population of three million white men—almost entirely English—is now to be found in the five sister Colonies of Australia, and even that population but lightly fringes the southern and western coasts of the great continent. Of the loyalty of Australia to the Mother Country there is no need to speak. The greater Britain in the southern seas still gladdens with the triumphs, and sorrows over the reverses, of the smaller Britain in the bleak north. And the bonds of loyalty and affection which bind Australia to England are secure at both ends. England is still "home" to Australia; and she, who once sent her only the scum of her population, now sends her only of her best. In the strange land in which men are working while those in England sleep, and in which Christmas finds men weltering in tropical heat, there are thousands of England's sons, whose places are still kept sacred in English homes. These are the ties which bind far lands together, and it is the wish of every honest Englishman at home that Australia may go on and prosper.



### LORD EBRINGTON, M.P., ON THE STUDY OF GEOGRAPHY.

AN interesting lecture was given not long since to the Devonport Federation of Improvement Societies by Lord Ebrington, M.P., upon the national importance of the study of geography. This is a subject which bears very closely upon Imperial Federation, for it is, in our opinion, only necessary for the people of this country to realise the greatness and boundless value of the Empire, in order to rouse them to a sense of the vital necessity of making efforts to maintain its unity.

Lord Ebrington gave a number of instances in which ignorance of geography had resulted in actual loss of territory to the Empire, which would otherwise have belonged to us, and he also charged to the same account our neglect of many strategic places and routes of vital importance to the security of our commerce. We subjoin some passages from a lecture of which the whole was extremely interesting.

#### THE VALUE OF GEOGRAPHY TO STATESMEN.

History showed how much the country had been made to suffer through the ignorance of geography displayed in high quarters, and even in recent times mistakes and omissions by Government and Ministers was plainly traceable to an ignorance which Macaulay would hardly have excused in his proverbial schoolboy; and, unless consular reports were mistaken, our merchants and manufacturers were too ready to follow the bad example of their rulers, and were too apathetic, and so little anxious to please their customers, that they risked losing markets in which they had a monopoly. As to the ignorance displayed in high places, he held there was little doubt that they gave up Java, one of the richest and finest islands in the East Indies, and returned it to the Dutch, simply because we did not know its value. America beat us over the boundary question by maps in which we failed to find inaccuracies; and, coming to more recent times, he might quote Cyprus as an instance where our statesmen were taken in by their ignorance of geography. He had not the least wish to introduce controversial matter, or to minimise the advantages we derived from the occupation of Cyprus during the recent campaigns; but it was admitted on all sides now that it would have no practical value as a place of arms in the event of European complications. At any rate, that seemed the view of successive Governments, who had given it no place in their scheme of fortified coaling stations, and had taken no steps to protect the vaunted harbour there, or even to connect it by a telegraph cable with Malta. Cyprus was thus a place which we took because we did not know how little it was worth.

#### COLONIAL GEOGRAPHY SHOULD BE BETTER TAUGHT.

Again, our natural vagueness about the situation and condition of our Colonies did not tend to promote that close union with them which, on Imperial as well as on sentimental grounds, was so desirable. (Applause.) Our Colonies were far and away our best customers; and they prided themselves on their connection with the Old Country, only second to that which they had accomplished themselves. Their *amour propre* was hurt, therefore, by our regarding them as people who had their uses certainly, but who lived a long way off at the other end of the map, in countries where residence was almost exile. . . . A boy in the sixth standard, for instance, would tell the names of the principal towns and rivers in Australia, but he doubted very much if he would realise that Australia was about big enough to bridge the ocean between Ireland and America, and that the population was really much less than that of London, and was mainly to be found within a short distance of one-third of the coastline, principally because the rivers were insignificant streams, useless as means of internal communication, and it would be by chance if he was told anything of the difference of climate which made Queensland a productive country, and those adjoining different in producing quality. In more advanced schools attention should be given to such matters as the position of the existing and possible markets in different parts of the world, the fluctuations of trade and their causes. Then, again, the study of the various trade routes of the world, ancient and modern, and the causes which had led to their adoption and abandonment, was valuable not only to those interested in trade, but to all who wished to appreciate the bearing on English interests on what went on abroad.

LORD EBRINGTON, in conclusion, said if he had brought them to concur with him in thinking that we had been, and were still, the worse for not knowing more about the world, its people, and their wants, they would agree that as a nation who kept shop in an Empire on which the sun never sets, we ought to set ourselves to work to remedy this deficiency. (Applause.)

### GREAT SPEECH BY MR. McNEILL, M.P. AT PARIS, ONTARIO.

#### "THIS CANADA OF OURS."

THE full text has reached us of the magnificent speech delivered by Mr. Alexander McNeill, M.P., Vice-President of the League in Canada, at Paris, Ontario, on January 19th. We regret that we cannot do more than reproduce the principal passages; but next month we shall endeavour to find space for Mr. McNeill's remarks upon Imperial Reciprocity, which formed a distinct feature in the speech, and can be studied separately.

MR. McNEILL spoke as follows:—

Imperial unity or Imperial disintegration—Empire or no Empire—that is the question. Fortunately, it is not a party question. So little of a party question is it that I see by the last number of IMPERIAL FEDERATION, the admirable journal of the Imperial Federation League, that public meetings in the interest of Imperial Federation are being held in England under the joint auspices of members of Parliament and the political opponents they defeated at the polls. Those who know anything of political election contests—and I take it you are not all utterly ignorant of them in Paris—will admit that this is a tolerably conclusive proof that Imperial Federation is not a party issue in England; and, further, that it has taken a deep hold of the public mind. This generation has witnessed no such marvellous political movement in England as this movement in favour of Imperial Federation. But it has not been confined to England; it has extended to the remotest confines of the Empire. It has swept over Australasia, and it has kindled afresh the hopes and aspirations of our fellow-countrymen in South Africa. It is here with us in Canada too; and—Professor Goldwin Smith to the contrary notwithstanding—I say it has made great and substantial progress in the Dominion. It was only in 1885 that the Canadian branch of the League was formed, and already it comprises among its members some sixty members of the Dominion Parliament, and many others of the foremost men in the Dominion. Why, only the other day a branch of the League was formed at Ottawa, and there, in the capital itself, some 140 or 150 of their leading citizens, with Mr. Sandford Fleming as president, enrolled themselves as members. And why? I will tell you. Because the people of Canada have a warm heart to their kindred beyond the seas; because they regard with veneration and gratitude the mighty mother of nations from whom they spring; because they glory in their own Empire; and because they are also firmly persuaded that their material interests are best served by the maintenance of the connection between Great Britain and her Colonies.

#### A BENEFIT AND A BLESSING.

"We rejoice in the connection as it exists now. It has been one of unmixed good." And again: "It is impossible to exaggerate the feeling of loyalty and affection that exists in Canada"—i.e., towards the Mother Country.

These are strong expressions—about as strong as can be framed in English; and they are especially significant as coming from an experienced lawyer and politician accustomed carefully to weigh his words. They are the words of the Premier of this Province, spoken during the summer of 1884, only some three years ago, in the City of London, in the heart of your Empire, which we are proud to remember is also the metropolis of the world. "The connection," he says, "has been one of unmixed good." "It is impossible to exaggerate the feeling of loyalty and affection that exists in Canada."

Is there a man in this hall, be he Conservative or Reformer, who is prepared to deny these statements of Mr. Mowat? Not one. There is not, I venture to say, one man present who does not from his heart fully endorse them. There is not one man present who does not know full well that there is no other political sentiment in Canada that exceeds (if indeed there be any that at all equals) in volume and intensity that sentiment of loyalty and affection to the old Mother Land which pervades all classes of our people. There is not one man present who does not in his heart and conscience know that Canada's connection with the Mother Country has been to her a source of almost incalculable benefit and blessing. Who does not know full well that by and through that connection this noble young Canada of ours, that we all so glory in and love, has been enabled to advance by leaps and bounds towards a place in the forefront of the nations of the world, unimpeded in her progress by the jealousies or hostility of any powerful competitor? There is not a man who hears me that does not know full well that by and through that connection it is that we can stand up to-day in the face of the civilised world, and, without risk of successful contradiction, make the proud boast that, except within the confines of our own Empire, except under the sheltering folds of our own flag, there never was since the world began, there never was under the broad canopy of heaven, a people who enjoyed so full a measure of true and perfect liberty as that which is the blessed portion of our people in Canada.



## BRITISH LIBERTY AND BRITISH POWER.

I say there is not a man present who does not know that to this British connection we owe this British liberty, and there is not within the four corners of this broad Dominion a man who does not in his heart know and confess that it is through and by virtue of that British connection alone that Canada, with her 5,000,000 of people, has been enabled to maintain her just rights against the high-handed encroachments of her powerful neighbour to the south, and is to-day enabled to treat upon terms of the most perfect and absolute equality with that great Republic and her 55 or 60 millions of inhabitants. Talk of using our fishery rights as a lever with which to move the United States to trade with us upon fair terms! I should like to know where our lever would have been to-day were it not for the protecting power and influence of Great Britain, and I venture to think the value of our lever is none the less that we have the weight and might of Britain at the right end of it. But, thank God! it is there for us to-day as it has ever been of yore, ready, aye, ready, at our need. And yet, oh, burning, blistering shame! oh, poor, frail humanity! there are those among us who would strive to persuade themselves and you that we might in all honour and, with conscience clear, use this power with which the Mother Country thus willingly and affectionately supplies to us, and fashion with it a weapon to wound her own breast; that at the very moment when she is lending us her strength to struggle with our adversary, we should use that (her own) strength to betray her own best interests and dismember her own Empire. In other words, that we might, as honest and honourable men, use those fishing rights which, but for the sheltering power and influence of the Mother Country, would long since have been filched from us, and which are to-day ours to use solely by reason of that power and influence—that we might use those fishery rights as a bribe to induce the United States to enter into such trading relations with us as would virtually exclude the Mother Country from our markets.

The proposal is horrible. It is unnatural. It is altogether too hideous and monstrous a thing to be born of this glorious, beautiful young Canada. She must, she will, she has disowned it.

## YOUR EMPIRE! OUR EMPIRE!

Those whose hearts are full of the great theme refuse to formulate from any particular locality, without consultation with representatives of the interests involved, a cut-and-dried scheme for Federation of a world-wide Empire. Many Imperial Federationists hold that the work of the League is to inculcate the principle of unity, to urge upon local and Imperial Governments the adoption of all measures tending towards unity and consolidation, and to leave Federation to develop and shape itself gradually as the exigencies of the times may require—even as the British Constitution shaped itself out of the practical business capacity, the saving common-sense, and the self-governing instincts of the Anglo-Saxon race. And so, because no such cut-and-dried scheme is propounded, you are to be told that Imperial Federation is an impossibility, that the Imperial Federation League is of no practical utility, and you are to sit down and fold your hands, twirl your thumbs, and let your Empire fall to pieces before your eyes if it will—let slip from your nerveless grasp a heritage dazzling in splendour beyond the dream of man. I say No! A thousand times No! Perish the thought; and perish the dastard who would be so false to himself, to his fathers, and to his children after him, as to refuse to raise his voice and, if needs be, his hands, too, in defence of the matchless Empire of England, of which this glorious young Dominion of ours forms so great and important a part. The Empire of England! Your Empire! And what an Empire! One is almost afraid to say what an Empire it is. For the palest description of it sounds like spread-eagleism. It is an Empire four times greater than the world-famous Empire of Rome. The German Empire of to-day is a mighty Empire. Yours is forty times its extent. It comprises within its limits one-fifth of the whole habitable globe. The sails of your innumerable fleets whiten every sea, and on every sea yours is the proudest flag that floats at a mast-head. Just think of this world of ours, and see what a shaping, forming power your Empire has been upon the face of it. Think of the shocks of battle it has withstood. Think of the glorious deeds of arms it has achieved. Think of the lion deeds it has done in the cause of liberty and justice. Think of the incense-breathing deeds of pity and mercy. Think of all its triumphs in science, in literature, and art, and then tell me is not the preservation of this Empire of yours something worth planning for, something worth working for, something worth fighting for, and, if needs be, dying for? Certain it is that man never died in a holier cause.

## IMPERIAL ORGANISATION.

Last year witnessed, as you all know, for the first time in the history of the Empire, an Imperial Conference. Delegates from all the Colonies, summoned by our common Sovereign, met together on English soil, to plan together with members of the Imperial Government for the weal of the whole Empire.

It is simply impossible to exaggerate the importance of this event. The experiment proved eminently successful, and it can scarcely be doubted that recourse will be had to it again. Here, then, we have a very apparent, a very tangible advance towards Imperial unity, towards Imperial organisation and consolidation. Let us each and all help on the glorious work, by giving to it our countenance, our sympathy, our support, by pronouncing with no uncertain voice in favour of every measure making for consolidation and unity, and against every measure tending towards a loosening of those golden links of Loyalty and Love that bind our Empire together. That is our work for the present. The future will take care of itself. The descendants of the men who framed the British Constitution may safely be trusted to know how to shape a scheme that will give effect to the desire of kindred beyond the seas for more intimate political relations with one another.

But of this rest assured, the constitution of your Empire—if I may use that term for want of a better—will be worked out by wise heads and defended, if needs be, by strong arms, in accordance with the self-governing instincts of the race to which you belong. A mighty movement is spreading over the Empire, making for a more perfect unity. And I have too much "faith in the breed" to doubt its being able to attain its object. I say more: I say it would be a slander and a calumny upon the British race to assert that they were incapable of guarding and keeping whole that Empire which has been won and bequeathed to them by their forefathers.

## CANADA WILL DEFEND THE EMPIRE.

Mr. McNeill then proceeded to show the great strides made towards a system of Imperial defence by the Australian Naval Forces Agreement arrived at during the Conference; and, alluding to what Canada had done in the same cause, he said: I believe it was admitted at the Conference that in the establishing and maintenance of the military college at Kingston, in the maintaining of our militia forces, and in the construction of the Intercolonial and Canadian Pacific Railways, we have in the meantime been doing our fair share towards Imperial defence. But I venture to say that I express your sentiments when I assert (and I hope you will correct me if I misrepresent you) that should the integrity of the Empire be menaced, or should the honour of the British race be assailed, no Colony under the Crown, no portion of the British people would be prepared to make more substantial sacrifices than the people of Canada to preserve that Empire intact and that honour inviolate. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

The rest of the speech was occupied with discussing the question of Imperial Reciprocity, and exposing the fallacies of Commercial Union with the United States. Mr. McNeill concluded as follows:—You have had many reasons urged upon you in proof that you should approve Mr. Wiman's scheme for your well-being. Perhaps you have not had this one. It is Mr. Wiman's own. This is how Mr. Wiman is planning for the welfare of the Canadian people. Unfortunately it happened to be mentioned by him, not here in Canada but in the United States, so you may have missed it. But he would regret that you should be without it.

## EXTRACT FROM SPEECH OF MR. WIMAN IN THE UNITED STATES.

"When one recalls the 5,000 miles of coast-line fishing privileges possessed by Canada; the limitless forests of timber greatly needed by the United States; the exhaustless hills of iron ore, the copper, nickel, and other minerals; the mountains of phosphates, the miles and miles of coal in close proximity to eastern manufacturing centres and western needs, the infinite variety of riches which God in His Providence has placed in those regions for the good of all mankind; and when one recalls that for the most part these are lying silent, dormant, and dead, it needs only to turn and look into the earnest faces of the great nation on the borders of Canada to realise that the good Providence has also provided a people whose high mission it is to take these vast riches and most gratefully enjoy His bounty."

Do you quite agree to that? Do you think this Canada of ours was intended by the good Providence for the great nation on your borders and not for you? Are you prepared to accept Mr. Wiman's views of the matter, and be guided by him, so that the Americans may take the vast riches of your own native land and most gratefully enjoy them? I think, if Mr. Wiman were here, you would give him a decisive answer.

Now hear what Alfred Tennyson says:—

"Sharers of our glorious past,  
Brothers, must we part at last?  
Shall not we through good and ill  
Cleave to one another still?  
Britain's myriad voices call:  
'Sons! be welded each in all  
Into one Imperial whole,  
One with Britain heart and soul.  
One life, one flag, one fleet, one throne,  
Britons! Hold your own,  
And God guard all.'"



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## Imperial Federation.

MARCH 1, 1888.

### AUSTRALIA AND EUROPE.

AUSTRALIA is getting very near Europe; not only through improved means of communication reducing to insignificance the physical barriers that intervene, but because the ambitions of statesmen and the passions of democracies, formerly confined to a single continent, now scan the world with jealous and greedy scrutiny. Even if we sympathised with Mr. O'Sullivan, who rose up in the New South Wales Parliament the other day, and said he stood there as a native Australian, who had not seen any other country, and did not desire to see any other country, it is certain that his dream is incapable of fulfilment. The stars in their courses are fighting against Australian isolation; the irresistible stream of European expansion must encircle the globe, inevitable as the tide that flowed over the feet of Canute the Great. Australians have no option in the matter; they can no more extricate themselves from the network of European politics than they can stop the increase of population by fencing themselves about with immigration laws. For European politics are becoming obsolete, and international politics are taking their place; instead of being, as of old, a terminus at the ends of the earth, Australia has awakened to find herself in the centre of a great system, standing four-square to neighbouring Powers, and compelled to guard her approaches and maintain her interests on every coast. Formerly she stood with back to the wall of the unknown; danger was only to be feared from one direction, and could be faced without uneasiness. The wall at her back has now been pulled down, and the flank has been turned by those very Powers whose advance was most obnoxious. With Russia bearing down from the north, with France and Germany established in the Pacific, Australia cannot be exclusive if she would. The ostrich which thought to escape observation by hiding its head in the sand, is an accurate type of the Australian politician who shuts his eyes to what is passing around him, and still believes he can afford to disregard European politics.

Fortunately, the more far-seeing Colonists labour under no such delusion. Mr. Alfred Deakin, Chief Secretary of Victoria, is recognised as a man who is certain to take a foremost part in the affairs of the Colony, and he, at any rate, has a clear view of the situation. In a recent speech to his constituents he said that "he had come to recognise the immense responsibilities and complexities of the

European situation—there were great and powerful countries, armed to the teeth, governed by lust of territory, lust of trade, and the ambition of complete supremacy, to the exclusion of every other sentiment. . . . He believed that the preparations for the defence of Australia would not be completed a day too soon." The same truth has made itself felt in New South Wales. "We find," said Mr. Reid in the Legislative Assembly, "that the great powers of Europe are trying by every manœuvre of which they are capable, entirely without regard to rights of any kind, to seize every inch of territory which they can secure." In the same debate Mr. Carruthers said, "Day by day foreign nations are being brought closer to us, and we are becoming more liable to those attacks from which we have been free in the past. And the spirit of the age has not improved. The same feeling that induced Russia to take Poland, and wipe it off the map of Europe; the same sentiment that now causes the Russians to seize upon territory in Central Asia; the same feeling that urges the other European nations to seize upon the sick man Turkey—that same feeling is abroad in the world, and if the opportunity should offer, it will be exercised towards these Colonies."

But Australia can view with equanimity the prospect of closer relations with the rest of the world. She can even rejoice at it, provided she is strong enough to protect herself and hold her own. As Mr. McMillan very truly asks, Why should not the Colonies come into contact with European politics? Surely Australians are not going to be a nation of Chinese! "I believe," he says, "in Australia for a homogeneous race, for all those elements which will make our race great and good. I do not believe in an Australia which should be cut off from all the rest of the world." This is the right attitude for a young and enterprising community, and we are sure Mr. McMillan expresses the true sentiments of Australian manhood. The real explanation of the suspicion with which European expansion is regarded in some quarters must be looked for in the fact, which the Colonists are well aware of but are reluctant to confess, that Australia cannot stand alone. There is an uncomfortable feeling at Melbourne that the Western Port might afford facilities for a sudden raid; at Sydney that the city could be shelled without entering Port Jackson, and that an enemy could take possession of the coalfields almost unopposed; that Western Australia might be permanently occupied, and a great part of the Northern Territory of South Australia or Queensland annexed by a foreign invader, while the more populous Colonies could do nothing to prevent it. This feeling finds occasional expression, as when Mr. Dibbs, leader of the Opposition in the New South Wales Assembly, said that even Japan, China, Peru, and Chili had sufficient naval strength to smash up every fort in the Colonies; or again, when Mr. J. P. Abbott declared that they had gone to enormous expense in building forts at Newcastle and round Sydney, "and I venture to say that a few ship-loads of German sailors could take every fort without ever coming in front of them." The last opinion we will quote is from a speech by Mr. Schey:—"I have no doubt that if an enemy came here in sufficient force—and I admit that an enemy could come here in sufficient force—and visited Sydney, Melbourne, or Brisbane, either of these cities would be at their mercy; and if they chose to demand an indemnity of £2,000,000 the banks would be obliged to furnish the money." It seems odd that Mr. Schey should have subsequently voted against the Naval Force Bill!

Unable to avoid participation in international politics, and yet not strong enough to stand alone against the power of France or Germany, what better fortune can Australia desire than to keep her post as a bulwark of the British Empire? By assuming her rightful position as a partner in that Empire, she can turn acquaintance with other nations from a curse into a blessing; she can welcome the civilising influences of foreign intercourse without dreading the consequences of foreign ambition; and relying upon a boundless reserve of latent force, she can devote all her energies to the arts of peace, untroubled by those costly schemes and diplomatic intrigues that are the fate of weak but wealthy communities, to whom alliances are essential but expensive luxuries, and afford only this little grain of consolation—that it is just one degree better to be fleeced by friends than devoured by enemies.



### THE "TIMES" AND THE POLICY OF THE LEAGUE.

THE *Times* of February 2nd contained an interesting article upon the present position of the movement towards Imperial Federation, and the policy of the Imperial Federation League. In alluding to the fact that Lord Salisbury, when he addressed the deputation of the Imperial Federation League in 1886, declined to commit himself to any definite scheme, the *Times* observes that Lord Brassey does not go any further than this, and expresses its concurrence with the policy of the League if "that most important condition is observed."

We have great satisfaction in claiming the support of the *Times* for the policy of the League, for we have put forward no "scheme." This is not because no scheme has been demanded of us, for in the early days of the League, as Lord Rosebery recently said, "It was in vain for us to say we had no such plan ready, that it was not our intention to suggest any such scheme. Our opponents, or our more enthusiastic friends in the press or elsewhere, said that we must have such a scheme, and that if we did not have such a scheme it was our duty to produce one," adding that, in his opinion, the League would embark upon a disastrous course if it undertook any such responsibility. Neither was it for lack of material, for numbers of schemes have been sent here, some of a most elaborate nature. But the policy of the League has been from the first, to use the excellent words of the *Times*, "to unite the different regions of the British Empire by the ties of sentiment and of common interest."

To effect this it has brought into prominence the common interest of all parts of the Empire in the maintenance of Imperial Defence, and having approached Lord Salisbury with a request that a conference of the accredited representatives of the Empire should be summoned to consider that and other questions, it has had the satisfaction of seeing a scheme devised and agreed to by the whole of the Australian Colonies (with the exception of one which has deferred the question), by which they take part in the defence of the Australian waters hitherto protected solely by the Mother Country. It has also urged and continues to urge the importance, both sentimental and material, of an uniform system of postal communication (not necessarily penny) between the countries of the Empire. It is now attacking by means of a specially appointed committee that thorny question of commercial relations, and as a first step is publishing a complete synopsis of the tariffs and trade of the British Empire, which will throw a light upon the extraordinary anomalies now in existence, and enable the effect of the various tariffs upon the trade of each country to be accurately gauged. There are besides many minor matters, though of considerable importance, in which the League hopes by calling attention to existing systems, to effect changes which will tend to foster that community of interest which must be the groundwork of the Federation at which it aims.

The League is therefore not concerned at present at any rate with any scheme of constitution. For those, however, who are impatient and must have "a sign" there are distinct indications of the possible nature of the Imperial representative body of the future to be found in the proceedings of the Imperial Conference of last year. In opening the proceedings Lord Salisbury used these words:—"This meeting is the beginning of a state of things which is to have great results in the future. It will be the parent of a long progeniture, and distant councils of the Empire may, in some far-off time, look back to the meeting in this room as the root from which all their greatness and all their beneficence sprang."

Sir Henry Holland on the same occasion hoped "that this Conference will prove to be only the first of a series which will tend to show the strength, and to consolidate the unity of the Empire."

And Sir Samuel Griffith, Premier of Queensland, in the concluding speech of the Conference, spoke of future meetings in the following words, which, according to the official report, drew expression of approval from his colleagues:—

"It is impossible to predicate now what form future conferences should take, or in what mode some day

further effect would be given to their conclusions; but I think we may look forward to seeing this informal Council of the Empire developed until it becomes a legislative body, at any rate a consultative body, and some day, perhaps, a legislative body under conditions that we cannot just now foresee; and that, indeed, meetings such as this will before long be recognised as part of the general governing machinery of the Empire. I believe I am not anticipating too much when I say that, and I am sure I express the hope of every one who has been present here, and of all those who have had an opportunity of seeing what we have been doing."

If the predictions and hopes of Lord Salisbury and Sir Henry Holland be fulfilled it cannot be long before the forecast of Sir Samuel Griffith is proved correct, and when that has been done schemes for Imperial Federation will be out of date.

### THE TRADE AND TARIFFS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.<sup>1</sup>

SIR RAWSON RAWSON has done good service to the Commercial Committee of which he is chairman by the compilation of this valuable work. But the real gainers by the result of his labours will be the public at large, and more particularly the manufacturing and commercial classes, depending, as they do, for their very existence upon an accurate comprehension of the conditions under which their trade with the rest of the world is conducted.

It may safely be asserted that never before has such an excellent opportunity been given them of surveying, as it were, with one glance, the whole kaleidoscope of British commerce. In these days of diminished profits, the merchant and the manufacturer can rarely afford to confine their attention to a single market; they have to be constantly on the alert that no chance of doing remunerative business may be neglected, whether it lies in the eastern or the western hemisphere, at our own doors or at the Antipodes. Of late years, indeed, a marked tendency has revealed itself to desert foreign trade in favour of the British possessions, and Sir Rawson Rawson, observing this, has wisely restricted himself to considering the trade of the British Empire. But the restriction is to no narrow limits. The enormous extent of our Colonies, the expanding nature and marvellous variety of their commerce, present a sufficient scope for inquiry to satisfy the most ardent economist, and baffle the efforts of any one but a thoroughly skilled statistician to unravel the complications that appear at first sight overwhelming. It is not enough that a vague idea should prevail concerning the superiority of commerce with our Colonies over that with foreign nations. The manufacturer, having arrived at such a conclusion, may still run riot among a network of possible markets within the Empire, and in spite of a sound knowledge of his business, may easily be disappointed of legitimate profits, by continuing to send his goods to one quarter, while he might be getting a better demand if not a better price in another. And how is he to find time for the laborious researches and painstaking comparisons of the four and forty tariffs that govern his operations? We undertake to say that there are not a dozen firms in the Kingdom which could justify their choice of a particular Colonial market by a concise statement of the advantages conferred upon them by the tariff of the Colony in question. It is true that tariffs are not the only, perhaps not the chief, factor in determining the course of trade. But in these days, when the margin of profit is so small, a difference of 5 per cent., or even 3 per cent., in the duties levied cannot be disregarded. The great value of Sir Rawson Rawson's work lies in providing for the first time a trustworthy collection of all the tariffs of the Empire, so arranged that immediate comparison is possible of the duties levied upon different articles in different Colonies.

The argument may be advanced that because the duties are paid by the consumer their amount is immaterial to the producer. But this argument is not a sound one; for, apart from the system of export discounts and special quotations expressly contrived to alleviate the high prices necessitated by a high tariff, there can be no doubt

<sup>1</sup> "Synopsis of the Trade and Tariffs of the British Empire." By Sir Rawson W. Rawson, K.C.M.G. (Published by the Imperial Federation League. 1 Vol. Price 2s. 6d.)



whatever that the demand for commodities is largely connected with the customs duties. A duty of 20 per cent. means in almost every conceivable case a higher price to the consumer than a duty of 10 per cent. The result is that the consumer buys less of the article under the higher than under the lower tariff. Since manufacturers nowadays have to reap their reward from the volume of trade rather than from the profits upon particular transactions, anything which tends to restrict the amount of business done becomes of vital importance; and in this respect the variation of 5 or 10 per cent. in customs duties involves far-reaching consequences out of all proportion to the nominal addition to prices.

Sir Rawson Rawson has confined himself to a statement of facts, leaving his readers to draw their own inferences; and in this judicious course we are content to follow him. One of the most striking of his statistical tables exhibits the enormous totals of exports from the Colonies. To Colonial merchants and manufacturers, therefore, the work may be commended not less warmly than to those of the United Kingdom. Their choice of markets is rapidly widening, and with the growth of inter-Colonial trade, their interest in tariffs is the same as our own. It is to this identity of interest that we must look for the removal of obstacles and the simplification of complexities that are mutually embarrassing.

### WHAT'S IN A NAME?

A MEMBER of the League, Mr. T. D. Wanliss, has more than once written to the Secretary, upon the use of the words "England" and "English" in this Journal, in passages where he thinks the words "Britain" and "British" would be more appropriate.

In his last letter he begs that his complaint may be placed before the Committee, in order that if by-and-by he has "occasion to make public the manner in which the national sentiment of the Scottish and the Irish people is now treated, the Committee may not have it in its power to say that the matter was never brought under its consideration."

The matter was accordingly brought under the consideration of the Committee a few days ago. There were present Englishmen, Scotsmen, and Irishmen, to our own knowledge, and possibly Welshmen, and it is only right that Mr. Wanliss should be told that these gentlemen, who are well known to have the best interests of the League at heart as well as to be properly proud of their nationality, did not consider the complaint to be a very serious one, nor the use of the term to be—as Mr. Wanliss asserts it is to all Scotsmen and Irishmen—either offensive or objectionable.

We would ask Mr. Wanliss whether he really supposes that we should use these or any other words for the sake of "flattering the national vanity of a certain class of Englishmen?" It is a poor reward for our efforts on behalf of Imperial Unity if we cannot be credited with some higher purpose than that! But although we believe that there are few Britons who are not, and none who ought not to be, proud of the fair name and fame of England, we should be very glad to entertain Mr. Wanliss' proposal, and substitute the terms "Britain" and "Briton," were there not insuperable difficulties in the way of doing so.

We will content ourselves for the present with asking Mr. Wanliss how he would propose to designate antithetically, by means of adjectives, the people of the United Kingdom and of the Colonies? One stipulation we must make, that he does not expect us to write—except this once—"Great British and Irish," which we believe has been decided by the House of Lords to be a strictly accurate and technical definition!

THE QUALITY OF AUSTRALIAN LABOUR.—"If any lazy, idle fellow thinks to go out there and receive eight shillings a day and to do very little work he will be grievously disappointed. I have, on behalf of the Admiralty, spent a great many thousands of pounds during the last few years in Australia, and I must say that, though the wages were high, the work done was good, and the cost not so great as might be supposed. The men give a good day's work. It is true that they put down their tools the very instant the dinner-bell rings, but they do not dawdle and prepare for that event half an hour before."

—Admiral Tryon at the Colonial Institute.

### A PROTECTIONIST ADVOCATE IN VICTORIA.

WE have received copies of two remarkable pamphlets. The one, entitled "Protection in Victoria *versus* Free Trade in New South Wales," is a reprint of a series of articles recently published in the *Age* of Melbourne. The second, whose title inverts the words, as a sign and token of its proposed inversion of the facts and figures adduced, is called "Freedom in New South Wales *versus* Oppression in Victoria," and is by Mr. Edward Pulsford, Secretary of the New South Wales Free Trade Association. We have called these pamphlets remarkable, and we do so advisedly. "Figures may be made to mean anything" is a common saying, but that two responsible authors should differ as widely in their figures (most of them drawn, too, from official sources) as they do here, is to us, at least, a new experience. We will give one instance:—The *Age* writer states the capital value of rateable property in New South Wales as £56,000,000, in Victoria as £114,000,000. Mr. Pulsford leaves the Victorian totals untouched, but corrects those for New South Wales to £197,000,000.

On the whole controversy, with which we have no intention of troubling our readers, we conceive that the New South Wales author decidedly has the best of it. The *Age* sums up the facts and figures which it has adduced as follows:—"Bringing the whole facts of both cases and the whole circumstances of both countries to the test of actual results. . . . the outcome is so immensely in favour of Victoria and its protective policy as to make any further comment or discussion superfluous." Here is a single one of the actual results. Twenty years back Victoria had a population of 636,000. That of New South Wales was only 431,000. To-day the two countries are equal with one million apiece. In the decade ending 1881 the population of Victoria increased by 131,000. But as in the same period Victoria received 53,000 immigrants, while the excess of births over deaths was 145,000, it is evident that during the ten years a large number of persons must have left the Colony. In fact, we find that the male population between the ages of 25 to 45 fell from 135,000 to under 100,000, while in New South Wales during the same period their number increased from 83,000 to 116,000. A policy which drives away able-bodied men and fills up their places with women and children can hardly claim, one would think, to have done much for the strength and security of the Colony.

But in these pages we are in no wise concerned with Free Trade or Protection as a general policy. Victoria or Canada are, we conceive, fully at liberty to raise part or the whole of the revenue they need by customs duties, according as to them seems best. A united Empire can exist without internal Free Trade. In France, in the last century, when its people had as strong a sense of national unity as they have now, there were enormous transit duties between province and province, and there are such duties in India to-day. If further instances were needed, we might cite the fact that all over the Continent the municipalities raise their revenues by *octroi* duties, or we might adduce our own London coal and corn and wine dues. But there are other duties that stand on a different footing from these. If Canada were to agree to admit American manufactures at a lower rate than British, if Great Britain were to undertake to give Spanish wine an advantage over that from Australia or the Cape, it would render the prospects of Imperial Federation not perhaps, indeed, hopeless, but immeasurably less hopeful than they are to-day.

Tried by this test—its influence for or against the unity of the Empire—how shall we judge the writings of the Victorian advocate? The New South Wales policy, says the *Age* writer, enables "foreign workmen to obtain employment at the expense of the electors and their families." Elsewhere he says, "the hanks doing business in both countries [Victoria and New South Wales] . . . are foreign institutions, and the capital and reserves they have are mostly foreign." But who, we would ask our readers, are these "foreign" workmen who are taking the work away from their Australian competitors? Are they not mainly Englishmen and Scotchmen, not only subjects of the same Queen, of the same blood, speaking the same language, but actually, in very many cases, members of the same trade society, and accustomed to designate each other as "brother?" What says the introduction to



the rules of one of the chief of these societies—a society with nearly 300 members in Melbourne itself? “The Society offers a bond of union to the trade in various parts of the world. Although oceans may separate us, our interests are identical. . . . united under one constitution, governed by one code of rules, having one common fund available wherever it may be required.” “No!” replies the writer in the *Age*. “We are not our ‘brother’s’ keeper. Let him go and starve, he is only a ‘foreigner.’” We might ask similarly, who are the shareholders in the “foreign” banks doing business in Australia. Are they not the men who were the pioneers in the development of Australian industry, men who by their energy and thrift and self-denial reclaimed from the wilderness the ground on which the Victorian wharves and docks and factories are built to-day? Have these men, and their widows, and their daughters no part or lot in Australian prosperity?

From this point of view, then, we conceive we have a right to enter a protest in the name of the unity of the Empire. A month or two back we had the pleasure of quoting from the *Age* the patriotic language in which it spoke of “the obvious advantage of all parts of the Empire clinging together,” and bore approving witness to “the common sentiment of nationality in all parts of the Empire.” The *Age* pointed, and pointed we fully believe with truth, to the “abundant evidence that the people of these Colonies are thoroughly loyal to the Queen and the Mother Country.” For a time, perhaps, such loyalty may seem consistent with a determination to treat both the English investor and the English working man as a foreigner, but in the long run facts must assert themselves. We repeat once more that we are not arguing against the Victorian tariff. For Victoria to lay duties of 20 or 30 or 40 per cent. on every ton of goods that enters Port Phillip is, we conceive, no more a matter of principle than it would be for Plymouth to levy similar duties to defray the expense of maintaining its fortifications, or for Liverpool to exact, as it does, Mersey navigation dues. We will go further, and admit that it may be desirable that British industry should not put all its eggs in one basket, and that it may be for the good of the Empire, as a whole, that Colonial industries should be built up by Protection. But a temper that exhorts the electors of one Colony to lump together as foreign, and to regard as a *quantité négligeable* every interest that is outside the narrow bounds of that Colony itself, must in the end be incompatible with the continued unity of the British Empire.

### THE DOOM OF COMMERCIAL UNION.

IMPERIAL Federationists who are moved by the superstitious feeling that led Polyerates to sacrifice his ring, will begin, ere long, to pray for a victory for the Commercial Unionists somewhere—anywhere—within the four corners of the Canadian Dominion. Here is the Parliamentary record for the last month. “The election to the Dominion Parliament for Queen’s County, New Brunswick, has resulted in the return of Mr. Baird, Ministerialist, by a majority of 111 votes.” “The Government candidate has been returned in the bye-election at Halton, Ontario—a constituency which has hitherto been held by the Opposition. This makes the fifth seat won from the Opposition.” Now for the Provincial Parliaments. “The first bye-election to the Ontario Legislative Assembly, since the conference of provincial premiers at Quebec in October last declared in favour of Commercial Union with the United States, was held on February 1st, and resulted in the defeat of the Liberal candidate and the gain of a seat to the Conservatives.”

So much for the opinions of the inarticulate many. Now let us hear the voices of one or two of the leaders. “How would Commercial Union affect Canadian manufacturers?” asked Mr. Norman of Mr. Van Horne, Vice-President of the Canadian Pacific Railway. “It would simply ruin them,” was the prompt reply. “Not one of them in ten could compete with the United States for years. Commercial Union (the phrase is Mr. Van Horne’s) would just take the guts out of Canada.” Let us balance against the great railway manager a statesman. “Sir Hector Langevin, at a meeting of the Montreal Conservative Club, took occasion, as a representative of the French Canadians, to again denounce Commercial Union as a step towards

annexation.” But Canadian opinion, according to Professor Goldwin Smith, means the opinion of Ontario, so for this month we will leave him to the judgment of the Cæsar to whom he has himself appealed. Here is a Reuter’s telegram of a few days since:—“At a meeting of the Canadian Manufacturers’ Association held at Toronto, a resolution was passed condemning Commercial Union with the United States.”

### MR. CHAMBERLAIN’S GREAT SPEECH AT TORONTO.

“I SAY IT IS A GRAND IDEA.”

AT the recent annual dinner of the Toronto Board of Trade an important speech was delivered by the Right Hon. J. Chamberlain, M.P. The following extracts contain his eloquent remarks upon the relations of the Dominion to the Empire. He will receive gratitude and hearty approval on both sides of the Atlantic for the spirited manner in which he has set himself to nail the colours of Canada and the United Kingdom to the mast of Imperial Federation.

#### THE DOMINION’S RELATION TO THE EMPIRE.

Gentlemen, when you become tired of the mild sovereignty of England, when you cease to be proud of the institutions which yourselves have framed, with due regard to your local needs and improvements, and when the slender tie which still binds you to the Mother Country, and which, like the electric cable, if it exerts no pressure, still maintains the community of sympathy and interest; when that becomes an intolerable strain, then it will be time enough for us to consider the necessary measures of relief. (Hear, hear.) But in the meantime I cannot but think that in working out the great problem of federal government, which seems to have been left in charge of the English people, we shall more quickly reach the perfection of our free institutions by diversity of effort, and that this will prove to be more fertile and more effective than the immediate adoption of a single course of action. And of one thing you may rest assured, that if you desire to remain an integral part of the vast Empire of England, your interests will be maintained, your rights will be respected with all the influence that that Empire can wield. Your fellow-subjects throughout the world will rejoice in your prosperity, will take pride in your ceaseless activity, and look forward with confidence to the speedy development of your resources.

#### CANADA AND IMPERIAL CONFEDERATION.

It is only a short time in the history of a nation since your Confederation. Less than a human generation has passed away, and yet a new Canada has been revealed to us—not an ice-bound desert, which imperfect information formerly pictured, but a vast stretch of fertile territory, which is sure to be the home, at no distant date, of a teeming population of God-fearing, law-abiding, and industrious men and women, determining, as I hope they will, to maintain—aye, and not only to maintain, but also to draw closer—the bonds which unite them to Great Britain. I am confident that their loyalty and affection will never lack a warm response, and, gentlemen, they will be “citizens of no mean city”—a dominion the like of which the world has never seen, whether in regard to its extent, its resources, its population, or its beneficial influences. One of our poets—Matthew Arnold—has written of the burden of this vast Empire. He has spoken of Great Britain as a Titan staggering under the burden of the obligations of the Empire. Yes; obligations! But we’ll not lessen them by a cowardly surrender, or by a mean betrayal of the interests that are entrusted to our care. (Applause.) Relief must be found in drawing together the great component parts of the Empire, and not by casting away the outposts or cutting off the bulwarks. True democracy does not consist in the dismemberment and disintegration of the Empire, but rather in the knitting together of kindred races in similar objects. But, gentlemen, you have your portion in the lot of life. It may well be that the Confederation of Canada may be the lamp to light our pathway to the Confederation of the British Empire. There is a dream that there may be such a Federation. It may only be the imagination of the enthusiast, but I say it is a grand idea. It is one to stimulate the patriotism, the statesmanship, of every man who loves his country, and whether or not it should ever prove capable of practical realisation, let us all cherish the sentiment which it inspires; let us do all in our power to promote the closer relations, the kindly feeling, the goodwill, which ought always to exist between the sons of England throughout the world and the old folks at home. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

VOLUNTEERS IN NEWFOUNDLAND.—A movement has been commenced in St. John’s, Newfoundland, with the active support of the Governor, in favour of the establishment of a volunteer corps.



## AN INTERVIEW WITH MR. A. MCGOUN AT MONTREAL.

THE new daily paper which has just been established as the Government organ in Canada has formed a just appreciation of the importance of the Imperial Federation League, and despatched a representative to Mr. Arch. McGoun, junr., secretary of the League in Canada, for the purpose of obtaining his opinion upon the progress of the movement. The interview took place on January 27th, and was fully reported in the columns of the *Empire* next day. We are unable to do more than reproduce the principal portions of this interesting conversation. It will be seen, however, that Mr. McGoun goes considerably further into detail than the Executive of the League has done, and we feel sure that he would be the first to declare that on the occasion in question he was speaking in a purely private capacity, and giving his personal opinions only.

"What is the outlook of the League?" asked the representative of the *Empire*.

"Very satisfactory. The progress the idea has made is simply wonderful. The enunciation of the League's programme, that the Empire can and should be consolidated, has acted like magic on the political life of all the countries of the Empire. We have sixty members of the Canadian Parliament on our list, and even amongst those who have not adopted the name there is no leading statesman who is not influenced by the League, and nearly all favourably. The Commercial Union agitation, which seems already to have run its course, has done more to advance our cause than ten years' propagation would have done, for the people see that they must be permanently united either with the other countries of the British Empire or with the United States, and the former harmonises with all the traditions of our country."

"Is there any general agreement among the members as to the line of policy required?"

"Only, I think, to the extent that it must be in the nature of a partnership between the self-governing countries, principally for foreign affairs, but also with general control over relations of the several countries, or groups of countries, with one another. This involves common representation in the authority that controls Imperial affairs and joint contribution to support that authority."

"Is there any basis suggested for the regulation of these matters?"

"As to representation, I think the opinion gains ground that it must be by Imperial affairs exclusively being dealt with by an Imperial Parliament. Some of our friends think its membership should consist of representatives elected from among themselves by the Parliaments of the several countries of the Empire."

"On what basis?"

"If there were two chambers, the House of Commons on a basis of population of the self-governing countries, the upper house on a basis of their relative contribution."

"What would determine the contribution?"

"All parts of the Empire would have to contribute to the support of the army and navy on a peace footing and for the diplomatic and consular services. The basis of contribution would be the accumulated wealth, realised resources, and to some extent the risk to which each country would expose the Empire."

"Would that make Canada liable for the expenses of war in Asia and Africa?"

"No; the cost of wars affecting some parts of the Empire and not others would be assessed upon the localities interested in them. Of course, this would be a matter for arrangement between themselves and by the authority of the Imperial Parliament. To the enemy they will present an unbroken front."

"Have you seen any proposal for the manner in which Imperial expenses could be collected?"

"Mr. Morgan, M.P., in his address said that the mode most generally approved of would appear to be the imposition of a small discriminating duty on foreign imports into all countries of the Empire, from which produce of the Empire would be exempt, and added that it was considered that this would have the double advantage of raising Imperial revenue and promoting commercial intercourse between the different countries of the Empire."

"Would such a policy be acceptable to a Free Trade country like England?"

"As a measure for protecting home or Imperial industry or produce I do not believe it would, but as a means of raising Imperial revenue by joint contribution it might. Mr. James Service, one of the best known of Australasian statesmen, formerly Prime Minister of Victoria, now President of the Federal Council of Australia, when this subject was introduced at the Imperial Conference expressed himself as favourable to the idea, though a staunch Free Trader, and I think many, both Australasians and Englishmen, are disposed to share the same views, Mr. Morgan himself being a radical Free Trader."

## THE CONFERENCE BLUE BOOKS.

### V.—POSTAL AFFAIRS.

THE consideration of Postal affairs at the Imperial Conference was divided by Sir Henry Holland, when opening the discussion on April 19th, 1887, into three heads. He proposed that the subject of Imperial Penny Postage should be handled first; that the relations of the Empire to the Postal Union should be next considered; and, finally, the negotiations for the Australian mail contract should be passed in review.

The question of an Imperial Penny Postage was brought forward by Mr. Raikes, Postmaster-General, who stated that the scheme was impracticable at present. The Post Office cannot afford to take letters for a penny, except at a tremendous loss, by the overland route. This view was generally accepted by the representatives. The ordinary rate of postage in the Colonies is twopence a letter, and all the Colonial post-offices are losing concerns already. Under these circumstances, they could hardly have been expected to take any other view. We must, however, join issue with Sir Saul Samuel, when he argues that it would be an extraordinary anomaly to carry a letter from England to Bathurst, an inland town of New South Wales, while the same letter costs the same sum to carry from Sydney to Bathurst. For, as we have often urged in these columns, distance is not really the basis of postal rates; uniformity within a certain area is the recognised principle, and there would be no greater anomaly in having a uniform rate for all distances within the Empire than within a single Colony. Sir Saul Samuel's argument was completely upset by Mr. Forrest's statement that the postage from one to another of the Australasian Colonies is identical with the inland rate. If for the example he adduced of England and Bathurst Sir Saul Samuel had substituted New Zealand and Bathurst, the "anomaly" would have been equally striking, but represented an established fact instead of a new proposal. In the course of their deliberations, Mr. Henniker Heaton was summoned before the Conference, but he was unable to add anything to the papers he had already written on the subject, and his thrice-repeated request for more time to get up his case was disappointing to those who expected him to have the whole thing at his finger's end.

More important, because more likely to be soon realised, than Imperial Penny Postage, was the desire expressed by many of the representatives for a cheaper rate than 6d. between the United Kingdom and Australia. The great obstacle to a reduction being the transit dues through France and Italy, could not, it was asked, an alternative ocean route be arranged, whereby letters might be conveyed the whole way by sea, if not for a penny, for threepence or fourpence? Of course very little support was accorded to Mr. Raikes' suggestion that the mail steamers subsidised by the New Zealand Government should be compelled to carry a "cheap post" to Hobart as ship letters. It is well known that the Imperial Post Office has a right to put ship letters on board any vessel at a cost of one penny each; but it would be extremely unfair to use the New Zealand subsidy as a stalking-horse for taking cheap letters to Australia, of which we are unwilling to defray the cost ourselves. The ocean post must clearly go by the same steamers that carry the overland mails, and be placed on board at a British port instead of at Naples or Brindisi. There was some force, however, in Mr. Raikes' anxiety lest the negotiations for a reduction in the transit dues between Calais and Brindisi might be imperilled by any scheme for subtracting part of the mails from the overland route. The transit dues are charged by weight, and it is not easy to press for reduced prices while a decrease in the amount of business is imminent. But it may be hoped that this difficulty will not prove insurmountable, for the idea of a threepenny or fourpenny postage by the ocean route was favourably received by the Conference, and would certainly be a welcome instalment of postal reform in this country and the Colonies. Sir John Downer, indeed, stated that there was no desire in South Australia for a reduction in the rate of sixpence the half-ounce—which is equivalent to £1,800 per ton, said Sir W. Fitzherbert, as compared to £2 or £3 per ton for ordinary freight—and Sir Saul Samuel declared that during three terms of office as Postmaster-General of New South Wales he had heard no complaints. But he spoke tentatively in favour of a cheaper ocean rate, and was supported by Sir W. Fitzherbert, Sir Samuel Griffith, Mr. Dodds, and Sir Graham Berry. The last-named gentleman put the case thus: "I think that if you could establish a longer sea-route for what you may call family letters—correspondence that is not urgent—a large additional correspondence would take place if letters could be sent between Australia and London for threepence by the same route and by the same ship that carried the fast mail."

It should be observed that throughout the discussion, Imperial Penny Postage, while objected to as impracticable, seemed to be approved in principle. Sir Saul Samuel appears to have expressed the general sentiment in saying "I do not oppose the reduction of postage when the proper time comes. I should be very glad to see it reduced to one penny, or even to a lesser sum; but that is not practicable at present."



We desire to make three comments on the whole question which seem hitherto to have escaped notice. First, in comparing our inland postage of one penny with the sixpenny postage to Australia, it should be borne in mind that while the penny covers one ounce, the sixpence only covers half an ounce, so that the latter is twelve times as costly as the former! Secondly, that there is no reason why the United Kingdom should not reduce the outward rates, even if the Colonies do not reduce the homeward rates; because, allowing for the different value of money as measured in wages, it costs the Englishman far more to send a letter out than it costs an Australian to send a letter home; the equal charge does not involve an equal sacrifice. Thirdly, a memorandum issued by the General Post Office in 1886 alludes to "a public need often mentioned in former years, that of being able to obtain an answer from a person abroad whom it is not desired to put to the expense of postage." Is it too much to ask that when the cheaper ocean postage is established this public need—which is a very genuine one—may be recognised by instituting some form of stamp that can be used alike in the United Kingdom and in the Colonies for the ocean postage?

The position of the British Colonies with regard to the International Postal Union is briefly one of disfranchisement. Originally the United Kingdom, British India, and the Colonies of Great Britain collectively, had a vote each. But in 1878, when Canada entered the Union, the Imperial Government ceded to her the vote obtained for the Colonies generally, leaving the rest of the Colonies in the Union to be represented by the Mother Country with one common vote. The Australasian and South African Colonies remained outside the Union, and in 1885 an offer was made of one vote for the whole of the Australasian Colonies, and another for the whole of the Colonies still without a vote, including the Cape and Natal, and contingent upon those Colonies entering the Union. This offer has not been accepted. The probable rates of postage between Australia and Europe, under the Postal Union, would be five-pence per half-ounce, and between Europe and South Africa fourpence per half-ounce. But it would be possible for these rates to be raised to sixpence and five-pence respectively, at the option of the countries of despatch.

The objection felt by the Colonies to entering the Postal Union, owing to the want of adequate representation, is a natural one, and it would not be entirely dissipated even if each of them had a vote. It appears that in 1884 the German Post Office gave notice that they would propose to reduce the sea-transit rate; and, though they withdrew it for the time, the motion may very likely be renewed. If it were carried—as it could be, by a simple majority of votes, against the wishes of the Colonies and this country combined—we should be bound to carry the correspondence of the world to and from Australia and South Africa at the reduced rate, for all the principal lines of steamers are in our hands. But the subsidies paid by us to those steamers would suffer no proportionate reduction, and we should be the losers in having to pay the same subsidy while receiving a smaller amount of postage by way of compensation.

The situation at present seems to be that there is little prospect of the Postal Union Congress offering a separate vote to each of the Colonies; that until such an offer is made, the Colonies are, to use Sir Henry Holland's words, as fixed as the Monument on Fish Street Hill, that they will not enter the Postal Union; that even if the offer were made, the possibility of having to carry the correspondence of the rest of the world at an almost nominal rate would weigh against its acceptance; and that the recent conclusion of a new contract for the Australian mails forms an additional obstacle.

This mail contract constituted the third heading of discussion upon postal affairs; but little was said about it, the matter being treated as a departmental question to be settled between the Imperial Post Office and the Colonies interested. It should be noticed, however, that when calling for tenders for the conveyance of mails to Australia, the Post Office authorities confined themselves to the Brindisi route, and thus lost the chance of availing themselves of the Canadian Pacific route, although it appeared from Sir Alexander Campbell's statements and the papers he handed in, that both in point of speed and efficiency the Canadian company might have successfully competed.

In conclusion, attention should be drawn to a memorandum from Sir R. Thorburn and Sir Ambrose Shea upon the mail service to Newfoundland. "We understand," they say, "that the Australian mail service is to be placed on a footing that fixes one-half the subsidy each on Imperial and Colonial funds, with a corresponding apportionment of the receipts; and as we will not suppose that Her Majesty's Government would desire to place Newfoundland in a less favourable position, we respectfully request that a similar arrangement be made to apply to our Colony." The facts appear to be these: up to 1872 the Imperial Government paid half the mail subsidy to Newfoundland, and retained all the postages. In that year the contribution was withdrawn, but the postages were still retained; the Imperial Government at the present time returns £500 a year only to the Colony, which has to pay £16,000 as subsidy. If this is a correct summary of the situation, it certainly calls for immediate reform.

## ANNUAL MEETING OF THE KENSINGTON BRANCH.

ADDRESS BY MR. JOHN MACKENZIE ON SOUTH AFRICA.

THE second annual general meeting of this branch was held at the Kensington Town Hall on Friday, Feb. 17th, when a lecture was delivered by Mr. John Mackenzie, late Deputy-Commissioner of Bechuanaland, on "Austral Africa," in relation to the Empire. Sir Rawson Rawson, K.C.M.G. (President), occupied the chair, and was supported by Mr. J. Horne Payne, Q.C. (Vice-President); Colonel P. R. Innes (Hon. Treasurer); Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.; General G. O. Leggatt, Mr. H. Rider Haggard, Mr. F. C. Mackarness (Cape Colony), Mr. Dunn, Mr. W. R. Auckett, Dr. Culver James, Dr. W. H. Lamb, Mr. G. G. Tremlett, Mr. E. A. Arnold, Colonel Molyneux, Mr. A. H. Loring (Secretary of the League), Mr. C. Freeman Murray (Secretary of Branch), &c., &c.

When the business was completed the Chairman introduced MR. MACKENZIE, who said he had great pleasure in standing upon the platform of the League, and he could not forget that one of its chief founders was the late Mr. W. E. Forster. The views he wished to put forward now were not new, for they were well understood in 1883 and 1884, and had the cordial concurrence and advocacy of Mr. Forster. He was also glad to have as Chairman one who knew the manner in which Imperial obligations had been carried out, and also the presence of Sir Henry Barkly, who presided over the affairs of Cape Colony at the time when responsible Government was granted to it. The importance of the Cape to the British Empire was admitted, and its welfare was inseparably connected with the comfort, peacefulness, loyalty, and prosperity of the native population of South Africa. To secure our possession of it, it was necessary that confidence, respect, and enthusiastic admiration of the Imperial Government should be begotten and continue to exist in South Africa. These feelings do prevail in other Colonies, and the hopes of Imperial Federation were based upon their existence. If their policy in South Africa had not been such as to produce this in the past, then it was indispensable that a change should take place; and it was his impression that the Imperial Government had to do more than it had yet done, with intelligence, continuity, firmness, and masterfulness, both for its own interests and those of South Africa. The responsibility for the welfare of the inland population devolved upon us, and was enhanced by two laws of population seen constantly in practice—the black population coming southward for work and for wages, and the white population pushing steadily northward. This is not a matter of concerted action, but nevertheless steady in progress; and we have to lay it to our consciences that these two laws have never been studied or recognised, but that we have tried to fight against them. They are two mighty waves, and the attempt to sweep them back cannot succeed, however big the broom. But while fairly criticising our rulers in the past, he could cheerfully say that, despite mistakes, they had done some right good work as an Imperial power. If England had done nothing else in South Africa than take away slavery, the wretched apple of discord, she had done good work indeed. Yet, on the whole, England had not had the perseverance to follow out a steady policy, and the result was seen in the diversely-coloured map before them. Sir Bartle Frere was sent out not only as Governor of Cape Colony, but as High Commissioner, and at once became subject to local differences, which were so mixed up with Imperial concerns as sadly to hamper his commission. Our efforts in the past had been shipwrecked by the connection of Imperial officers with the local politics and affairs of Cape Colony; and the policy at the present moment with regard to Bechuanaland was how to get out of it. The English had tried to understand and administer India, and to a great extent had succeeded. They had never yet tried to do this for South Africa; and when they set their minds to do it, their difficulties would end that same year. Imperial and local matters should be kept separate, and they should try to go into native territories where they would be welcome. They could give to the natives the protection they begged for, and at the same time open the country for the settlement of Europeans, and make it a source of revenue, and not of expenditure, to the United Kingdom.

After some remarks from Mr. Rider Haggard, Mr. Mackarness, and Mr. Dunn, a vote of thanks to the Lecturer was proposed by the Chairman, and seconded by SIR HENRY BARKLY, who said he cordially concurred in all that had been said, and expressed an opinion that when native territory is annexed to the possessions of Her Majesty in South Africa, it ought, at any rate for a considerable time, to be kept under the control and supervision of commissioners appointed from this country, and responsible to Downing Street only. He hoped that Mr. Mackenzie might yet have power to carry out his policy, and show that it was the right one.

The vote having been carried, the meeting ended.

EMIGRANTS IN CANADA.—The immigration into Canada in 1887 amounted to 143,000, against 103,000 in the previous year.



## ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CAMBRIDGE BRANCH OF THE LEAGUE.

ADDRESS BY LORD BRASSEY.

ON February 1st the annual meeting of the Cambridge University Branch of the Imperial Federation League was held in the Guildhall, Cambridge, under the presidency of Prof. Seeley, who was supported on the platform by Lord Brassey, the Rev. the Master of Trinity, Dr. MacAlister, Mr. Dalton, and Mr. J. N. Langley. Among the audience were the Rev. the Master of Jesus, Sir George Paget, the Rev. Prof. Browne, the Rev. J. J. Lias, the Rev. T. J. Lawrence, Dr. Anningson, Dr. Waraker, Captain Goings, R.N., Messrs. J. Cooke, W. Cockerell, J. Congreve, A. Deck, Francis J. Grant, E. J. Gross, T. F. C. Huddleston, T. W. Levin, E. J. Mortlock, W. B. Redfarn, S. Taylor, and others. There was a large attendance.

MR. DALTON, Secretary of the Branch, having read the Annual Report,

The CHAIRMAN said that Imperial Federation excited enthusiasm everywhere, and more and more the longer it was considered. "But it excites also the serious attention of statesmen. Those who turn away from it are not so often practical men as academic theorists. Look over our list of names, and ask yourselves, Are not these—or some of these—practical men? Our founder was Mr. Forster, our actual president is Lord Rosebery, and our treasurer is here—I invite you now to listen to him—Lord Brassey." (Cheers.)

LORD BRASSEY then gave a powerful address, which was listened to with marked attention, and frequently interrupted by applause. He began by referring to the strength of the Imperial sentiment which he had recently observed in the Colonies. The last occasion on which he had the privilege of addressing a branch of the Imperial Federation League was at a banquet in the noble city of Melbourne. The occasion to which he referred was of some real importance—not because a compliment had been paid to him as treasurer of the League—but because there was present at that banquet a guest in the high position of Prime Minister of Victoria. It was a circumstance of considerable significance that Mr. Gillies, the Prime Minister of Victoria, thought it his duty to be present on that occasion. After quoting from Mr. Gillies' speech, which was reported in the Journal for September, 1887, Lord Brassey took his hearers to another country—that of New South Wales. He was present at an entertainment given by Sir Henry Parkes, the Prime Minister of New South Wales, to the surviving members of the first legislative assembly of the Colony, when he assembled round him men who had attained to high positions in the Colony, including several who had been Prime Ministers, others who had held high judicial offices, and one who was the Speaker of the Upper House of the Colony. On that occasion Sir John Hay, the Speaker of the Legislative Council, said:—"We indeed feel the full advantages of union with the Mother Country, and we are convinced that we can only, by maintaining it, reap the benefits of the independence which we have obtained. Such was the feeling of the first Legislature here, of which we are the living representatives, and such has continued to be the feeling of Australia ever since." (Cheers.) Sir John Robertson, who had on two or three occasions been called to the office of Prime Minister of the Colony of New South Wales, said:—"I hope and pray that the Colonies may so build up themselves that we may be a credit to ourselves; that they may so build themselves up as that they will not sever themselves from the Old Country by any paltry rubbish—such, for instance, as the federation of the Colonies, to the exclusion of the old land. What do we owe to the other Colonies? Nothing. What do we owe to the Mother Country? Everything." (Cheers.) At the same banquet Sir William Manning, who held high judicial office, said:—"The union of the Empire is a subject on which I am glad to speak. Union we have, at present, between Great Britain and all her existing Colonies, in almost every sense short of that intimate Federation which has been so much discussed of late in various forms. Perfect unity may not be practicable with bodies of people so remote from each other, in everything. There are local interests and local leaders, but God grant it may be the Empire's happiness to have as much of it as can be won and kept by patriotic feeling, by national pride, by the ties of race and blood, and by wise statesmanship, and well-governed temper, both at home and in the Colonies. (Cheers.) For my own part, old Colonist as I am, I have never, for one moment, felt myself other than as a unit in the great British Empire, and have never conceived of this country other than as an integral part of it. But there is a still Greater Britain, which includes the United States of America, in one natural bond with ourselves, in all but the single element of State Government, and we may, and ought, and, perhaps, will be, in the end, in such brotherhood with Great Britain, and its other offshoots, as to be in true, though independent, union with the Empire." (Cheers.) Turning to his personal impressions of Australia, his lordship said that he was present at Melbourne on the occasion of the Colony celebrating the Jubilee of the Queen, and he saw manifestations of loyal feeling in many forms. He saw 5,000 of the Colonial Militia march past like a wall, to the tune of

"The Old Folks at Home." (Applause.) There was nothing very remarkable in the music, but there was something which went very near to the heart of an English visitor in the sentiment of which that music was the symbol. (Applause.) On the day following that review the whole of the great Parliamentary Buildings of Melbourne were dedicated for ever to the name of the Queen. (Applause.) On the evening of the same day they attended a Jubilee concert of colossal proportions. Thousands of people were there, and four several and distinct times "God save the Queen" was sung. (Applause.) On the following day thirty thousand school children were assembled, and sang the same noble anthem with admirable sentiments of loyalty. He accompanied the Governor of South Australia, in the Jubilee week, on a journey which he made to a rather remote part of the Colony, where a railway was being opened for the first time; and all through the day, and also through the night, at every station at which they stopped, however small the community, the children of the village school were assembled, and—whether it was at midnight, or one, or two, or three, or four o'clock in the morning—when the train drew up at the station, they heard, through the darkness of the night, those little infant voices singing "God save the Queen." (Applause.)

His LORDSHIP proceeded to point out the great revolution of feeling in the United Kingdom upon the subject of Federation within the last few years, and showed how advantageous the closer union of the Empire would be for a variety of reasons. He insisted upon the wisdom of the League's policy in refusing to identify itself with any particular scheme of Federation. The question had come to the front with wonderful rapidity, and he thought they might look forward to corresponding progress in the future. He looked for the establishment of a great Pan-Britannic alliance as a reasonable possibility and no vain and idle dream.

The MASTER of TRINITY made some interesting remarks upon the subject of emigration, after which

A vote of thanks to LORD BRASSEY moved by DR. MACALISTER—who related some of his experiences in a recent tour in Canada—and seconded by MR. MOLTENA, was carried.

LORD BRASSEY having acknowledged the vote,

MR. REDFARN proposed a vote of thanks to the CHAIRMAN for presiding.

The motion was seconded by LORD BRASSEY, and carried; and, with the CHAIRMAN'S acknowledgment of the compliment, the proceedings closed.

## ANNUAL MEETING OF THE GLASGOW BRANCH OF THE LEAGUE.

THE first annual meeting of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Branch was held in the Board Room of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce on Monday, Feb. 20th, at 12.30 o'clock. There was a good attendance of members, including, among others, ex-Lord Provost Rae-Arthur; Messrs. John Maxwell, of Baillieston, A. G. Graham, William Stewart, Daniel Crawford, Archibald Lang, and William V. Jackson. Mr. Maxwell was moved into the chair. Apologies for absence were intimated from the Earl of Glasgow, ex-Lord Provost John Ure, Rev. I. E. Campbell Colquhoun, of Killermont, Mr. William Auchincloss Arrol, Mr. A. Cameron Corbett, M.P., Mr. J. G. A. Baird, M.P., Mr. James Hozier, M.P., and others.

The Secretary (Mr. John Stuart Lang, Writer) read his report of the business done during the past year (the first of the branch's existence), and the prospects for the future. The following are a few extracts from it:—

"At a meeting held on 16th February, 1887, it was resolved to form a branch of the League, to be called 'The Glasgow and West of Scotland Branch.' A secretary and treasurer were appointed, and a set of rules formulated; but it was deemed advisable to postpone the appointment of a committee and other office-bearers until an anticipated increase in the membership had taken place. The chairman, vice-chairmen, and committee will thus be appointed for the first time at this meeting.

"The prospects of the branch are at present most cheering, the membership is steadily increasing, and public interest in the movement is being aroused. It is to be expected that the public meeting which it is proposed to hold in March or April will result in a great increase in the membership, and the secretary trusts that to this end the members will use their influence with their friends and acquaintances, so that the strength of the branch may be felt by branches of the League in other parts of the country."

The report went on to touch on the advisability of members increasing the amount of individual subscriptions, so as to allow of a portion of each being applied towards the payment of expenses incurred in the administration of the affairs of the branch, and closed with recommendations on several points.

Statement of accounts was also submitted and adopted, along with the secretary's report.

The meeting then proceeded to elect the following office-bearers, viz.:—Chairman—The Right. Hon. the Earl of Glasgow. Vice-Chairmen—Ex-Lord Provost William Rae-Arthur;



Ex-Lord Provost John Ure; J. G. A. Baird, Esq., M.P.; A. Cameron Corbett, Esq., M.P.; James Hozier, Esq., M.P.; Rev. I. E. Campbell Colquhoun, of Killermont; William Mackinnon, Esq. Committee—William Stewart, Esq.; William V. Jackson, Esq.; John Maxwell, Esq., of Baillieston; William Auchincloss Arrol, Esq.; A. G. Graham, Esq.; with power to add to their number. Mr. John Stuart Lang, Writer, was re-appointed honorary secretary and treasurer.

Thereafter the special business of the meeting was proceeded with, and several of the rules of the branch were amended. Among which that specially deserved notice was the change of the minimum subscription from 1s. to 2s. 6d.; but with the proviso that the working-class might constitute themselves members by subscribing the former sum. This change seemed to the majority of the members present to be advisable, in order that a part of each subscription might be available towards defraying the expenses of the branch. Under the previous terms of membership all who did not subscribe more than 5s. were actually a source of small pecuniary loss, their whole subscription having to be forwarded to the head office *gratis*.

It was remitted to the committee to make arrangements for holding a public meeting at an early date, and it is hoped that the chairman of the League and some other influential member or members will consent to take part in the proceedings.

In the discussion of the several matters brought before the meeting, the members showed themselves to be thoroughly enthusiastic, and to have determined to make their branch one of the most flourishing in the League.

### THE ORGANISING LECTURER AT WORK.

WE append a report of Mr. W. Sebright Green's crusade on behalf of the Imperial Federation League for the month ending Feb. 18th, 1888:—

#### ROSS.

A meeting was held in the Corn Exchange on January 23rd; there was a large attendance, over 150 people being present to hear Mr. Sebright Green's lecture. The chair was taken by Rev. Prebendary Cobbold, Rector of Ross, who, in opening the proceedings, remarked that it was refreshing to get out of the region of political strife, and enter on what might be termed a Pacific Ocean. This metaphor was well maintained by the subsequent discussion, in which Mr. T. Blake and Mr. T. Duckham, prominent Liberals, and Captain Verschoyle and Mr. J. B. Sainsbury, prominent Conservatives, joined their forces in hearty approval of the League's principles. The following resolution was carried unanimously:—"That this meeting accepts the principles of Imperial Federation as enunciated by the Imperial Federation League, and heartily approves of the work and objects of the League." Mr. E. B. Turner made an apposite speech in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer. Among other gentlemen in the neighbourhood who are interesting themselves in our work may be mentioned Col. Money Kyrle, Mr. J. L. Piddocke, and Rev. E. B. Hawkshaw.

#### LEDBURY.

Mr. Sebright Green lectured in the Assembly Rooms on January 24th to a most attentive and encouraging audience of about 200 people. Mr. M. Biddulph, M.P., presided, and among those present were—*place aux dames!*—Lady Elizabeth Biddulph and several other ladies; also Mr. J. Garrood, Mr. G. H. Piper, Rev. J. Lauder, Dr. S. J. Parkes, Rev. P. Whiteford, Rev. J. Richard, Mr. J. Parr, Mr. L. Tilley, Mr. W. J. Parr, Mr. W. Revell, Mr. J. Dillon, Mr. J. Powell, Mr. T. S. Gardner, and Mr. W. Manton. At this meeting, too, the union of both political parties was very gratifying; thus, Mr. Garrood is the Liberal agent, and Mr. Piper the Conservative agent. Several speeches were delivered during the evening, discovering a warm interest in various problems connected with Federation, and the same resolution as at Ross was put to the meeting and carried by a large majority. Among sympathisers with our principles in the neighbourhood, some of whom it is hoped will help us to spread the knowledge of Federation, we may indicate Lady Henry Somerset, Rev. G. J. Curtis, Mr. C. W. Radcliffe Cooke, M.P., Mr. C. A. Hewitt, Mr. E. J. Webb, Rev. W. Hopton, and Mr. C. W. Stephens. Altogether the prospect in this district is a very bright one.

#### KINGTON.

The following evening, January 25th, found Mr. Sebright Green at the Burton Hall, Kington, addressing another capital meeting, with about 150 people present. The chair was taken by Mr. Richard Green, who prefaced his remarks by reading letters from Lord Ormathwaite and Mr. Robert Mynors, expressing regret at their inability to attend. Among the speakers were Mr. R. W. Banks, Mr. J. B. Froyssell, Mr. A. Temple, and Rev. H. Harrison. The last-named gentleman gave a little anecdote which appealed deeply to his hearers. About five years ago he was in Tasmania, when a shopkeeper said to him, "I think you come from home?" "From home!" he replied; "I come from England. What part of England do you call

home?" "I was born out here," answered the shopkeeper; "but we all call England home!"

#### LEOMINSTER.

On January 26th a most successful meeting was held in the Town Hall, Leominster, where Mr. Green's lecture was listened to by about 200 people. The chair was taken by Mr. James Rankin, M.P. for Hereford, and a member of the General Committee of the League. Among those present were Councillor Davis (Mayor of Leominster), Aldermen Stallard and Hyde, Councillors Lewis and Gregg, Rev. T. Hutchinson, Messrs. H. S. Newman, W. N. Gammidge, J. Newman, C. Woodhouse, J. Clowes, C. D. Andrews, F. G. Saxby, T. D. Burlton, T. Marshall, H. Moore, Edwin Lloyd, W. B. Heygate, W. T. Sale, M. J. Elwood, and E. Storr. Letters of regret were read from Lord Bateman, Colonel Decie, Major Ashton, Mr. Arkwright, and Mr. Wood. No resolution was submitted to the meeting, as it was considered to be, as Mr. Rankin said, a lecture for instruction, and to create interest in the subject; but the heartiness with which a vote of thanks was unanimously accorded to Mr. Green proved the sympathy of the audience. In the course of the evening Mr. Rankin spoke twice: the first time to introduce Mr. Green, and the second in acknowledging a vote of thanks to himself for presiding. His remarks on both occasions were most interesting and warmly received. The other speakers were the Mayor, Alderman Stallard, Mr. H. Moore, and Mr. Edwin Lloyd. Our thanks are due to Mr. G. Preston Robinson, by whom the successful arrangements for the meeting were organised.

#### HEREFORD.

On January 27th Mr. Rankin, M.P., arranged a little meeting in the Museum Room at the Free Library, when Mr. Green's views were as usual well received by the audience, and at the close of the meeting he was requested to come again on a future occasion, with the assurance that his lecture had only whetted the interest of his hearers in the subject of Imperial Federation. Among those who have announced their acceptance of our principles in this important city must be mentioned Colonel Lucas and Mr. Surtees Allnutt.

#### TENBURY.

On January 28th Mr. Green lectured at Tenbury. This was not a large meeting, but the interest evinced towards our cause by Mr. E. Vincent Wheeler, Mr. W. Norris, Rev. T. Ayscough Smith, and Rev. W. Rayson is a sufficient guarantee that it will be well supported until the next visit of a representative from the League, which, we understand, might be more conveniently paid on some other day than a Saturday.

This was the sixth consecutive day on which Mr. Green had been lecturing, and the meeting at Tenbury brought to a close his crusade in Herefordshire, which has been attended by the most beneficial results. The *Hereford Journal*, summarising the week's meetings, said: "At each place the objects of the League have been fully explained, and, judging from the reception of the remarks of the various speakers, a considerable feeling in favour of these objects exists in the county."

#### STOCKTON-ON-TEES.

About four hundred people were assembled in the Borough Hall on January 31st, when Mr. Sebright Green delivered a powerful address at the conclusion of the Conservative Association's annual meeting. Mr. C. Arthur Head was in the chair, and supported on the platform by a number of the leading men in this important constituency, among whom Mr. Thomas Wrightson, Mr. R. C. Denton, and Mr. W. Kirk have taken a conspicuous interest in the subject of Imperial Federation. The address was excellently received, and Mr. Green was made especially welcome owing to his being in some degree a Stockton man, having formerly resided for several years in the town. It was evident that the question which really went home to the audience was the possibility of commercial Federation, and both Mr. Wrightson and Mr. Fawcett insisted upon its importance in the discussion which followed the lecture.

#### MIDDLESBROUGH.

On February 9th a good audience gathered in the Cleveland Hall to hear Mr. Sebright Green's lecture. The chair was taken by Councillor J. F. Wilson, who read a letter of regret at his inability to attend from Mr. Isaac Wilson, M.P. Among those present were Councillor W. L. Taylor, Mr. John Hart, Mr. P. Walsh, Mr. T. Pickering, Mr. A. Mills, Mr. Aneurin Williams, Mr. E. T. John, Mr. G. Lambert, Mr. G. Alexander, Mr. J. G. Newby, Mr. W. G. Roberts, and Mr. J. Goodson. The Chairman, when introducing Mr. Green, spoke in highly eulogistic terms of the Imperial Federation movement, and pointed out that when they remembered that Australia and New Zealand were together equal in size to the whole of the United States, and thirty times as large as the United Kingdom, they could realise to some extent the importance of preserving the most cordial relations with our Colonies in that part of the world. Mr. Aneurin Williams also spoke with remarkable force and eloquence in moving a resolution endorsing the work of the League; which was seconded by Mr. E. T. John, and heartily carried.



## BRANCHES OF THE LEAGUE AND THEIR OFFICERS.

THE following is a complete list of the Branches of the Imperial Federation League in the United Kingdom and the Dominion of Canada, with the names of their officers, so far as they can be ascertained :—

### BRANCHES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

**Cambridge (Town).—***President:* W. B. Redfarn. *Hon. Secretary and Treasurer:* C. Turner, Park Terrace.

**Cambridge University Branch.—***President:* Professor J. R. Seeley. *Hon. Treasurer:* J. N. Langley, M.A. *Hon. Secretary:* J. H. C. Dalton, Trinity College.

**Edinburgh and East of Scotland Branch.—***President:* Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I.; *Vice-Chairmen:* The Dean of Faculty, Q.C.; J. P. B. Robertson, Q.C., M.P. (Solicitor-General for Scotland); the Right Hon. J. B. Balfour, Q.C., M.P.; Sir Charles J. Pearson (Advocate); Professor Lorimer, University of Edinburgh. *Hon. Treasurer:* George Jamieson, C.A. *Hon. Secretary:* James J. Simpson, LL.B., Chambers, 116, George Street, Edinburgh.

**Glasgow and West of Scotland Branch.—***Chairman:* The Right Hon. the Earl of Glasgow. *Vice-Chairmen:* Ex-Lord Provost William Rae-Arthur; Ex-Lord Provost John Ure; J. G. A. Baird, M.P.; A. Cameron Corbett, M.P.; James Hozier, M.P.; Rev. J. E. Campbell Colquhoun, of Killermont; William Mackinnon. *Hon. Secretary and Treasurer:* John Stuart Lang, 103, West Regent Street, Glasgow.

**Harrow Branch.—***Hon. Secretary and Treasurer:* E. W. Howson, Harrow.

**Haslemere District Branch.—***President:* The Right Hon. Lord Tennyson, D.C.L. *Vice-Presidents:* The Right Hon. the Earl of Egmont; The Right Hon. the Earl of Winterton; The Hon. St. John Brodrick, M.P.; The Hon. Hallam Tennyson; Professor John Tyndall, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.; G. B. Buckton, F.R.S.; Rev. Sanders Etheridge; Ellis Duncombe Gosling; James Simmons, J.P. *Hon. Secretary and Treasurer:* Jas. Stanley Little, 155a, Great Titchfield Street, London, W.

**Huntingdon (County) Branch.—***President:* The Right Hon. the Earl of Sandwich. *Vice-Presidents:* The Marquis of Huntly; Lord de Ramsey; the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Ely; H. C. Geldart (High Sheriff); A. H. Smith Barry, M.P.; the Hon. Alwyn Fellowes, M.P.; John Samuel Smith (Mayor of Huntingdon); the Venerable Archdeacon Vesey; Bateman Brown, J.P.; George John Rush, J.P.; A. W. Marshall, J.P.; Thomas Coote, Jun.; Henry Goodman, J.P.; Frederick R. Beart, J.P.; T. F. A. Burnaby, J.P.; John McNish; Arthur Sperling, J.P.; Philip E. Tillard, J.P.; Frederick J. Howson, J.P.; the Rev. H. Simcoe Budge; Frederick Warren; Captain Ricketts; Chas. S. Windover; Major H. G. Rooper; the Rev. Benjamin H. Puckle. *Hon. Secretary and Treasurer:* Edward Walter Hunnybun, Huntingdon.

**Kendal Branch.—***President:* W. Wakefield. *Hon. Secretary and Treasurer:* Colin Somervell, Kendal.

**Kensington Branch.—***President:* Sir Rawson W. Rawson, K.C.M.G., C.B. *Vice-President:* J. Horne Payne, Q.C. *Hon. Treasurer:* Lieutenant-Colonel P. R. Innes. *Secretary:* C. Freeman Murray, 99, Gloucester Road, S.W.

**Newcastle-on-Tyne Branch.—***Chairman:* vacant. *Hon. Secretary and Treasurer:* Robert S. Nisbet, 45, Grove Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

**Oxford University Branch.—***President:* Professor James Bryce, M.P. *Vice-President:* Professor Montagu Burrows. *Hon. Treasurer:* Professor A. S. Napier. *Hon. Secretary:* J. A. Longley, Christ Church.

**Paddington Branch.—***Chairman:* J. C. Whiteborne, Q.C. *Hon. Treasurer:* Philip Vernon Smith. *Hon. Secretary:* Henry P. Harris, 32, Inverness Terrace, Hyde Park, W.

**City of Rochester Branch.—***Hon. Treasurer:* S. Barker Booth. *Hon. Secretary:* Arthur W. Booth, Boistel Court, Rochester.

### BRANCHES IN THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

**Montreal (formed 29th May, 1885).—***Chairman:* Henry Lyman. *Vice-Chairman:* Hugh McLennan. *and Vice-Chairman:* John Lewis. *Hon. Treasurer:* R. C. Lyman. *Hon. Secretary:* Arch. McGoun, Jun.

**Ingersoll, Ontario (formed 28th May, 1886).—***Chairman:* M. Walsh. *Vice-Chairman:* J. Sinclair. *and Vice-Chairman:* H. Rowland. *Secretary and Treasurer:* J. Castell Hopkins.

**Halifax, Nova Scotia (formed 23rd December, 1886).—***President:* Sir Adams G. Archibald. *Vice-Presidents:* Archbishop O'Brien, Chief Justice McDonald, J. G. MacIntosh (Mayor). *Secretary:* J. M. Geldert, Jun. *Treasurer:* E. G. Kenny.

**Peterborough, Ontario (formed 12th April, 1887).—***Chairman:* J. H. Long, M.A. *Vice-Chairmen:* Hon. R. Hamilton and Rev. W. C. Bradshaw. *Secretary:* Fred E. Bell. *Treasurer:* William Brundrette.

**Ottawa (formed 24th November, 1887).—***Chairman:* Sandford Fleming, C.M.G. *Vice-Chairmen:* Colonel Brown Chamberlin, A. H. Taylor, Thomas Macfarlane, F.R.S.C. *Secretary:* F. J. Bebbington. *Treasurer:* R. G. Code, Barrister.

**Toronto (formed December, 1887).—***Chairman:* Dalton McCarthy, Q.C., M.P. *Vice-Chairmen:* Lieutenant-Colonel Denison, M.P., G. R. Cockburn, M.P. *Secretary:* J. H. Bowes [not yet fully organised].

## LEAGUE NOTICES FOR THE MONTH.

A LARGE outline Map of the World on Mercator's projection, specially designed for lecturing purposes, has been constructed by Mr. James Wyld, of Charing Cross, for the League. The dimensions of the map are fifteen feet by twelve feet, but it is constructed to fold so as to admit of its travelling in a portfolio three feet by two feet. The British Empire is coloured in red, the self-governing Colonies being distinguished by a deeper tint of that colour. The principal ports and strategical positions of the Empire are named, the Canadian Pacific Railway and other undertakings of Imperial interest being also shown. The use of the map can be obtained by members of the League for the purposes of lectures on application to the Secretary, subject to the conditions of prompt return and payment of carriage both ways. The member who borrows the map must make himself responsible for any damage which may be done to it during its absence from the office. Early application is recommended, as during the lecturing season the map is much in request.

A SERIES consisting of twelve large scene-pictures of the Empire, in black and white, each eight feet by four, strongly bound and mounted on rollers, is now ready. They provide singularly vivid, yet faithful, representations of characteristic scenery in different parts of the Empire, and are admirably adapted for assisting lecturers and speakers to enable the audience to realise for themselves some of the wonderful sights in the Colonies. These pictures are now available for use by members of the League upon the same terms as the large map. They are packed in a wooden case, and travel as "Panoramic Views" at a special railway rate.

ARRANGEMENTS have been made with a London firm of bookbinders for the uniform binding of the volume of IMPERIAL FEDERATION for the year 1887, at a charge of 2s. 6d. Members wishing to have their Journals bound should send them to the Secretary. Samples of the binding can be seen at the Offices of the League.

AN Index to IMPERIAL FEDERATION for 1887 has been compiled, and is ready for binding with the volume.

A FEW bound volumes of IMPERIAL FEDERATION for the year 1886, complete with Index, can be obtained, price 6s. 6d.

"A SYNOPSIS OF THE TARIFFS AND TRADE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE," prepared by Sir Rawson Rawson, K.C.M.G., C.B., is just ready, price 2s. 6d., and can be obtained at the League's Offices.

## HERE AND THERE.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL OWEN, who was appointed Commandant of the South Australian forces in 1885, completes his term of service in the Colony this month, and his engagement is not to be renewed.

OWING to Sir Henry Holland's elevation to the peerage, it has been found necessary to appoint a Parliamentary representative of the Colonial Office in the House of Commons. The Earl of Onslow has consequently resigned the post of Under-Secretary, which has been accepted by Baron Henry de Worms.

LORD LANSDOWNE, Governor-General of Canada, will succeed Lord Dufferin as Viceroy of India, and will himself be succeeded by Lord Stanley of Preston.

The Calliope Graving Dock at Auckland, New Zealand, was opened on February 16th by the Governor in the presence of Admiral Fairfax and the officers of Her Majesty's ships *Nelson*, *Calliope*, *Opal*, *Diamond*, and *Swinger*, when the *Calliope* and *Diamond* were successfully put into dock together.

THE President of the School Debating Society at Wellington has asked that the debate arranged last autumn may be postponed till after Easter. It will be opened by Mr. J. F. Harman.

THE Headmaster of Uppingham, the Rev. E. C. Selwyn, has been requested to allow the lecture, which was fixed before his predecessor's death, to be given in the course of this term or next.

NEGOTIATIONS for a lecture or debate are in progress at Westminster and St. Paul's.

THE Council of the Toronto Board of Trade has passed a resolution in reference to the Atlantic mail service that the Government should accept nothing less than a service equal to any at present in existence between America and Great Britain. "Further, in the opinion of this Council, it is impolitic as well as unpatriotic to permit this country to remain dependent upon a foreign seaport for quick communication with Great Britain and the Continent of Europe." The Council of the Hamilton Board of Trade also has telegraphed to Ottawa, urging the Government to subsidise no line that cannot guarantee a service equal in every respect to those now crossing the Atlantic.

THE *Colonist* of Victoria, British Columbia, says:—"We have the best authority for declaring that the long talked-of fortifications will in a very short time be commenced. Reports



and estimates have been forwarded to the Imperial Government in regard to the cost of mounting the heavy guns, &c., and early in the new year we may hope to see very active operations being carried on all along the line." We hope so too.

AN excellent portrait of Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., with an appreciative notice of his career, was published in the *Colonies and India* on February 22nd.

It is stated that the Cabinet are considering the question of granting an official inquiry into the Postal and Telegraphic communications between the United Kingdom and other parts of the Empire.

AN odd mistake occurs in the *Colonies and India* of February 15th, where a writer says that Tasmania wants responsible government. As this was granted in the year 1854, the statement is certainly remarkable.

## PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

*Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.*

**BROMLEY.**—On February 20th, at a meeting of the Berean Guild, a newly-formed Literary Society, in connection with the Union Baptist Chapel, Mr. H. J. Stalley introduced a discussion upon Imperial Federation, by proposing a motion to the effect that "Some scheme of Federation is necessary to preserve the unity of the Empire." There were about fifty members present, in spite of the inclement weather, and after an interesting discussion Mr. Stalley's motion was carried unanimously.

**LONDON: BLOOMSBURY.**—A lecture was recently delivered by Mr. Howard Hodgkin, at the Working Men's College, entitled "Three Months in Australia." He said that Australia, which covered 24 times the size of England, was really a counterpart of the Mother Country. On arrival, say at Melbourne, one would be struck by the similarity of the streets to those which had been left behind in London. The shop windows would be filled with English goods, the streets disfigured by telegraph wires, and the air pierced with the sound of trains, just as at home. It was not only by outward appearance that the Colony resembled us, but also in its government, though in a more democratic sense. Our Queen and Parliament were the nominal governors, but the moment a man settled down in a district he felt more responsible to the institution of the Colony. The people there come more into contact with their responsible Ministers of State. A great majority of the Ministers have risen from humble position, and are known to a large section of the Colony to which they belong. Owing, however, to the fact of some of the Colonies paying their members of Parliament, an inferior class of legislators were brought forward. Taken as a whole, he considered that the working classes were far better off in the Colonies than here. Any sober and industrious man, who worked hard, was bound to get on. The wages were far higher, and the resources of the soil far greater than at home. The agricultural labourer was wanted more than any other man, and the farmers out there would be very glad to get steady men at 15s. to 20s. a-week, besides clothing and feeding them. In conclusion, the lecturer remarked that no doubt there were in this country some people who said that emigration was expatriation, but surely it would be right for a man to better his position by moving his home to another portion of the Empire.—A vote of thanks was tendered to the lecturer for his services.

**LONDON: CAMDEN GROVE.**—At the St. Luke's Institute Debating Society, the question of Imperial Federation was recently discussed. The chair was occupied by Mr. L. C. Irons, and Mr. W. G. Watkins, who dealt with the subject in a very able manner, moved, "That a measure should be at once introduced into Parliament which will federate to the Mother Country all peoples speaking the English language in the English Colonies, which will unite in a more reciprocal manner English and Colonial trade, and promote a still closer feeling of relationship amongst all the British dependencies; and that the Queen's title should be Queen of England, Empress of India and all the British Colonies." The debate was continued by Messrs. Chartres, Green, Pardoe, Gower, Norris, G. Cullingham, Roberts, and T. G. L. Miller; and Mr. W. J. Watkins having replied, the motion was carried unanimously.

**LONDON: FINCHLEY.**—Mr. D. A. Gracey read a paper upon Imperial Federation before the East Finchley Young Men's Society on February 7th, and opened the subject for the purpose of discussion in an able manner. He dwelt on the importance of the Colonies to the Mother Country, and sketched the various schemes which have been propounded for uniting England and her Colonial possessions. The discussion which ensued elicited

some very diverse opinions. All the speakers, however, were agreed as to the desirability of some kind of Federation, but recognised the extreme difficulty of the whole question. The following gentlemen took part:—Messrs. Hook, Yates, Haward, Joslin, Smee, Wild, and Ham. In replying, the author of the paper touched on most of the points raised, and stated that his intention was rather to open a discussion on the subject than to advocate any particular scheme. The Rev. J. F. B. Tinling presided during the first part of the evening, the chair being subsequently occupied by Mr. W. Ham.

**NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.**—On February 20th Mr. Waldemar Bannow read a paper in the Lecture Hall of the Literary and Philosophical Society on "Emigration, Colonisation, and Federation." Mr. Adam Carse occupied the chair, and there was a numerous attendance, principally of working men.

After some introductory remarks from the chairman, Mr. Bannow began his lecture by showing what facilities the British Colonies offered for emigration. In these Colonies they would find themselves amongst their brothers, with the same feelings and aspirations as themselves. He thought that too much attention had been given to America, and he enumerated many disadvantages under which emigrants suffered when they went to America. The oath of naturalisation was certainly not a nice thing for British subjects to take. By that oath they abjured for ever all allegiance to every foreign power, and particularly to the Queen of England. Speaking further of the disadvantages in some parts of America, he referred to unhealthy climates, corruption, the use of revolvers and bowie knives on trivial occasions, and the small respect for the administration of justice. Besides that, the better class of Americans were beginning to be alarmed at the introduction into their country of all classes of people from all parts of Europe, and they were proposing to alter the oath of naturalisation, &c. The efforts of these people must necessarily make the condition of the emigrant worse. Some people regarded the Colonies as foreign countries, but he thought he had said enough to show that they were not, and there was no more hardship in going to the Colonies than in going from one part of the country to the other. In conclusion, he said that while Imperial Federation could do no harm, and in many respects would serve a useful purpose, he deprecated the settling of a constitution at present. The Imperial Federation, like the British constitution, must grow. The hearts of every part of the Empire were at the present moment thoroughly united, but he challenged anyone to write out a constitution which under present circumstances would be acceptable to all.

Councillor Laird, who did not pledge himself to everything laid down by Mr. Bannow, moved the following resolution:—"This meeting is of opinion that Her Majesty's Government is deserving of thanks for initiating a new Imperial policy by inviting delegates from the several Colonies to a Conference in London last spring, and trusts that the experiment will be repeated when necessity requires it; that the Government should without delay initiate, in conjunction with the Colonial Governments, a system of State-directed colonisation; that inspectors should be sent to the principal Colonies to personally acquaint themselves with their resources and wants, with a view to disseminate such information in the form of lectures throughout the United Kingdom; and that copies of these resolutions be sent to the Prime Minister and to the Colonial Secretary."

Mr. Thomas Telford seconded the motion.

In the discussion which followed, some opposition was displayed to Mr. Bannow's views on State-aided emigration; but eventually the motion was carried by a large majority.

**OXFORD (Canada).**—At a meeting of the South Oxford Farmers' Institute on January 20th, Mr. J. Castell Hopkins, of Ingersoll, read a paper on "The Comparative Condition of the Farmers in Canada, England, and the United States." He examined the condition of the agricultural element in the above countries with respect to the powers of production, mortgage indebtedness, and competitive influences. The paper was replete with statistics of exports, imports, mortgage indebtedness, &c., selected with pains. The general conclusion was that Canadian farmers were holding their own, and would continue to do so with the other nations of the world.

**ROSS.**—Mr. Blake, late M.P. for the Forest Division, has delivered a lecture on Imperial Federation at a meeting of members of the Ross Liberal Club. Mr. Blake treated the question under three main heads:—(1) What is meant by Imperial Federation? (2) Why is it desirable? and (3) How can it be accomplished? Imperial Federation, he urged, would soon find some effective means of dealing with all Imperial affairs, such as peace and war, treaties, negotiations, arbitrations, boundaries, fortification of ports and posts, maintenance of coaling stations, &c. The benefits of such would be mutual, and an organisation for common defence and a joint foreign policy would do more than anything else to preserve the peace of the world, as well as to keep and more closely cement the unity of Great Britain with her Colonies. At the present time, in the United Kingdom the same Parliament discharged the



double functions of an Imperial Government and of a Provincial Government, and they knew to their cost it was overburdened with work. By a wise division of labour the domestic affairs of these islands should be handed over to a provincial parliament or parliaments, and the present Imperial Parliament, with a due proportion of the members of the House of Commons allotted to and chosen by the Colonies, might then become a federal legislature, devoted exclusively to the common interests of the whole Empire. An interesting discussion followed.

## IMPERIAL FEDERATION IN PARLIAMENT.

FEBRUARY 9TH—FEBRUARY 21ST, 1888.

THE Session opened on Thursday, February 9th, and in accordance with the plan followed last year, we propose to give month by month a summary of all references made in the two Houses of Parliament to matters connected with Imperial Federation.

### PROVISION FOR COALING STATIONS AND AUSTRALASIAN NAVAL FORCE.

February 9th.—The Queen's Speech contained the following passage:—"The Estimates for the Services of this year, which will be laid before you, have been framed with due regard to economy. You will be asked to make provision for the improvements in the defence of the ports and coaling stations of my Empire which have been rendered urgently necessary by the advance of military science. You will also be asked to sanction an arrangement for providing a special squadron for the protection of Australasian commerce, the cost of which will be partially borne by the Colonies themselves."

#### OUR DUTY TOWARDS OUR COLONIAL FELLOW-SUBJECTS.

In the House of Commons, COLONEL DUNCAN, in seconding the Address, said that with regard to the New Hebrides and to the Commission now sitting at Washington, our duty was to look not only to our own interest, but to the interest of our high-spirited Colonial fellow-subjects. (Hear, hear.) If we had failed to take action on the representation of the Australian Governments, or of the Canadian Government, we should have forfeited our right to this great Empire, which he trusted in the future was to become greater. We were now getting our reward, for we were seeing in our Colonies a readiness to spend and be spent for the Mother Country which we had never seen before. We were told in the Speech from the Throne that a share in the cost of providing a special squadron for the protection of Australian commerce would be borne by the Colonies themselves; but we must remember that for many years these Australian Colonies had been spending large sums of money for their defence, and that was a thing which was useful not only to them, but to us. (Hear.) The Speech from the Throne suggested a further development in the way of protection for our coaling stations, of which he, as a soldier, was proud. It would be impossible to overrate the value of these coaling stations in the case of war. They meant the existence of this country. (Hear, hear.) We could not feed ourselves. Our population depended for their food upon the golden corn of other countries, and a cry would go up to Heaven against us if we neglected the means by which, in time of need, the food of our people might be secured. (Hear, hear.) It might be said, "Protect these places by men-of-war." That was a mad idea. You would lock up your men-of-war if you were to attempt to carry such an idea out; but make your coaling stations able to defend themselves, and you will set free your men-of-war.

#### RABBITS FOR BRITISH COLUMBIA.

February 14th.—In the House of Commons, replying to a question by Mr. S. Smith, SIR HENRY HOLLAND said:—"I have received no information of the introduction of rabbits into British Columbia to which the hon. member refers. I am of course aware of the great injury which has been wrought in the Australian Colonies by these animals, but, as in the case of those Colonies, so also in that of British Columbia, it rests entirely with the local Government to stop the importation or take such other steps as may be thought necessary. I am not aware whether any action has been taken by the Government of British Columbia."

#### POSTAGE TO INDIA AND CHINA.

MR. J. MACLEAN asked the Postmaster-General whether, as the Post Office saved £107,000 a year on the new East India and China mail contract, he proposed to make any reduction in the postage on letters to India and China.

MR. RAIKES: I may inform the hon. member that the saving to which he refers is simply a reduction of the loss on the India and China mail services. The present postage rates will still leave a considerable deficiency between the expenditure and the receipts under this head, which will have to be made good out of the general revenues of this country, of India, and the Eastern Colonies; and I am not now prepared, therefore, to propose any reduction of the postage rates to India and China.

#### MAIL STEAMERS CALLING AT COLOMBO.

February 16th.—In the House of Commons, SIR R. LETHBRIDGE asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether an ordinance had recently been passed by the Government of Ceylon admitting certain foreign mail steamers calling at Colombo to the status of men-of-war, a privilege denied to British mail steamers; whether that ordinance was opposed by the commercial member of the Legislative Council, by all the native members, and by all the non-official members except one; and whether Her Majesty's Government had given any sanction to a measure passed by the official majority in opposition to the wishes of nearly all the non-official representatives of Colonial opinion.

SIR H. HOLLAND: An ordinance was enacted at the end of last year by the Legislature of Ceylon continuing, during the subsistence

of the Postal Convention with France of 1856, temporary ordinances which confer on French and German mail steamers in the ports of the Colony the status of men-of-war—a privilege which is not possessed by British mail steamers. Opinion in the Legislative Council was divided, as the hon. member states. The ordinance was introduced at the instance of the Home Government as regards the French vessels, in order to comply with the conditions of the Postal Convention of 1856, and, as regards the German vessels, in compliance with the request of the German Government that during the continuance of the Convention the mail steamers subsidised by them might be allowed the same privileges as those subsidised by the French Government.

#### COLONISATION.

February 17th.—In the House of Lords, LORD SANDHURST asked the Under-Secretary for the Colonies whether replies had been received to the circular addressed to the Colonial Governments last year on the subject of colonisation, and whether the circular and the replies would be laid on the table of the House.

THE EARL OF ONSLOW said that a circular was issued by his right hon. friend the Secretary of State to all the Colonies with the request that they should send their replies before the opening of the Imperial Parliament. But the Government had received replies from only five Colonies—viz., the Cape, South Australia, Queensland, Western Australia, and Fiji. He was sorry to say that the subject did not seem to have been taken up with any great warmth. As soon as all the replies had been received they would be laid on the table of the House.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### A FORM OF PRAYER WHICH MAY BE USED BY MEMBERS.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

DEAR SIR,—There must, I feel sure, be many of your readers who would be glad of a form of words by which they could include in their prayers the cause which we have all so much at heart. "More things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of," and, in lieu of any other, may I ask you to insert the following in your next Journal? I would suggest that it be printed on the reverse of the members' cards.—Yours faithfully,

J. PEARCE.

Dorchester, February 14, 1888.

### "A PRAYER WHICH MAY BE USED BY MEMBERS.

"O God, Who hast in thy Providence spread abroad our kindred into divers countries, so that we are many peoples yet but one nation, grant that we may be drawn together in unity both spiritual and temporal, so that we may be one united Empire, joined in polity as well as the bonds of brotherhood, for mutual aid, support, and safety, for the prosperity of our race, and the peace of all the world.

"Grant this for the sake of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

### A WEEKLY ADVOCATE OF FEDERATION.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

DEAR SIR,—Your Journal only appearing monthly, there is necessarily a want of continuity in any correspondence raising points of interest to Imperial Federationists.

I trust this drawback may eventually be removed by a weekly paper being issued in connection with the League and under your guidance; but, in the meantime, would it not be feasible and advantageous to make arrangements with some weekly or daily paper to insert any letters bearing upon the subject of Imperial Federation?

If this course were adopted, those who have our cause at heart could open up a constant interchange of ideas, which, I believe, would act most beneficially towards the furtherance of its objects.

Trusting those in authority will take this suggestion into consideration, I am, yours faithfully,

C. FREEMAN MURRAY,

Secretary of the Kensington Branch.

99, Gloucester Road, South Kensington, S.W.

CANADIAN FISHERIES.—According to Mr. Conolly's paper before the Statistical Society, the Dominion fisheries last year employed no less than 1,103 vessels, 28,137 boats, and 55,731 fishermen.

REPORTED ESCAPE OF FRENCH CONVICTS TO QUEENSLAND.—A boat has been taken into Ross Creek with the name *Saint Louis* painted on it. It was found about eight miles north of Townsville, and is supposed to be the same as was seen by a coasting steamer crossing the Barrier Reef with six men on board. Owing to the fact of French newspapers having been found in it, it is considered likely that the men were escapees from New Caledonia.

THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE.—Notice is given in the *Gazette* that a petition has been presented to Her Majesty in Council by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, praying for the grant of a Charter of Incorporation under the title of "The Imperial Institute of the United Kingdom, the Colonies, and India, and the Isles of the British Seas." Her Majesty having referred the petition to a Committee of the Lords of the Council, notice is further given that all petitions for and against such grant should be sent to the Privy Council Office, on or before the 12th day of March.



## NOTICE.

**The Offices of the Imperial Federation League will be REMOVED this day to**

**30, Charles Street,**

**Berkeley Square,**

**London, W.**

**Arrangements have been made whereby Letters addressed to St. Margaret's Offices will be collected daily for some weeks to come.**

## Imperial Federation.

APRIL 1, 1888.

### NOTES AND COMMENTS.

WE publish to-day a Special Supplement, containing a full report of the interesting speeches delivered at the Annual Meeting, on March 21st, and the Annual Banquet, which was held the same evening. The EARL OF ROSEBURY took the chair on both occasions, and his addresses were of a particularly important character. The remarks of LORD STANLEY OF PRESTON, Governor-General elect of Canada, who was the guest of the League at the Banquet, also deserve special attention.

WE reproduce in another column the Third Annual Report of the Imperial Federation League's General Committee. From it our members will be able to judge of the activity that has characterised the past year's working, and to form some idea of the problems immediately confronting us. The report contains a highly satisfactory record of uninterrupted progress and success.

AN important change has been made in the official titles of the League's officers and organisation. In future the General Committee will be styled the Council of the League, and instead of Chairman and Vice-Chairman, the officers will be referred to as President and Vice-President. It has also been decided that the Executive Committee shall be limited to sixty, of whom one-third will retire annually, but be eligible for re-election. These changes have long been deemed requisite by many of those who are most conversant with the business of the League.

THE increasing business and expanding membership of the League have rendered it necessary to provide additional office accommodation. From this date, therefore, we move into more convenient premises at 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, W., to which all communications should be addressed in future. Our new offices will be found more easy of access and in every way better adapted to the purposes of the League than those we have vacated. We hope that all our members will take an early opportunity of coming to inspect the rooms for themselves; they will find in Charles Street the same warm welcome, the same ample stores of information, and the same enthusiastic devotion to the cause that they have been accustomed to in Victoria Street. MR. A. H. LORING, Secretary of the League,

deserves the hearty congratulations of all members upon this much-needed and satisfactory step.

THE valuable collection of war materials lent by the Government to the Adelaide Exhibition has been presented to the Government of South Australia, much to the satisfaction of the people of that Colony. In presenting the collection a reservation was made that it should be lent to any other of the Australian Colonies who wished to borrow it, and most probably the authorities of the Melbourne Centennial Exhibition will avail themselves of this privilege. COLONEL SIR HERBERT SANDFORD was chiefly instrumental in obtaining this gift from the War Office, and he was actively seconded by LORD CARNARVON and GENERAL OWEN. The result of their endeavours will be to furnish the Colony of South Australia with one more visible sign of the Old Country's goodwill, and, more than that, of her power to supply the Colony with elaborate weapons of defence which a young community would find it impossible to manufacture for themselves with equal perfection.

THE HON. JAMES SERVICE, on his way home to Victoria, was interviewed by an agent of the *South Australian Register*. In the course of a long conversation, in which he gave his impressions on many Home matters, he referred to the work of the League in the following gratifying terms:—

"Yes, I addressed the Imperial Federation meeting—you have had it all in your papers. The feeling at home on the subject is good, and is gradually strengthening, but there is no hurry about it. There is a decided interest in the question of increasing the fleet, and that has done more to bring prominently forward the matter of the Federation of the Empire than most people are inclined to think. Active work is being done at home with the League, and the Secretary (Mr. A. H. Loring) is a splendid fellow. A great deal is being done by the distribution of literature and getting subscriptions. It was the main influence in bringing about the Imperial Conference, which had a great effect upon political circles in England; in fact, it has given a fillip to the kindly feeling growing in the old country with regard to the Australian Colonies. More than that, it has given a conscious feeling of growing strength."

MR. SERVICE is a man whose public character forbids him to say a word more than he means, so that this testimony from his lips is of a particularly satisfactory nature.

AT a farewell banquet given by the officers of the South Australian forces to GENERAL OWEN on his leaving the Colony, his Excellency the Governor, SIR W. ROBINSON, who presided, in reply to the toast of his health, spoke of the great importance of federating the military forces of Australia, and of the several Colonies agreeing to a Customs Union. He said—

He believed the first direction in which the Federation of Australia would become an accomplished fact would be in the



direction of military federation. (Cheers.) Unity in such a matter as defence meant strength; and when the forces of South Australia, Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, and Western Australia became federated and under one general commander, the defence force of Australia would be materially strengthened. (Cheers.) In that respect Federation could not too soon be accomplished. (Cheers.) He was not going to enter into political questions, but he must say he would like to see some sort of Customs Union throughout Australia, and he believed the time would come when legislation would be effected in that direction, then would come the true Federation of the Colonies. Some time ago when he was in Melbourne he got some splendid bacon, which his hospitable friend, Lady Loch, told him was Victorian. She very kindly promised him some, but when it reached Adelaide he found, to his horror, that what with the heavy duty, and one charge and another, the cost was just about twice as much as he would have to pay for it in Victoria or South Australia. That led him to the belief that there was something rotten in the state of Denmark, and forced him to the conclusion that it would be a good thing if we had the free interchange of the products of the Colonies the same as existed with regard to the different Canadian States. When we had that, the Federation of Australia would be nearly accomplished.

MR. HITT, Republican member for Illinois, in the United States Congress, has evidently made up his mind that Commercial Union is very near, and has actually moved a resolution with the object of making provision for the arrangement of the details of the agreement. This is counting the chickens before they are hatched with a vengeance. The resolution, which has been referred to the Foreign Affairs Committee, is in these words:—

"Whenever it shall be duly certified to the President that the Government of the Dominion of Canada has declared a desire to establish a Commercial Union with the United States, having a uniform revenue system, the like internal taxes to be collected, the like import duties to be imposed on articles brought into either country from other nations, with no duties upon trade between the United States and Canada, he shall appoint three Commissioners to meet those who may be likewise designated to represent Canada, to prepare a plan for the assimilation of the import duties and internal revenue tariffs of the two countries, and an equitable division of the receipts in the Commercial Union. The said Commissioners shall report to the President, who shall lay the report before Congress."

Judging from the progress hitherto made by Commercial Union in Canada, we think it as unlikely that MR. HITT will live to see the Dominion "declare its desire" for the scheme as that MR. GOLDWIN SMITH'S famous annexation prophecy will be realised with the period he assigned for its fulfilment, which terminates with the present year.

THE great rabbit question is being discussed in Australia at present more keenly than ever. A special committee appointed by the New South Wales Commercial, Pastoral, and Agricultural Association has been considering the matter, and has made a report, recommending provisionally M. PASTEUR'S plan for the introduction of a contagious disease. It advises, however, that a commission of specialists should be appointed to make searching inquiries into the scheme, and to make experiments both independently and also under the advice of M. PASTEUR'S agents. His scheme has, however, caused a considerable amount of uneasiness in the Colonies. People are saying that the consequences of its adoption may be very serious to all sorts of domestic animals, especially to sheep and to fowls; nor do the experiments hitherto made by the French chemist appear to have finally allayed apprehension. It is to be hoped that very great caution will be exercised in embarking upon such a serious undertaking as turning loose a deadly disease. The question is of such vital importance to all the Australian Colonies that it would seem to be the wiser course to appoint an Inter-Colonial Commission, and thus to ensure concerted action and joint responsibility; and we believe efforts are being made in this direction.

EVERYTHING which tends to foster the feeling of brotherhood existing between the people of the Mother Country and the Colonies brings us nearer to the day when Imperial Federation will be an accomplished fact. Sport has no doubt been of late a potent factor in the case, and nowadays the members of an Australian Cricket Eleven are not looked upon as greater strangers at "Lord's" or "the Oval," than a team from Nottingham or Gloucester. We are, therefore, pleased to be able this month to notice that in two other branches of sport our strength is about to be tried against the strength of our Colonies. The Toronto Rowing Club have determined to send their Champion Four-oared Crew to compete against our best amateurs at the forthcoming Henley Regatta; while an English football team has just sailed by the Orient Liner *Kaikoura* to play a series of matches in Australia. Our old national sports have now acquired Imperial dignity, and afford excellent evidence that the tastes which have done so much to mould the character of the British race at home are finding their counterpart among our Colonial kinsmen.

SERIOUS efforts are to be made to hold a Federal Review of the troops of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Queensland, at Melbourne during the Exhibition. It is cordially to be hoped that the idea, which has often been mooted, will at length be successfully carried out, for such a display could not fail to further the cause of Federation. On this subject a writer in the Sydney *Daily Telegraph* says:—

"The advantages of the review will be many. It will indicate the possibility of mobilising Colonial troops at a given point, our soldiers will learn to work in unison with the rank and file of the defenders" of other Colonies, "the entrainment of the men and their transit to Melbourne will alone be a valuable experience, and it may prove a step in the direction of real Federation. A great military spectacle, such as a joint review of the Federal forces of Australia will be, cannot fail to impress our visitors with the strength of united Australia."

MANY Colonial dignitaries of the Church of England will shortly arrive in this country to take part in the Pan-Anglican Synod, that will emphasise in so conspicuous a manner the influence constantly exerted by the Church on the side of Federation. We understand that the condition of the Church in the Colonies will be proposed as one of the subjects for discussion.

SIR ROBERT THORBURN, the Newfoundland Premier, has returned home, having, it is said, arranged with the Allan Line for a new mail service to commence in April, and with the London and Westminster Bank for the issue of a new railway loan. On the other hand, the Hon. HONORÉ MERCIER, Premier of Quebec, is on the Continent, and the Hon. JOHN BEVERLEY ROBINSON, ex-Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, is in London. It is evident that, as far as Canada at least is concerned, distance would be no obstacle in the way of frequent meetings of a Federal Council. A hundred years back it was a more serious matter for the honourable member for Fife, or the honourable member for Lanark, to say nothing of Cromarty or Sutherland, to attend to the interests of his constituents at Westminster.

THE *South Australian Register* has been interviewing the Premier, MR. PLAYFORD, and eliciting his opinion on various "intercolonial questions that have been discussed of late." The *Register* understands that the Government intends to submit to Parliament a proposal that South Australia should join the Federal Council. We have dealt with this matter at length elsewhere, and given the



views of the *Register* in particular on it, so we need not say more here than express our entire agreement with the sentiment that "it is very desirable that all the Colonies should join in a Federal Council." On the other hand, "there is no advantage in having a council, which is, as SIR HENRY PARKES once described it, 'a phantom popping up occasionally at Hobart,' and a vigorous effort should be made to substitute something more practical for it."

"THE other practical question," says the *Register*, "is the adoption of intercolonial free trade. In order to secure this there must be as nearly as possible a uniform tariff. The favourite scheme with the Victorians is a protective tariff against the outside competitor and free trade between the Colonies—a scheme, by the way, that would not suit the Imperial Federationist. MR. PLAYFORD thinks South Australia—that is, of course, South Australian Protectionists—are not ripe for this, and we do not suppose they are. We have repeatedly pointed out that by the adoption of a protectionist tariff South Australia was placing a barrier in the way of intercolonial free trade." The article goes on to say that the result of an intercolonial protectionist tariff would probably be to enable South Australia to annex for commercial purposes adjacent parts of the other Colonies with which trade is now carried on at a disadvantage. It concludes with these words: "We should regret to see intercolonial free trade established on the Victorian basis, but if that is the only practicable basis, we do not know that South Australians, except the few local manufacturers already benefited by protection, need have much to fear. We suspect, however, that the day when absolute intercolonial free trade will be established is yet distant." For our own part, we refuse to believe that the day will ever dawn when Australia will be enclosed inside one vast ring-fence, at the gates of which England will be challenged to halt, as being as much a stranger as France or Germany.

THE *Pall Mall Gazette* was, we believe, almost the first of the London papers to direct public attention to the work of Imperial Federation. As long ago as 1885, if we are not mistaken, it was prepared with an elaborate and complete scheme for the federation of the Empire straight out of hand. For such a scheme the time was, as the event has shown, not yet ripe. Still, it at least proved that the sympathies of the journal were with us. We are therefore not a little disappointed to read in a recent number of the same paper a communication from "Our correspondent at the Centenary Celebration" which breathes a very different spirit. "Yesterday," we are told, "Australia was a dependency, to-day she claims the proud distinction of Empire . . . the key-note of the speeches at the state banquet was Intercolonial Federation. This must come very soon. It ought to have come long ago—but Imperial Federation never. That is the echo of the *vox populi*, and time will verify it." But the correspondent is constrained to chronicle the fact that the festivities commenced with the unveiling of a statue of Victoria, Queen and Empress, in the presence not only of 50,000 persons, but of the Governors of all the Australian Colonies, and elsewhere he admits that the speeches at this same state banquet were "for the most part very Imperialistic in tone."

THERE seems to be every prospect of Newfoundland, at last, becoming part of the Dominion of Canada, and that at no distant date. The Governor of Newfoundland lately submitted to the legislature the following telegram from LORD LANSDOWNE:—"It is considered by my Government that, if the Newfoundland Cabinet approves, the

present time would be convenient for the discussion of the question of the admission of Newfoundland into the Federal Union, and that no difficulty is likely to arise in arranging the terms. Under these circumstances you might send a deputation to Ottawa invested with power to enter into negotiations. The deputation should represent both parties." The feeling in Newfoundland appears to be very much in favour of sending the deputation, and of union with the Dominion. It must be allowed that the present is a most opportune time for such Confederation, for the disadvantages of the present isolated condition of Newfoundland were made very plain in connection with the late Fisheries Commission at Washington. It is quite evident that this union must take place sooner or later, and the sooner it does so the better for Newfoundland, and also the better for Canada.

IN all the places of worship in Sydney services were held, in connection with the Centenary, on Sunday, January 22nd. We are glad to notice that at these services the sermons of many of the most valued of the clergy breathed a spirit of true loyalty and attachment to the Old Country. BISHOP BARRY concluded a most powerful address with these words:—"Not without a traditional lesson, which I pray we may never forget, is our National Anthem a prayer, God save England! God save the Queen! When the century beginning now shall have reached its close, may such thanksgiving and prayer still rise, from not only a larger but a greater people, in 'the same music as before, but vaster, fuller, deeper, as the ages roll on.'"

DR. JEFFERIES, too, the much-respected minister of the Pitt Street Congregational Church, was equally affectionate and loyal in speaking of the Colony and the United Kingdom. "We look," he said, "to old England with reverence and rejoicing, with admiration and affection, with the resolve that our youthful strength shall be freely offered for her needs whenever her needs may come, and with the hope that our fortunes of many long centuries may be linked with hers." Such sentiments expressed, by two of the most influential of the clergy, are very welcome, and cannot fail to further our cause.

WE understand that among LORD ROSEBURY's proposals for reconstructing the constitution of the House of Lords, none was more favourably received than his suggestion that the Agents-General for the Colonies should have seats in that House. We quote the passage from LORD ROSEBURY's speech on March 19th:—"One further element I should like to see included. I know the dislike of all practical politicians for what are termed fancy franchises; but I feel there would be great and important advantages in allowing the Agents-General of the great self-governing Colonies to sit for a certain time in your Lordships' House. (Cheers.) That would involve the necessity of the Government of the day being able to nominate for the term of their existence representatives of Colonies, if representatives were not otherwise elected."

THE EARL of WEMYSS, who opposed LORD ROSEBURY, nevertheless agreed "that it was desirable that in their Lordships' House the Agents-General of our Colonies, or something equivalent to the Agents-General, should have seats." And the EARL of DUNRAVEN said "he could understand the distinct proposal to make the Agents-General of the Colonies lords of Parliament for a certain time. Such a proposal as that might be referred to a Select Committee with great advantage."



## THE FISHERIES TREATY BETWEEN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.

"I wish that fisheries could be well established to give employment to our young men and keep them from running wild in the woods; the fisheries are enriching Boston at our expense," wrote Denonville, Governor of Canada, more than two hundred years ago to his master, Louis XIV. "They are our true mines," adds another official, in one of the many long despatches sent from old Quebec to the French Court about the same time. History repeats itself with civilisation's improved means of repetition. The cumbrous official documents of those early days, conveyed by unwieldy, slow-going wooden vessels, are superseded now by concise messages in cypher—such as for many weeks past have constantly flashed Canadian protest and explanation over electric wires laid deep in Atlantic waters to the powers that rule yonder in the dear Old Home. Running wild in the woods is certainly less of a temptation now than then. Canada's *jeunesse dorée* would hardly now be entangled by so rude a snare; but our Government still desires to keep our industries Canadian, and our people still ask, not unreasonably, that some definite arrangement should, at least, be attempted by which the inshore and exclusive waters of Canada and Newfoundland, extending along a vast stretch of coast-line, should be secured from invasion, and our country put in a position to demand equivalents, if certain valuable privileges therein, demanded by American fishermen, are to be granted to them.

Be it especially remembered that mackerel on the United States coast is well-nigh destroyed. The murderous instruments and contrivances used by Americans in plying their trade, and their reckless habit of polluting the waters by throwing masses of dead fish out of their mackerel nets back into the sea, has ruined their own fishing-grounds, and almost driven away from their shores not only the mackerel itself, but the small herring and other bait that mackerel love, and without which nothing can be done.

Hence it is evident that all Canada asks or wants is to do what she will with her own, and to avoid the certain destruction of her magnificent fisheries by allowing a powerful neighbour to take all he wants, how, when, and where he wants it, without regard to future consequences or the injury he may inflict by a shortsightedness so fatal in the past to his own inshore fishing, at one time nearly, if not quite, equal in value to our own.

In the Treaty of 1818 between Great Britain and the United States, the latter Power "renounced for ever any liberty heretofore enjoyed or claimed by the inhabitants thereof to take, cure, or dry fish on or within three marine miles of any of the bays, creeks, or harbours of His Britannic Majesty's dominions in North America not included within the above-mentioned limits." This last sentence refers to other fishing-grounds not now in dispute, and which, therefore, "like the flowers in the spring, have nothing to do with the case!" The Treaty goes on to say, "provided, however, that the American fishermen shall be permitted to enter such bays or harbours for the purpose of shelter, of repairing damages therein, of purchasing wood and of obtaining water, and for no other purpose whatever." Here lies the rub. American fishermen soon found these restricting clauses inconvenient. They wanted to get and to do exactly what tended to drive Canadian fishermen out of their own waters, and to give their flourishing trade into the hands of a people who have shown themselves specially adapted for exterminating fish and game, wherever they found either at home. The right to tranship, to purchase bait, ice for preserving, seines, lines, supplies, and outfits, and, furthermore, the right to fish in our inshore waters—those waters within the three marine mile coast limit especially guarded by the Treaty—were all clamoured for, and these clamours threatened on several occasions to lead to "international complications."

In 1854, and again in 1871, the Fishery Question was re-opened and negotiated upon, and what the President's message, published with the lately-signed Treaty, calls "temporary reciprocal arrangements of the tariffs of Canada and the United States, and the payment of a money award by the United States," was agreed upon.

The Treaty of 1854 contained provisions of reciprocity very acceptable to Canadian interests; but eleven years

later it was abolished by America, in retaliation for that unfortunate attitude of sympathy which burning Northern hearts declared England assumed and maintained during the horrors of their Civil War. Poor Canada suffered in consequence.

In 1871 the Fishery negotiations of the Treaty of Washington were complicated by being mixed up with the Alabama Claims, when England and America were both greatly irritated, and as the Treaty went, so to speak, "in a lump," Canada had to put up, uncomplainingly, with her share. In 1885 these Fishery provisions were, in their turn, abolished by the United States, and for the last three years quarrels have been frequent and collisions imminent when Canadian fishermen found their Yankee brethren occupying their inshore waters for other purposes than those specified in the old Treaty of 1818, which still held good. Something had to be done about it, so Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, with Sir Charles Tupper, Canadian Minister of Finance, were sent as plenipotentiaries to meet the British minister, and three American diplomatists at a Convention held in Washington, which Convention has just turned out a new treaty now awaiting ratification of the United States, the Parliament of Canada and the Legislature of Newfoundland. Pending such ratification President Cleveland's message to the Senate announces "a written offer or arrangement in the nature of a *modus vivendi* tendered after the conclusion of the treaty on the part of the British plenipotentiaries to secure kindly and peaceful relations," &c. This *modus vivendi* is to take effect immediately, and to last two years; unless, indeed, the treaty be rejected before that time—thereby securing comfortable fishing for both countries until the above-mentioned bodies shall have ratified the treaty. Gossip says this will not be done in the American Senate until after the next Presidential Election this autumn, whereon all things turn in that great Republic for many a long day before the lucky individual lings up his hat in the White House after taking his oaths at the capital.

The *modus vivendi* provides that the privilege of entering the bays and harbours of the Atlantic coasts of Canada and Newfoundland shall be granted to United States fishing-vessels under annual licences, on payment of a fee of 1 dol. 50 cents per ton; but, as these licences only include purchase of supplies and transhipment, and do not cover any right of taking fish, the United States fisherman will find his profits considerably reduced by the tax, and this may, perhaps, lead to the removal of duty on fish and fish-oil by the United States, in which case, during the continuance of this arrangement, Canada will grant such licences free.

Though there is unquestionably much disappointment felt here that the new Treaty does not secure to us some definite trade advantage, and some surprise that it has been found necessary to give free navigation through the Strait of Canso (between Nova Scotia and Cape Breton) to United States fishing-vessels, we do not seem to have the worst of the compromise. Some important points have been decided on in the direction our Government contended for—of which one most satisfactory is the settlement of the headland question on a fair and honourable basis. On this point the two nations had come to a deadlock. None of the former negotiators had tackled it, and it remained a constant source of irritation and uncertainty. The Americans contended that, so long as they did not trespass by fishing within three marine miles of our coast, they were at liberty to fish in all our bays and harbours, whether large or small, while still preserving the same distance from shore; but England insisted our bays exclusively belonged to us, and that the three-mile limit should be held to begin and extend seaward from an imaginary line drawn across the mouths of such bays. So difficult was this question to settle that it was avoided in the negotiations of 1854 and 1871, but this time it had to be faced and decided. For that purpose a reference was had to the Anglo-French Convention, which provides that bays not wider than ten miles should belong exclusively to the countries they indented, and that all wider bays should be considered only as sinuosities in the coast. As this limit would, however, open several of our bays, which, though almost completely landlocked are more than ten miles wide at the mouth or entrance, the treaty provides that certain specified



bays, coming under the larger measurement, should be also reserved for the exclusive use of our fishermen. Only one such wide-throated bay is unreserved (St. George Bay, at one end of the Strait of Canso), and it is said that by retaining complete control of these specially-reserved land-locked bays Canada keeps unmolested her most valuable waters.

Another point of much importance established by the new treaty is that the United States admit that the right claimed for their fishermen to "touch and trade" at our ports is not well founded. This they do by agreeing to take out licences for the purposes before mentioned, thus confessing that any American vessel not taking out such licence, and yet attempting to buy bait in our ports, commits an illegal act, and is rendered liable to penalties for so doing.

Furthermore, Canada gains distinctly by the emphatic re-assertions conveyed in the treaty of exclusive right to her inshore waters. This admission gives Canada, or rather the Imperial Government, a fair claim to ask co-operation from the United States Government in suppressing all future poaching by American citizens.

The entrance of United States fishing vessels into our ports and harbours is carefully regulated, so as to prevent unlawful fishing during unnecessary delays. Heavy penalties are imposed for any such unlawful fishing, and, though Canada has made reasonable concessions of her strict treaty rights, it is assuredly well for all concerned that causes of irritation and discontent between two great nations should be removed once for all by judicious compromise.

The treaty is undergoing rigorous discussion by the press of both countries; and, as proof of its fairness, it may be mentioned that the Republicans of the United States, determined to give no quarter to the work of a Democratic President, loudly condemn it; while the Canadian Liberal Opposition, equally resolved to find fault with what a Conservative Government has agreed on, do find fault vigorously. In the meantime, we have a chance of two years' goodwill; and—though the *New York Tribune* says the only question about the treaty is "How large the majority will be against it," and the *New York Times* declares it is "doomed," while the leading Liberal paper in Canada calls it "Tupper's surrender"—we must hope, and, indeed, may reasonably expect, that, after a due amount of wrangling and party strife, the treaty of 1888 will pass all three Legislative bodies. CANADENSIS.

#### A DOMINION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

SIR DONALD CURRIE, K.C.M.G., M.P., Member of the Executive Committee of the Imperial Federation League, has just returned to this country from a prolonged tour in South Africa, where his name is universally respected in connection with the great *Castle* line of steamers. On the day before he left Cape Town Sir Donald Currie gave a banquet on board the *Hawarden Castle*, in honour of the representatives of the Colonies and States of South Africa then assembled in Conference to discuss the question of a Customs Union.

The host himself took the chair, and he was supported on his right and left by the following delegates:—Hon. J. Fraser (Free State), Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr, Sir Gordon Sprigg, Sir J. Akerman (Natal), Mr. Blaine (Port Elizabeth), Hon. F. S. Haden (Natal), Hon. Meyburgh (Free State), Hon. J. Robinson (Natal), and Mr. A. Fischer (Free State). The company invited to meet the delegates included the Bishop of Cape Town, Sir Thomas Upington, Sir Thomas Scanlen, Sir Thomas Tancred, Admiral Hunt-Grubbe, Hon. Colonel Southey, Colonel Taylor, Colonel Moorsom, Colonel Curtis, Colonel Southey, Judge Buchanan, Dr. Gill, Dr. Clarke, M.P., Sir David Tennant, Major Spence, Hon. J. X. Merriman, Hon. C. W. Hutton, Mr. Jones, C.E., Hon. J. W. Leonard, Q.C., Mr. Noble, and a large number of the mercantile community of the Cape.

The occasion was one of a peculiarly interesting character, from the fact that the guests represented the various British and Dutch sections of the South African population, assembled on board a ship belonging to a member of the Imperial Parliament. We have only space for a few extracts from the speeches delivered, but every one who reads them will be struck by the unanimity with which

the company seemed to regard the situation from a South African rather than from a local or individual standpoint. When Englishmen and Dutchmen realise that their interests in South Africa are identical, and that those interests demand the incontestable supremacy of the British Empire over the whole country, the deadlocks and feuds which have formerly barred progress will be dissolved as by magic at the dawn of unity; and Sir Donald Currie may well be proud of the part he has played in gathering up the threads of discordant nationalities and divergent aims, in preparation for the approach of South African consolidation. "May the people of South Africa before long be bound together by the ties of a mutual friendship and a common policy, to enjoy a glorious future." Thus did the host sum up his speech in proposing the health of the Conference; and those who succeeded him showed he had struck the right key-note.

HON. J. H. HOFMEYR responded on behalf of the Cape Colony. "I can say," he averred, "that we have gone into this Conference prepared and determined to exhibit and bring into practice a spirit of conciliation and concession."

HON. F. S. HADEN then spoke as a delegate from Natal. "South Africa as a whole," he said, "is a country bound together by many ties of common interest. Whether they be Dutch or English interests they are still the same." The present Conference had been preceded by a more important one, the Imperial Conference held last year in London, which was dominated throughout by "the wish for and the expression of a belief in the union of our great British Empire." So, too, in the South African Conference there was involved "a question of union: of union between the different countries and different races of South Africa," which he ventured to say would be more closely cemented thereby.

HON. J. FRASER, delegate from the Orange Free State, alluded to the occasion as being "unique in the history of South Africa." Never before had delegates from three of the principal Colonies and States of South Africa met together for the consideration of common objects. "If," he continued, "the expression of the dream that is continually held up before us of our becoming a united South Africa, one people standing shoulder to shoulder in the path of progress and prosperity, is ever to be realised, then it must not remain a dream and continue to find expression only in words, but our actions must show our determination to make it a reality." It was a matter for regret that the Transvaal Republic had not sent any representatives to the Conference; but he hoped that whatever results were arrived at would meet with the approval of the Transvaal, so that complete accord might exist from one end of South Africa to the other. "I hope," he added, "the day is not far distant when South Africa will be one."

MR. BLAINE, of Port Elizabeth, expressed similar sentiments. "We have heard," he mentioned, "a great deal in the past as to the necessity for union in South Africa. The occasion has now arrived when a practical illustration of the sincerity of that desire may be given, and I do trust that every State and every individual will endorse the action and earnest desire of the delegates to this Conference to arrive at a common understanding."

MR. MEYBURGH, another Free State delegate, addressed the company in Dutch, but his language was that of a man who knew the value of the British Empire. "We are a daughter," he proudly asserted, "of the mother whom we left behind in the Cape Colony; for many years we have been under age, and now we are come of age we return to our mother to find out from her whether she intends to deprive us of our legal inheritance."

From all these speeches, admirable in tone and conspicuous for their conciliatory expressions, we may not unreasonably hope that the epoch of material prosperity upon which South Africa seems to be entering may be celebrated by the harmonious consolidation of political difficulties within the pale of one grand Federation.

MORTGAGES IN THE UNITED STATES.—The *New York Times* calculates that the total mortgages on farms in ten specified Western States amount to the enormous sum of 3,422,000,000 dols. The average interest paid is 7 per cent., and the total sum represents quite half the total selling value of the land. Fortunately Canada comes very far short of anything like this.



## SOME ASPECTS OF AUSTRALIAN LIFE.

THERE was a very bright and pleasant paper with the above title in *Blackwood's Magazine* for March, from the pen of Mr. Ernest Moon. Of our own special subject Mr. Moon says but little, but his whole article is pitched in a key in complete harmony with our aims and objects. The one passage in which he alludes to Imperial Federation runs as follows:—"If they [the Colonists] could be induced to believe that we really esteem them, and value our connection with Australia, it would help the cause of Imperial Federation far more than discussing paper constitutions. If Imperial Federation is to be a reality it will be brought about by sympathy, and not by the discovery of the most workable paper constitution." Accordingly, Mr. Moon devotes his energies to cultivating the mutual sympathies of the two countries. To the Australian natives, he says that they are over-sensitive in thinking that any one in England wishes to slight them or cold-shoulder them. It is true, we are ignorant of Australian geography, and have to look at an atlas to find on which side of New South Wales Victoria is situated; but is there any geography of which we are not ignorant? "Our ignorance of the geography of Australia is after all only an accident of our birth and education, not assumed and persisted in of malice aforethought." It is true that we are ignorant of the circumstances and conditions of Australian life, but we do not remain wilfully and carelessly ignorant. "Our friends may feel assured that, if they will come over and talk about Australia to those whom they meet, they will find it a very attractive subject in the street, or the drawing room, or the platform. Mr. Gladstone's or Lord Salisbury's name is sure to fetch a cheer at a party meeting. But 'Our great Australian Colonies' stirs all throats, and will do so at both meetings."

We are convinced that Mr. Moon is absolutely correct, not only in his estimate of the drift of English opinion, but also in thinking that this public opinion is frequently misconceived in Australia. But now let us see what he has to tell us here at home. First and foremost, he urges us once and again to go and see for ourselves the great country and the great people that is growing up in it under the Southern Cross. But for those of us—alas, the vast majority—in whom such a counsel of perfection can only raise a sigh, he graphically depicts a country and a people with whom it is impossible for us not to sympathise. What Englishman can read of the Australian's love for the sea, Sydney Harbour on a Bank Holiday "with little else but sail to be seen, looking like so many white feathers skimming over the surface of the water;" his passionate fondness for a horse, "horses saddled and horses harnessed, horses single and horses double," without that fellow-feeling that makes us wondrous kind?

Mutual sympathy, we take it, can only be founded on mutual understanding, and therefore we welcome Mr. Moon's too brief contribution to our knowledge of Australian life. Before we conclude we must notice very briefly one point of a serious character. "Nowadays it is more true to say that trade follows the advertisement, than that it follows the flag." But "the advertising done from America and the Continent astonishes you. In clubs, hotels, or wherever else you go, you find advertising papers of foreign trades in profusion, but of advertisements of British manufactures you see remarkably little." Consequently, American and German trade with the Colonies is increasing in far greater proportion than our own. If this be so, the matter is indeed serious. If Australia is really taking to importing its manufactured wares from Germany and from America, rather than from Birmingham and Manchester, and to consigning its wool to Antwerp in lieu of London, it is high time that we awoke and bestirred ourselves at home. We have thought that the battle of Imperial Federation was to be fought in the press and Parliament. It may be that it will have to be fought in the market-place, with flaming yellow posters and "magnificent albums with views of manufactories highly idealised." Such a combat may not be the romance of war, but if needs be it must be fought. Nor have we cause to be ashamed of it, so that the victory be won.

## IMPERIAL RECIPROCITY.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

I AM anxious to call the attention, not only of your readers in general, but of the Executive Committee in particular, to the position of this question, and the present occasion, when Sir Rawson Rawson's synopsis of the different Colonial tariffs has just been published under the auspices of the League, seems a very suitable time at which to do so. That the subject is one of enormous importance to our cause there can, I take it, be no doubt whatever. I may, however, be told that for the Executive Committee to take any action in the matter would be a violation of our constitution, and an "interference with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs." To this I reply that no one asks that the League should come forward with a cut-and-dried tariff ready for adoption by each several Colony. For any proposals of this kind the time is not yet ripe. When it does ripen, if it ever does, the proper persons to make the proposals will not be a Committee of the League, however wise and however influential, but the responsible ministry of the Colony itself. What I would suggest is something much more modest: that the League should recognise the movement as existing, as growing, and as likely to have vast and far-reaching influence on the prospects of Imperial Federation. As such it is surely only right that its progress, the names of its supporters and defenders, should be chronicled in your columns from time to time, with an equal prominence to that which is afforded to matters of Imperial postage or even of Imperial defence. Nay, more, it seems to me that the League would not be going beyond its proper sphere if it were to endeavour to obtain, from its branches in different parts of the Empire, information as to the present position of public opinion in each individual Colony on the question.

In justification of my belief that the matter is rapidly entering the domain of practical politics, I would ask to be allowed to point to the evidence that is available at the present moment. And, first and foremost, in the United Kingdom itself, there has been established a "British and Colonial Federation and Taxation Readjustment Union." The offices of this Society are at Manchester, and for all I know to the contrary, its meetings may be held within the sacred precincts of the Free Trade Hall. Its President is the Duke of Manchester, who should know, one would think, something of the state of feeling in our Australasian Colonies. Among its vice-presidents are five peers, and twenty-nine members of the House of Commons. The list includes also the Hon. Sir S. Tilley, Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, three members of the Dominion House of Commons, Sir William Fitz Herbert, the Speaker of the New Zealand Legislature, and Mr. Hofmeyr, who, as a delegate of the Cape Colony at the Imperial Conference, seconded Sir Samuel Griffith's motion in favour of an Imperial Commercial Union based upon a discriminating duty in favour of goods of British origin. But at present we are concerned with England only. The Taxation Readjustment Union advocates practically the same policy to-day. It is, I understand, circulating tracts and leaflets broadcast, and there are not wanting signs that among the working classes its propaganda is meeting with very considerable success. "WORKING MEN READ AND PONDER," says one of these tracts. "Deal with those who deal with you. For every pound's worth of food you buy from the United States they buy seven shillings' worth of manufactures from you. For every pound's worth of food you buy from your own Colonies they buy EIGHTEEN SHILLINGS' WORTH of manufactures from you."

If I am asked what the Colonies think on the subject, I would point out that Sir Samuel Griffith is still Prime Minister of Queensland; and that in the great debate of last summer Mr. Vale spoke as follows in the Victorian Parliament:—"There need be no difficulty in differentiating between British and foreign products. We might place a duty of from 30 to 40 per cent. on British manufactures, and from 75 to 100 per cent. on goods of foreign make. The tariff question, therefore, need not be a bar to Federation." If Mr. Vale, in the Parliament of protectionist Victoria, speaking for any one but himself, could utter these words, it can hardly be but that a policy of



Imperial Reciprocity would find influential support in the other Australian Colonies. But I repeat it is most desirable that the Victoria branch of the League should report to the Central Executive what is the real state of public opinion on the point. What Canada thinks on the subject is tolerably obvious. At Mr. O. V. Morgan's meeting at Montreal in October last, Mr. Hugh McLennan declared that, "if England once made a suggestion that she would open her arms to interchange commerce with the Colonies, there would not be a hall in Montreal large enough to hold a meeting to discuss the question." Mr. McNeill's great speech at Paris, Ontario (the passage from which, in reference to the tariff question, I am glad to see that you promise to reproduce in your columns at an early date), goes beyond reciprocity, and advocates what is practically an Imperial *Zollverein*. If further proof is wanted, let me quote from the *Sun*, published at St. John's, New Brunswick, in which a correspondent recently urged that a plan should be "elaborated for the establishment of a Commercial Union of the British possessions throughout the world." Commenting on this letter in a leading article filled with facts and figures, the editor says, "The British Empire is its own natural market. . . The nation is self-contained." He goes on to point out that Germany is beginning to compete with England successfully in the markets both of Australia and Canada, and adds, "the Colonial market may probably be in a large measure preserved by concessions to Colonial producers in British markets. Such a proposition could not have been acceptable a few years ago to those who deprecated a tax on such necessities of life as must be imported into Great Britain. But the time has come when the British Empire can produce its own food, so that the imposition of a grain duty on outside products would not mean an increased price of bread any more than it does in Canada."

It would be easy to multiply Canadian evidence, but I have already made an extortionate demand on your space. I trust, however, that I have said enough to establish my case: that there is *prima facie* ground for believing that Imperial Reciprocity is a policy that commands an influential following in all parts of the Empire, and that it is therefore a policy with which it behoves the League to reckon. At the present moment it is of great importance that the opinion of all parts of the Empire on this matter should be focussed into one point. To my mind there is no point more suitable than the columns of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

A MEMBER OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

London, March 20th, 1888.

### SOMETHING HIGHER THAN MONEY.

LAST summer, when the Canadian tariff was undergoing revision, and the duties on certain classes of goods—notably steel and iron—were in many cases being increased, a considerable portion of the English press was prepared to describe Canada as a worthy sister of Regan and Goneril. They forgot that Regan and Goneril owed their father a good deal. As far as tariffs at least go, it is long since Canada has been beholden to us for as much encouragement as would sell an additional quarter of Manitoban wheat. At the time, we assured our readers that, so far from Canada being careless of English interests, the tariff had been deliberately made heaviest upon those classes of imports that were supplied mainly from the United States. We are glad now to be able to call Canadian evidence in support of our contention. Here is what the *Montreal Gazette* says on the subject in a recent issue:—

"An avowed object of the existing fiscal policy was to promote imports from Great Britain rather than from the United States; for it will be remembered that under the operation of the Cartwright Tariff the Dominion was made a dumping ground for the surplus products of our neighbours, to the destruction alike of home industries and the shipping trade of our ports. In 1873 we purchased goods in Great Britain to the amount of 68,522,000 dols., and six years later to the amount of only 30,993,000 dols.—that is to say, our import trade from England decreased more than one-half in this period. On the other hand, we bought from the United States to the value of 47,735,000 dols. in 1873, and to the value of 43,739,000 dols. in 1879; the decline amounting to only 4,000,000 dols., as against a decline of 38,000,000 dols. in imports from Great Britain. The effect

of the adoption of the National Policy was to immediately reverse this order of things, sending up our purchases from Great Britain to 52,052,000 dols. in 1883, an advance of 21,000,000 dols., while our purchases from the States increased only 12,300,000 dols., and last year we imported within 145,000 dols. as much from England as from our neighbours, although in 1879 we bought 13,000,000 dols. more from the latter than from the former. It is thus evident that the National Policy has fulfilled the design to favour the Mother Country as against the States."

Nor, if we may believe the Toronto *Empire*, is any other spirit likely to animate the Dominion in the future. In reference to the Commercial Union agitation it writes as follows:—

"An attempt is still being made to delude the people of the Dominion into the belief that Canada has in the past discriminated against Great Britain in favour of foreigners, and that it would, therefore, be nothing new to adopt the same course again. The assertion is altogether unfounded, for Canada has never discriminated in favour of the United States or any other foreign country against the rest of the Empire. At the time of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 the articles to be reciprocally exchanged were placed on the free list for all the world. So by the offer of reciprocity which remains standing for acceptance in our statute books, the articles in question are to be placed on our list. In 1874 a State paper, presented to the Washington authorities and signed by no less an authority than the Hon. George Brown, after speaking of the manufactured articles it was proposed to include in the Treaty, proceeds to state that 'any articles made free in Canada under agreement with any foreign country must be made free to Great Britain.' This has been the settled policy of Canada, whether under Conservative or Liberal guidance, and it is a slander upon our country to pretend the contrary."

But we have marked a passage from another Toronto paper, the *Monetary Times*, for quotation with even greater pleasure. Without going so far as to cite the Biblical text that the love of money is the root of all evil, we yet feel constrained to admit that it is not to Wall Street or the Paris Bourse, perhaps not even to the London Stock Exchange, that we should turn our gaze if we sought to find an instance of the sentiment of nationality triumphing over individual self-interest. Here, however, is the utterance of a Canadian financial organ, writing, moreover, in that Toronto which, as Professor Goldwin Smith is never tired of reminding us, is situated in the political centre of the Canadian Dominion:—

"The general desire of Canada is to maintain the connection with Great Britain. And if the political partnership is to be preserved, every business man will admit that it implies obligations on our side as well as on the other. Foremost among these obligations is the duty of retaining our commerce with Great Britain, at least on the footing of the most favoured nation; that we should, in our tariff and international arrangements, accord to her commerce not less advantages and facilities than we accord to the commerce of the most favoured foreign nations. Of the obligations which Great Britain is under, Mr. Chamberlain says:—'We will not lessen them by a cowardly surrender, or by a mean betrayal of the interests committed to our care.' To tell us that we could make money by the disregard of one sacred obligation would suggest that the same end might be attained by the disregard of other obligations; and it is easy to see what the result of following the advice of the Commercial Unionists would be. There are other things in the world worth struggling for besides money, and the pursuit of some of them is higher and nobler. If the economic argument for Commercial Union were unassailable, if it admitted of no reply, the economic theory would have to bend to the political necessity of the situation. This is the universal rule of statemanship. When there is accord between economic theory and national aspiration or national requirement, all difficulty disappears; when economic theory and national exigency are in conflict, the application of the economic theory must be modified, or if necessary supplanted, by the higher claims which connect themselves with the preservation of the life of the State."

A LAUDABLE DREAM AND A LIVING FACT.—A federation of English-speaking nations is a dream, a laudable fancy it may be, but still a dream, for one branch of the race has hewn out for itself a road which can never be re-trodden. But a union of the British peoples is a fact, a reality of daily life, and the hand which would roughly and thoughtlessly disturb the union should be arrested, and the voice that would break the concord must be the voice of the traitor. Schemes that ignore commercial necessities and practical divergences will work out their own futility, but surely the spirit which recognises the opportunities and happy auguries of our present condition need not lightly be scoffed at as a vain thing.—*Toronto Empire*.



## THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF AUSTRALASIA.

If the passing of the Federal Council Act (48 and 49 Vict., cap. 60) had served no other useful purpose, it would be not without value as a warning to sanguine advocates of Imperial Federation not to attempt to obtain legislation in advance of public opinion. We have all heard of the play of Hamlet with Hamlet's part omitted, but if Ophelia and the King had been left out as well, the piece would scarcely be more maimed than is an Australasian Council in which New Zealand, and South Australia, and New South Wales refuse to be represented. Indeed the delegates at the recent meeting at Hobart appear to have fully recognised this fact, and in their address to the Tasmanian Governor in reply to his formal speech of welcome, they declared (we quote the paraphrase of the *Sydney Morning Herald*) that "they were assembled not so much to achieve heroic legislation as to prevent the movement dying a natural death."

Perhaps, as the Act was passed almost unobserved in this country, and as the importance of the Council's proceedings at the two sessions that have so far been held has not been such as to direct any special attention to the matter subsequently, we may venture to assume that our non-Australian readers will not be offended at a short statement of what the Federal Council is, and what it does.

According to the provisions of the Act, the Council consists of two members for each of the six self-governing Colonies and one delegate apiece for the two Crown Colonies of Western Australia and Fiji; and a session is required to be held at least once every two years. This Council has not only deliberative but legislative authority of a very large kind. The matters within its competence may be divided into three classes:—

I. Matters expressly confided to it by the terms of the Act. These comprise (a) the relation of Australia with the Pacific Islands, (b) prevention of the influx of criminals, (c) extra-territorial fisheries, (d) enforcement of judgments of civil and criminal courts out of the jurisdiction of the court of the individual Colony, service of civil process, extradition of criminals, and custody of offenders on board ship. Bills in reference to (a), (b), and (c) must, however, be reserved for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure.

II. The second class comprises "any matter of general Australasian interest with respect to which the Legislatures of the several Colonies can legislate within their own limits, and as to which it is deemed desirable that there should be a law of general application." As instances there are given in the Act, defence, quarantine, patents, copyright, marriage, naturalisation, &c. But the Council can only deal with such of these subjects as are referred to them by the Legislatures of any two or more Colonies. Further, "in such cases the Acts of the Council shall extend only to the Colonies by whose Legislatures the matter shall have been so referred to it, and such other Colonies as may afterwards adopt the same."

III. Finally, the Council has legislative authority in reference to "any matter which, at the request of the Legislatures of the Colonies, Her Majesty by Order in Council shall think fit to refer to the Council."

Here is evidently a pretty comprehensive programme for a council of fourteen gentlemen. When we realise that in Class I. the separate Colonies would (as we understand the Act) be obliged to accept their conclusion, and that even in Class II. they could only accept or reject *en bloc*, and could not alter or amend; when we remember further that Tasmania and Fiji could, if united, outvote New South Wales, we can understand why Sir Henry Parkes, professing all the time his unalterable devotion to Australian Federation, is so violently opposed to the whole scheme, and why not only his own Colony, but New Zealand and South Australia as well, continue to stand aloof. In any case, whether or no we understand it in England, this is the position that all the greatest Colonies except Victoria have taken up. Here is a moderate article on the subject from the *South Australian Register*:—

If it could fairly be supposed that the history of the Council is a true indication of the feelings of the people of Australia about Australian Federation the outlook would be very gloomy. The two things, however, are entirely distinct. The desire for Federation is one thing; the attempt to force it into existence is quite another. But that is what was done by those who, in

the face of earnest and repeated protests, resolved to press on this immature scheme, when three of the Colonies, New South Wales, New Zealand, and South Australia, have declined to join in the movement, and it has been found to be impossible to galvanise the Federal Council into life. At no stage in the history of the Federal Council Bill had the Local Parliaments an opportunity of discussing it. It was placed before them in such a way that they could not modify it. The present Council has too much power in some directions and too little in others, and as constituted it is entirely unfit to assume legislative authority over the whole of the Colonies. It is absurd to suppose that a Legislature consisting at the most of fourteen members, some of whom may be virtually self-elected, should be looked up to by all the local Legislatures as supreme. It may be questioned whether the time is yet ripe for such a Federation. But the time is fully ripe for another form of Federal Council in the shape of a permanent deliberative and consultative body, which might suggest matters for legislation, and even prepare the Bills on such subjects for adoption by the local Legislatures. A permanent council of this kind meeting periodically might render useful service. If the present Federal Council is to justify its existence it must do one of two things. It must move the Imperial Parliament to extend its powers and to enlarge its constitution (for that we believe the time is not opportune). Or it must move the Imperial Parliament to deprive it of all legislative authority, and to constitute it a purely deliberative and consultative body. The present Council can do nothing well, and obviously cannot continue. Modified as we have suggested, it might render valuable service, and in course of time it would undoubtedly give place to a true Federal Parliament representing all the Colonies.

It only remains that we should chronicle what the delegates at Hobart have actually accomplished. Fortunately or unfortunately the list is not a long one. The Council assembled on January 16th, began business on the 17th, and adjourned on the 20th. It adopted an address to Her Majesty on the occasion of her Jubilee, and also a second in reference to the French convicts in New Caledonia. It passed a bill for the regulation of the Queensland pearl-shell and bêche-de-mer fisheries. It discussed the status of corporations and joint-stock companies, quarantine, and the Chinese question, but without taking any action on these matters. It is significant of the sense of unreality that pervaded the whole proceedings that the two Victorian delegates, Mr. Gillies, the Premier, and Mr. Wrixon, the Attorney-General, returned to Melbourne on the morning of January 18th.

## THE STATE OF OUR IMPERIAL FORTRESSES.

A COMMITTEE recently appointed by the Secretary of State for War to consider with him the plans proposed for the fortification and armament of our military and home mercantile ports has published its report. We subjoin the sections relating to Imperial Fortresses outside the United Kingdom.

Malta and Gibraltar.—In the case of both ports additional defences are very urgently required. But both present certain special features which make it exceedingly undesirable for the Committee to dwell in detail upon the deficiencies that have been proved to them to exist. They have, however, carefully examined in minute detail the proposals for the improvement of both fortresses, and they are of opinion that no less a sum than £300,000 will suffice to meet the pressing deficiencies that exist.

Bermuda.—Bermuda is in many respects the strongest of the military ports. Very intricate channels have to be traversed, and, owing to the coral reefs, it is even in peace time hardly ever approached except through "the Narrows," close under the guns of existing forts; and the facilities for mining and torpedo defence combine to make this position easily capable of protection. The committee recommend the early completion of these forms of defence, and the protection of the minefields by quick-firing guns, but the evidence before them does not appear to them to justify any further expenditure—at any rate, till other more urgent wants have been supplied.

Halifax.—The existing works for the defence of Halifax, though extensive, are out of date, and contain no guns capable of opposing modern armaments. But the channel is very narrow, and can be defended by means of submarine mines, and torpedoes can also be relied on. The outer line of defences requires considerable alteration in armament to meet modern requirements, and the committee recommend the complete remodelling of York redoubt.

In the memorandum submitted by Mr. Stanhope as preliminary to the introduction of the Army Estimates, the amount to be expended in providing the works and armaments at these fortresses is stated as follows:—

Malta, £261,790.  
Gibraltar, £107,870.

Bermuda, £22,313.  
Halifax, £100,340.



### MR. A. McNEILL, M.P., ON CANADIAN TRADE WITH THE UNITED KINGDOM.

IN our last issue, when reporting Mr. McNeill's great speech at Paris, Ontario, we promised to give our readers the benefit of perusing what he had to say on the subject of Imperial Reciprocity. Although his remarks are of necessity cast in a graver and less ornate form than some other portions of his eloquent address, they are none the less worthy of careful study, forming as they do the contribution of a practical and influential politician to a discussion which is rapidly assuming wider and wider dimensions.

In another column we publish a communication from a Member of the General Committee, which may profitably be read side by side with Mr. McNeill's statements.

After referring to the Imperial Conference of 1887, Mr. McNeill continued as follows:—

#### IMPERIAL RECIPROCITY.

The summoning of this Imperial Council was a great stride towards a more perfect unity. The organisation for mutual defence is another stride in the same direction. Soon we hope to be able to record still another advance. We hope soon to see a mutual arrangement effected, by virtue of which the members of the Empire will trade with one another on much more natural and much more profitable terms than they do at present. The different members of the Empire ought to trade with one another upon more favourable terms than with foreign countries. The Mother Country, for example, admits most of our products free of duty. The United States has raised up an enormous tariff against us. We ought to admit the products of the Mother Country to our markets on terms more favourable than we admit those of the United States. We purchase, per head of our population, much more from the Mother Country than the people of the United States do. The Mother Country ought to discriminate in our favour against the United States. In other words, she ought to rearrange her tariff at least so far as this, that it would advantage the producer in the Empire without materially adding to the expenses of the consumer. For example, she might begin in this way:—In place of making poor people pay a duty of 50 or 60 per cent. on their tea, she ought very much to reduce the duty on China tea, and let in the tea produced by her own people in India free. She ought to reduce the enormous duty on foreign tobacco and let in the tobacco of her own people free. She ought to treat coffee, chicory, and dried fruits in a similar manner. She ought to give her own wine producers an advantage in her market over the foreigner, and the large revenues she thus lost she ought to provide by taxing, for example, the butter and cheese and dried fish and horses and peas of the foreigner, letting ours in free. It is not, perhaps, known to all of you that the cheese alone we exported to the Mother Country last year and the year before almost equalled in value all the wheat, wheat meal, wheat flour, oats and oatmeal that we exported to Great Britain and Ireland during the same periods of time. England might put a tax on foreign lumber, too, and foreign furs, while admitting ours duty free. I don't think there would be much injury done to the consumer if there were a tax levied on the vile oleomargarine or bogus butter with which our American cousins and commercial rivals flood the English market, to the injury of the English and Canadian farmer. All parties assisted in urging our own Government to exclude the vile stuff from our markets—as much for the sake of the consumer as of the producer of genuine butter—and this has been done. Neither do I think a tax on seal or other furs would hit poor people much harder than a tax on their tea and tobacco, which are as necessary to them as either cheese or butter. And a very much smaller tax than that now paid on tea, tobacco, coffee, &c., levied against the foreigner on the goods I have mentioned, and others that might be enumerated, would give to the Canadian farmer an enormous advantage in the English market. And this tax would be certainly—in part at least—borne by the foreigner, whereas the tea and coffee tax is wholly paid by the English consumer.

If it be said that this is not Free Trade, I reply neither is 50 or 60 per cent. on tea Free Trade. If it be said that England will never consent to anything like this, I say that, for my own part, I believe she very soon will. In fact, while Free Trade is still the politico-economic creed of the English people, there is a strong conviction rooting itself in their minds that the foreigner is getting very much the better of the bargain; and for my own part I am satisfied that it needs but energetic action on the part of the Colonies to make the movement in favour of Imperial Reciprocity irresistible. I have been asked by the *Toronto Mail* to show any good ground for this belief. I think the ground for it is very apparent. The difficulty is rather to understand how any one can be blind to its existence. In the first place, I may just remark that there is a very important and influential society, having its head-quarters in the great trading city of Manchester, formed for the very purpose of advocating differential duties in favour of members of the Empire. The *Mail* says there is not a responsible politician connected with it. Well, I don't know if the *Mail* admits that Members of

Parliament are responsible politicians. Perhaps some are not held as responsible as they should be. But at any rate, this Society, I find, numbers amongst its members no less than twenty-eight of the Imperial House of Commons, and the Duke of Manchester is at its head. The London, Sheffield, and Glasgow Chambers of Commerce have approved the policy advocated by this Society.

What does the *Mail* make of the Fair Trade movement? When this movement was first heard of it was decided as something quite too ridiculous to have a place in Free Trade England. Then a strange thing took place in the Imperial House of Commons. It was surely a piece of gratuitous effrontery on the part of these Fair Traders to ask for a committee to inquire into the whole Fiscal Policy of England. That was rather "too, too!" Mr. Gladstone rose in his wrath, and declared that the granting such a commission would shake Free Trade to its very base, even in its stronghold, and the motion was defeated. Time went on. A general election took place, and we were assured that Fair Trade was annihilated. But this motion for inquiry into the causes of the depression of English trade came up again in the House of Commons, and, marvellous to relate, the motion was carried. The commission was appointed. The investigation took place. The facts were made public; and a few weeks ago, at the great convention of the Conservative party in England, when the question of Fair Trade *versus* Free Trade was submitted to the meeting, every hand but twelve was held up for Fair Trade; and there were at that meeting 1,000 delegates. I think that is sufficiently conclusive evidence that Fair Trade has grown to be a great power in England, and that it is a rapidly-increasing power. Fair Trade in England means the discriminating in favour of those who in their trade discriminate in favour of England. Every Fair Trader in England would be in favour of discriminating in favour of the Colonies, provided we returned the compliment.

Now we have it in our power to hold out very great inducements to the Mother Country to adopt such a policy. By slightly raising to the foreigner the duty on manufactured goods which England produces—by raising it to a much smaller degree than it has been lately proposed to raise it against English goods—we give her enormous advantage in our markets over the foreigners. Our own manufacturer is not only not injured by this, but is also a participator in this advantage over his foreign competitor. A policy framed on the lines of Imperial reciprocity is the trade policy advocated by the Imperial Federation League in Canada. It is the natural, and, I believe, the inevitable policy of the Empire, and it will, I am persuaded, commend itself more and more to the people of Canada the more it is inquired into and discussed. It is a policy that will act and react to the mutual benefit of the Colonies and the Mother Country. Every one knows that England finds her best markets within the Empire, and we have seen, not without a pang, that in some cases this market is slipping away from her and falling into the hands of the commercial rivals of the Empire. This policy would enormously increase her market in the Colonies both directly and indirectly. Indirectly, because the better market obtained by the Colonies would largely increase their purchasing power. It is a policy that would benefit both the Canadian farmer and manufacturer, not a policy which would put the industry of the one against that of the other, and thus divide the country against itself. It is a policy having a tendency to increase rather than diminish our revenue, and this largely at the expense of the foreigner. It is essentially a policy making for Imperial consolidation and unity, not a policy tending to disintegration or annexation; and it will, I am satisfied, be approved by the good sense, the patriotism, the instincts of affection, and the sentiments of loyalty of the Canadian people.

Now I don't wish to be misunderstood. I don't want any one to suppose that I put this forward as a scheme for Imperial Reciprocity. I am speaking purely from a Canadian standpoint, and I wish to point out that a scheme of reciprocity between Canada and the Mother Country, mutually advantageous to each of them, could be arranged without calling upon the English consumer to pay one farthing more in customs duties than he does to-day, and this, too, without entailing a duty on breadstuffs.

You will probably see the Mother Country go further than this and tax breadstuffs also. Be that as it may, I am satisfied that, as with Canada, so, too, with the other Colonies of the Empire, reciprocal trading might be arranged between each of them and the Mother Country, and also between the Colonies themselves, which would be mutually advantageous to all parties concerned.

Much better proposals than those I have made may be advanced. These are merely thrown out in the rough in order to show that reciprocity between the Colonies and the Mother Country is not that impossible thing it is so often represented to be.

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CANADIAN TRADE.—According to Mr. Colmer's paper at the Statistical Society, the external trade of the Dominion amounts to over 39 dols. per head, as against 22 dols. in the case of the States. But while Canada imports 4 dols. more than it exports, in the United States there is a difference of 75 cents in the other direction.



## NOTICES.

THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

The annual payment of Five Shillings ensures inscription upon the Register of the LEAGUE, and the receipt of the JOURNAL of the LEAGUE monthly, post free.

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The annual subscription to the JOURNAL may begin with any number, to cover twelve months from that date. It will be sent post free the world over for the subscription of Four Shillings, payable in advance.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be obtainable through any bookseller. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining it, the EDITOR, or the SECRETARY of the LEAGUE, should be communicated with, when the matter will be at once attended to.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire should become members of the LEAGUE, and promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves and introducing it to their friends.

The JOURNAL can now be sent at the 2 oz. rate.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London, W.

## Imperial Federation.

APRIL 1, 1888.

### THE POLICY OF THE LEAGUE.

"THE Federation we aim at is the closest possible union of the interests ruled by the British Crown, consistent with that national free development which is the birthright of British subjects all over the world—the closest union in sympathy, in external action, and in defence." In these words the Earl of Rosebery, President of the Imperial Federation League, enunciated the principle upon which its action is and has been consistently framed, in his speech at the third annual meeting on March 21st. It is important to remember that the written statement, which, in order to avoid any possibility of misconception, had been prepared by the President and was read to the meeting, received unanimous and specific confirmation. A resolution, moved by Lord Brassey, to the effect: "That the future policy of the League, as set forth in the address of the Chairman of the League, be carried out during the ensuing year," was carried by acclamation; and to that policy the League is bound, just as it is bound by the terms of its Constitution, upon which the policy is based. Our Constitution of 1884 forbids any attempt at interference with the rights of Local Parliaments. Our President in 1888 glories in "that national free development which is the birthright of British subjects all over the world." Our Constitution of 1884 sets up the standard of permanent unity of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests and the defence of common rights. Lord Rosebery in 1888 aims at the "closest possible union of the interests ruled by the British Crown—the closest union in sympathy, in external action, and in defence." Nothing could be more logically consistent than these two manifestos: they are exact counterparts one of another, and every member of the League will feel a grateful sense of security in the knowledge that this great organisation, drawing its strength from all parties and all sections of a world-wide Empire, has not diverged by a hair's breadth from the sound principles upon which it was originally founded.

But while our principles have remained unchanged, how great has been the progress towards their realisation! Within four years, as Lord Rosebery pointed out, we have seen our Australian fellow-subjects standing shoulder to shoulder with ourselves, fighting the battles of their Queen. We have seen our Canadian fellow-subjects join hands with the taxpayers of the United Kingdom to ensure the supremacy of the British flag and British commerce over the one great ocean highway that yet remained inviolate. We have

seen our South African fellow-subjects combining with us to spread civilisation through the Dark Continent, and to create an Imperial bulwark at the Cape. And above all, we have rejoiced in that magnificent assembly of Representatives from all parts of the Empire, whose first conference in London, last year, undoubtedly contained the germ of an Imperial Council. The absolute equality of all British subjects is well exhibited by the fact that there are three Australians sitting in Parliament for constituencies of the United Kingdom, and a far larger number of men born and bred at home represent Colonial constituencies in their local legislatures. The Colonial Office, which formerly vacillated "between ignorant dictation and ignorant apathy," has adopted a more generous and more enlightened policy. The important posts of Colonial Governors are now almost without exception filled by men admirably qualified to discharge the duties of their high office; and a healthy public opinion renders impossible a repetition of the scandalous appointments occasionally made in the old days. Her Majesty's Ministers have learned only to appreciate their position as trustees for the Empire, whose position compels them to view with a jealous eye any attempt to alienate the public domain from its rightful heirs—the British people all over the world. These and many more have been the achievements of the Imperial Federation League during the past four years, and Lord Rosebery was amply justified in his description of them as "encouraging us by the record of an almost miraculous progress."

We do not think there is much fear that the League will be satisfied with the mere contemplation of its past triumphs; we are still far from the point at which we can rest from our labours because we have nothing left to win. We have not yet secured that cheaper postage to the Colonies, which would furnish a most popular example of the unity of the Empire. The Colonial Forces have not yet been provided with a place in any organised scheme of Imperial defence. Commerce is still hampered by a complicated system of tariffs and restrictions. No standard has been fixed for estimating the relations of various parts of the Empire in dealing with matters of Imperial responsibility. We mention these as a few out of many subjects to which the League may practically turn in the immediate future. But perhaps its main function is one of vigilance. In our New Year's greeting we tried to impress this duty upon our readers, and we are glad to find that Lord Rosebery confirmed our judgment in his speech at the Annual Meeting. "Let us hold tightly," he said, "to what we have gained, and make it permanent until it is replaced by something better. We have had a Colonial Conference; let us take care that it be only the first of a series of Colonial Conferences. Let us, in the next place, keep a vigilant eye on the different requirements for Imperial defence that lie outside these islands. Let us do all that we can to facilitate communication between the different parts of the Empire, that they may be, at any rate, compacted together by steam and by wire. Let us watch that in the external action of the British Government, whether by diplomacy or otherwise, our Colonial interests are not neglected. Let us utilise every organisation and every opportunity that may seem to offer a chance of drawing our different commonwealths closer and closer, let us further every Colonial aspiration that tends in the same direction. Let us keep the British and Colonial public fully informed of their stake in our cause, and of the true aspect of the question, and so, day by day, the scattered peoples of our race under our flag will recognise more and more deeply the unity of the Empire in sympathy, and interest, and aim. And when that is done, our work will progress of itself."

### AN APPEAL FOR CHEAP POSTAGE FROM THE CAPE.

It is with great readiness that we accept a task commended to us by the *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, an important daily journal published at Kimberley, probably the most enterprising town in the Cape Colony. Our contemporary is justly indignant at the excessive rate of postage between South Africa and the United Kingdom, and adds one more to the numerous appeals in favour of reducing it.



At present the Cape Colony has an uniform rate of two-pence per half-ounce for letters within the Colony or to any places in the Free State, the Transvaal Republic, and Bechuanaland. That the boon of this comparatively low charge is properly appreciated, seems proved by the fact that "a daily increasing correspondence is kept up from end to end of settled South Africa." But no such enlightened policy has been followed in dealing with the Ocean rates. Let our contemporary state the case in his own forcible way.

"It is only when the same advantages are expected in regard to communication beyond Colonial bounds across ocean highways that the like progress is not observable. The rate of postage at sixpence the half ounce seems outrageous to those who have correspondence in Britain, and to new-comers especially burdensome. It means in many cases a letter once a year, instead of one a month, or every week. If we are to remain in closer unity with the Mother Country, the rate of ocean postage must assuredly be reduced to one-half of the present charge and to uniform cost, with inland correspondence later on. Twopence a letter would allow of a division of charge, one penny at one end and one penny at the other, and this sum ought to be sufficient to prevent loss on either side. Why the postage to South Africa must be greater proportionately than it is to America, Australia, China, and other distant parts of the Empire is only excusable on the ground of a much more limited correspondence than to those parts. But the way to promote an increase of intercourse by correspondence is not certainly by a prohibitive tax, but rather by removing all ground for making that intercourse only such as duty requires, or necessity compels. Let the postage rate be the lowest possible, and the frequency of despatch of mails stated and regular, and increase of letter correspondence will follow as a matter of course."

The official answer is always, that any reduction would involve a loss to the revenue. This remains to be proved, and we must always remember that the same argument was used against the adoption of the Penny Post in the United Kingdom. But supposing a loss were incurred: have we not a right to demand from the State the utmost facility of communication between different parts of the Empire, as an essential of civilised government? Why should the Post Office be the only department that is expected to pay its own expenses? On the same principle we ought to see suitors' fees raised to a pitch that would pay the cost of our judicial system; to have a tax levied upon every constituency for maintaining the fabric of the House of Commons, and a charge made for admission to any public office before one can consult an official or ask a question. In fact, unless it be recognised that the public services are established by the whole nation for the good of all, administrative government is at an end. But the Post Office fulfils a function as important to a modern community as the War Office or Admiralty, and we may, therefore, reasonably demand that the postal arrangements shall be made as efficient as possible, without any minute calculations of profit or loss. This principle has been recognised already in allowing newspapers to pass through the post for one halfpenny, on the ground that the dissemination of news is a matter of public utility. We have yet to learn that correspondence, which does much to keep intact the sacred bond of friendship or family, and through which the whole business of the country is transacted, can be assigned to a lower level of National importance.

There is another argument which we think our contemporary might have employed with much force. In the United Kingdom our Penny Post covers one ounce in weight, but the sixpenny rate to South Africa only covers half-an-ounce; the Colonial postage is therefore really twelve times as great as the inland postage here—a monstrous and indefensible position.

We regret that space precludes us from discussing the Money Order system, which seems as unsatisfactory as the letter-rates. The convenience of Postal Orders or Notes is appreciated in the Cape Colony as keenly as here. But the ocean has hitherto formed an impassable barrier, and the old-fashioned money orders—charged 9d. in the £1—are the only means of sending small sums home from South Africa.

NOVA SCOTIAN TRADE.—It is satisfactory to note that the trade of Nova Scotia has greatly increased in the year last past. The total foreign trade last year aggregated 10,191,000 dols., or equal to an increase of over 600,000 dols. over the year 1886. The imports were 5,464,285 dols., an increase in dutiable imports of 423,398 dols. The exports reached 4,726,744 dols., an increase of 177,678 dols.

## THE PROGRESS TOWARDS UNITY IN AUSTRALIA.

SIR HENRY PARKES is probably correct in thinking that an Australasian Federation is the necessary prelude to the grander scheme of Imperial Federation. On the principle, then, that *qui veut la fin, veut les moyens*, we can only express our satisfaction at the daily increasing number of points of contact between the different Colonies. Here are a few notices from recent Melbourne papers. "A conference of Colonial Postmasters-General is to be held in Sydney, with a view to the discussion of several matters relating to the mail and telegraphic services." "The New South Wales Government holds that the war of rates that has been waged to secure the Riverina trade, which finds its natural outlet at Melbourne, is a question of a character which can only be settled by the political heads." Confidential communications are being exchanged at the present time between the Premiers of the Colonial Governments with reference to the advisability or otherwise of accepting the invitation to be officially represented at the Great International Exhibition to be held in Paris. . . . The Governments of the other Colonies are said to be unfavourable to accepting the invitation, and if they persist in that determination it is not likely that the Government of this Colony will propose that Victoria alone should be represented. The matter, however, will not be finally determined until the Governments of the other Colonies have fully decided to accept or decline the invitation." "It has been agreed that Centennial Day is in future to be observed as an Australian holiday." Here is yet another notice whose importance justifies our reproducing it at full length.

"Mr. Gillies's proposal that the Governments of Australia should combine to invite Lord Wolseley to visit the Colonies for the purpose of advising as to the best methods of defence is still under consideration. The Premier has no doubt that the Colonial Governments will be ready to unite in a joint representation to the Imperial authorities on the subject. It is felt to be urgently desirable that in the event of a hostile attack upon any part of Australia, the military forces of the Colonies should be prepared to combine for the purpose of repelling the common enemy. The question is regarded as one of the gravest importance. The Governments of this Colony and New South Wales are of opinion that it would be highly advantageous to have the advice of Lord Wolseley, or some other acknowledged authority, with a view to making the utmost possible use of the military resources of the Colonies."

In reference to the railway war mentioned above, later news informs us that "a conference is presently to be held in Melbourne with the object of putting an end to the war of railway tariffs between the Australian Colonies. It is understood that the idea originated with the Premier of Victoria, and that it has been cordially responded to by the Premiers of the other Colonies. . . . It is desired to arrive at a system of uniformity of rates which may be regarded as national rather than local, so that a bale of goods, for example, passing from Melbourne *via* Sydney to Brisbane, may be booked at a through identical tariff. . . . This will give a great impetus to trade. It is probably on this account that Mr. Gillies has taken so much trouble in the matter." It is only a few weeks back, on January 15, that the new railway from Brisbane to Sydney was opened throughout for traffic. It is now possible to go by train right through to Brisbane from Adelaide. That the influence on trade will be great is undeniable, but we may expect that the political influence will be at least equal in importance. A custom-house at an outpost may seem to an Englishman a natural thing enough, but we question whether any Britisher, turned out of his carriage in the middle of the night for a visitation of the *douane* when he crosses the frontier, will ever take kindly to so foreign seeming an institution.

THE WANT OF SHEEP IN CANADA.—"There is possibly nothing in our present economy so marked as the want of sheep." So writes Professor Brown, of the Guelph Agricultural College, in reference to Canada. Certainly, there are few countries in which the number of cattle equals, or exceeds, that of sheep, as is the case in Canada. At the last census there were 3,514,989 cattle and 3,048,678 sheep in the Dominion. Since then there has been no complete enumeration for all the Provinces and Territories, but in 1887 Ontario had 1,976,480 cattle and 1,396,161 sheep, and Manitoba 144,600 of the former animals and only 6,000 of the latter.—*European Mail*.



## NOTES FROM THE LEAGUE IN CANADA.

LETTER FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT AT MONTREAL.

THE following letter from our well-informed Canadian correspondent, "Manu Forti," unfortunately arrived too late for insertion in our last issue. It contains, however, so much interesting matter, that we cannot resist publishing it this month, and must apologise to our readers for the delay due to the slowness of the Mail Service between Canada and this country, a state of things which we hope to see greatly altered for the better before long.

MONTREAL, February, 1888.

Since my last letter I have to chronicle the holding of the League meeting for election of officers by the Ottawa and by the Toronto Branches. In Ottawa the meeting was held in January, with Mr. Sanford Fleming, the President, in the chair. The election resulted as follows:—President, Mr. Sanford Fleming, C.M.G.; Vice-Presidents, Dr. Sweetland, Sheriff, Mr. A. H. Taylor, and Col. Brown Chamberlin; Committee, Dr. Hurlburt, Professor Macoun, Col. Ross, Messrs. J. P. Featherstone, W. Armstrong, McLeod Stewart (Mayor of Ottawa), J. A. Gemmill, F. Bebbington; Treasurer, Mr. Thomas McFarlane, F.R.C.S.; Secretary, Mr. R. J. Code, Barrister. An interesting discussion on trade with the Mother Country took place upon a resolution advocating Free Trade proposed by Mr. Keane, and supported by a number of the members.

The Toronto Branch held its meeting on the 1st of February, and the following were the officers elected:—President, Hon. John Beverley Robinson; Vice-presidents, Messrs. G. R. Cockburn, M.P., J. M. Clarke, and Col. George T. Denison; Secretary, Mr. W. Hamilton Merritt; Treasurer, Mr. Jehu Matthews; Executive Committee, Messrs. James Bain, C. Dickson, J. F. Small, John D. Hay, and Col. F. C. Denison, M.P.

Mr. McCarthy, M.P., of course retains the chairmanship of the general League in Canada, the report of his resignation which was published some months ago having been promptly denied, as such resignation was never contemplated.

To resume the narrative begun in my last regarding the progress of the Commercial Union movement, I must say a word on its newspaper organ. The *Mail*, after its apostasy, very soon discovered that, repudiated by the leaders of the party, of whose views it had been for some years the exponent, it had very little influence upon the electors of the country. A short time before the general election for the local legislature in Ontario, it published a declaration of independence, outlining the policy it intended to follow, which consisted mainly of two planks. First, the French Canadians and the Roman Catholic Church must be put down, crushed, and swept out of political existence; and secondly, Imperial Federation must be condemned without hearing, while all other alternatives for our destiny should be deemed deserving of careful consideration; the future of the country must be considered, without regard to our being a British country. Both of these positions were promptly disavowed by the responsible leaders of the Conservative party. The second branch of the new policy very soon developed into advocacy of Commercial Union with the United States, with more or less distinct leaning towards political annexation. Meantime the *World*, a one cent morning paper, had vigorously taken up the cudgels in combating the arguments of the *Mail*, and it very rapidly rose from a paper with a comparatively small circulation to being one of the most widely read papers in the Province, and to its manly attitude was largely due the rapidity with which the agitation worked itself out. The probability is that this paper would have definitely succeeded to the position of the leading paper of the Conservative party, were it not that its capital was perhaps somewhat limited, and the task of coping with the established papers of the Opposition, the *Globe* and the *Mail*, required a paper with sufficient capital at its command to make it the best equipped paper in the country. Also, no doubt, many of those who were shocked at the conduct of the *Mail* wished the adoption of a more distinctive name, one

that would stamp the character of the paper as truly loyal to the Empire of which our country forms a happy part. Accordingly, with the concurrence and the active co-operation of Sir John Macdonald and other leading Conservatives, the *Empire* was started, and it stepped at once to the front rank of Canadian newspapers. As might be expected from the name, it is sounding no uncertain note as to its position on our relations with the rest of the Empire. The editor-in-chief is one of the most vigorous, well-informed, cultivated, and experienced journalists in Canada; he has long been a power in the press, first of the Maritime Provinces, and afterwards of Montreal. The name of the paper may be regarded as a distinct triumph for the ideas associated with the work of the League, and may do more to advance the interests of Imperial Unity than any means that could be adopted in this country.

The coadjutor of the press, the electric telegraph, has also been, to some extent, emancipated from the thralldom into which it was the object of American "Sympathisers" to reduce it. The surrender of the Montreal Telegraph Company to the Western Union was an event that might have had disastrous consequences. But these have been largely averted by the establishment of the Canadian Pacific Telegraph Company, which has already connections with all important centres in Canada, and has met with much public favour. The prospects are that we shall soon have direct cable communication with the Mother Country, and possibly also with Australia, independently of the United States lines. The popularity of this Company was largely increased by the conduct of the Great North-Western Company and of Mr. Wiman, its president, something over a year ago, when they distinctly avowed their intention to pursue, towards the shareholders of the Montreal Company, a policy of repudiation. Mr. Wiman wrote a long and characteristic letter explaining how, when they undertook to pay a dividend of 8 per cent., they expected they were to have a monopoly of all Canadian business, but when they found there was a competing company in the field, they decided they would rather not pay the dividend, unless it could be paid out of the earnings of the company itself. Fortunately the shareholders were not men to be readily thrown overboard to suit the convenience of Mr. Wiman and his associates. Mr. Wiman's company accordingly, under threats of legal compulsion, "knuckled down," and the dividend then overdue was paid, as a couple of dividends since have also been. The public, however, saw in this discussion how dangerous a thing it was to have placed themselves at the mercy of a foreign monopoly, and have accorded very liberal support to the new telegraph company at every point where it has competing lines. Some little difficulty still exists at points where United States connections have to be made, but this will probably soon be overcome.

The ovation given Mr. Chamberlain deserves more than a passing notice. The attendance was very large, over 400 guests, but not nearly so large as if the public generally not connected with the Board of Trade could have obtained tickets. The newspapers remarked on the evident pleasure with which the guests of the evening remarked the enthusiasm of the people when the toast of the Queen was received by the entire audience rising and joining spontaneously in the National Anthem. And no less heartily did they respond to the stirring and patriotic sentiments to which he himself gave utterance in his excellent speech. While animated with the most friendly feelings for the people of the United States, those who heard him were convinced that he at least would be no party to a surrender of Canada's just rights, to tide over a difficulty between the Empire and any foreign power. Canada has many reproaches to make to England for the careless indifference with which, in past treaties, her valued rights have been wantonly sacrificed. But the advent to Imperial counsels of such men as Lord Salisbury, Lord Rosebery, and Mr. Chamberlain convinces our people that the day is past when the Colonies will be trifled with, and to these as well as to our true friends among the members of the Federation League, the people of Canada look with confidence for the future development of a policy that will bind them in perpetual union with the other countries of our common Empire.

MANU FORTI.



## A ROVING CORRESPONDENT AT SEA.

"A ROVING CORRESPONDENT" of the *Yorkshire Post*, who has been contributing to that journal a series of letters upon "Wanderings in Greater Britain," concludes with one entitled "A Traveller's View of Imperial Federation." From this heading it is natural to expect a somewhat hasty and superficial judgment upon the weighty problem under review; but we confess we hardly anticipated that the writer would have entered the lists as a critic qualified on the score of his travels to discuss Federation, when he admits that he has never actually visited Canada. He has much to say about India, which is really beside the question at issue, for the position of India as a dependency of the Crown has no connection with a Federation of self-governing communities. He has also a good deal to say concerning Australia, but here the traveller's bird's-eye view has led him into serious errors. "In Australia, notably in Queensland," he says, "the arrangement recently made with the Imperial Government for a special squadron maintained at joint expense, has met with considerable opposition from an influential party who are averse to handing over the defence of their coasts to the Mother Country." By what process of reasoning the institution of the Australasian squadron is supposed to be equivalent to "handing over the defence of their coasts to the Mother Country" does not appear; but it is more important to observe that the Parliaments of South Australia and Victoria, and we believe also those of New Zealand and Tasmania, passed the Naval Force Bill *without a single division*; that in New South Wales the opponents of the Bill were only nine in number, whose talent for obstruction is, we believe, notorious and by no means confined to a particular occasion; and that in Queensland the opposition was not due to dislike of the proposal for an Imperial system of defence, but was entirely a matter of Parliamentary tactics influencing the first measure that came forward.

Another subject upon which this Roving Correspondent is sadly at sea is the attitude of the Young Australian party towards the Empire. "What Federationists have most to fear in Australia," he says, "is the young Australian party. . . . The rising generation of Australians distrust Federation, because it would limit their freedom of action." Why, so far from distrusting it, the young Australian party is the very prop and pillar of the Imperial connection. Those who have the highest ideas of the magnificent career open to the Greater Britain of the South, are the very men who cling most closely to the Mother Country. Has this Roving Correspondent read the account of the speeches delivered at the banquet in Melbourne last autumn, when Mr. Deakin was entertained on his return from the Imperial Conference by the Australian Natives' Association? We suppose we ought to regard that association as the focus of all that is hostile to our cause! All we can say is that if we have nothing worse to fear than the hostility of the Native Australians, our triumph is assured. The Roving Correspondent parades them as a Balaam conjured up to curse Federation: but hearken to their words, and behold! the curse is no curse but a blessing!

The goal to which the native-born Australians look forward is not disintegration, but consolidation of the Empire. Mr. Deakin thus expressed their ambition amid thunders of applause, which showed how completely the audience agreed with him. "When we have set ourselves," he said, "to lay the foundations of national prosperity at home, and when we have fully undertaken the defence of our own shores, then we shall become a power with which it will be worth while to co-operate. Then, instead of leaning upon London, we shall have a power upon which London can lean if necessary, when Australia has her fifty millions of men." Those are the true sentiments of the young Australian party, and we of the Imperial Federation League may confidently aid and abet their endeavours. Alliance and co-operation are the stones with which we build. Federation is impossible where the contracting parties do not meet as equals, and we welcome every symptom of Australian progress, every sign of Colonial adolescence, because we desire Australia and Canada and the Cape full partners on equal terms with ourselves in the administration of our common Empire.

## COMMERCIAL UNION ONCE MORE.

A REMARKABLE proof of the manner in which the size of our globe is shrinking beneath the pressure of steam and the electric telegraph is shown in the fact that Mr. Moreton Frewen replies from Bombay to the letters on the subject of Commercial Union that Mr. Wiman from New York and Professor Goldwin Smith from Toronto have addressed to the *London Times*. Perhaps we are prejudiced, but we are bound to confess that the subject appears to us to be better understood in India than it is on either side of that frontier which it is proposed to wipe out. On one or two points there can be no doubt to which side the victory inclines. The Professor, for example, laments that in Canada "our system of government is deeply corrupt and our political morality at a low ebb." To which Mr. Frewen replies by asking whether union with the country, where the name of congressman is almost a term of reproach, and whose chief city was the scene of the brilliant exploits of Tamanny Hall and the great Broadway "Steal," is not a somewhat homœopathic remedy for so serious a disease. Another point is worthy of notice. The Professor echoes the complaints of certain inhabitants of Manitoba that the Canadian Pacific freight rates on east-bound traffic are extortionate. Mr. Frewen not only reminds us that the discontent of the Ontario farmers of which so much is made is caused precisely because these freights are not high enough to exclude the competition of the virgin lands of the North West, but he goes on to quote from the *Iron Age* of Chicago, which protests that the Canadian railway rates are so low that they are destroying the profits of the lines which compete with it to the south of the frontier.

"In discerning those who love her," writes Mr. Goldwin Smith, "England is sometimes as blind as Icarus." If he will pardon our reference to poetry of a less elevated type we should answer, "It is all very well to dissemble your love, But why should you kick us down-stairs?" Except, indeed, that he is possessed by his *idée fixe* "that the day will come when the English-speaking race upon this Continent will be one people, . . . and when England as the parent of all will rejoice in the reunion," it is inconceivable that any man, as able and honest as Professor Goldwin Smith undoubtedly is, could expect English people to look with favourable eyes on Commercial Union. He may "see no reason why political union should be precipitated by an increase of commercial intercourse;" he may know how it is possible to differentiate in favour of the States without differentiating against England, and he may think it likely that the Mother Country, in return for a least-favoured nation treated by its Colony, will be ready to join in new mail subsidies and fresh railway guarantees; but England is likely to produce another Shakespeare before it produces another citizen like-minded with our Professor. If words are only counters, if the United States tariff can be described as "the master-key of Free Trade," if the Dominion can be counted as "a restricted area," it is difficult to conceive what proposition can ever be at a loss for a logical and convincing demonstration. But we cannot restrain a hope that in future Mr. Goldwin Smith will turn his genius and his mastery of the English language into other channels than those of practical politics. A proof that Shakespeare wrote Bacon's Essays would not be more difficult, and would certainly be less mischievous, than a demonstration from one who is "out of politics and unconnected with party" of the abstract blessings of commercial union, and the natural and spontaneous growth of the movement in its favour.

Mr. Erastus Wiman, with his unctuous references to Providence and "the magic touch of freedom," with his talk of crimes "against nature and against the future of the English-speaking race," his worship of the material "success that makes the world wonder," his ardent affection for his Canadian nationality, that for a quarter of a century has burnt unnoticed within his own breast, this is a character of a more commonplace type. When Mr. Wiman expands all the flowers of his rhetoric on an attempt to prove that it is only by commercial union with the States that Canada will be led to perceive the full advantages of political union with England, we feel that we are not required to answer him seriously. Mr. Wiman cares, and cares profoundly we have no doubt, "if £5 can be added to the value of every acre of cleared land in Canada," "if every tree that nods



to the breeze all over the wide area of Canada is worth 10s. more" or 10s. less; but that he cares for "the name of Britain, trebly great" "a continental"—to use his own phrase—as compared with the "marvellous market" of the United States, he will hardly, we think, expect us to believe. But if we might venture to make a suggestion it would be this, that in future Mr. Wiman should confine himself to "the material advantages which would follow in a commercial point of view" if Canada were granted the privilege of union with "the largest aggregation of money-making and money-spending people in the world," and that he should leave to his coadjutor the much more delicate task of proving that this policy is not inconsistent with the sentiment of affection that would at all costs maintain the union between the Mother Country and her greatest Colony, not so much for what it does as for what it is.

### MEETING OF THE HALIFAX BRANCH OF THE LEAGUE.

A MEETING of the Halifax Branch was held recently under the presidency of Sir Adams Archibald.

The CHAIRMAN in opening the proceedings gave an outline of the origin of the movement, and referred to the vast importance of the Imperial Conference of last year.

He spoke with enthusiasm of the change of feeling which had come about in England concerning the Colonies, and in the Colonies concerning the Empire, during the last twenty years.

MR. W. C. SILVER, president of the Chamber of Commerce, said that only a very few years ago people regarded the future position of Canada as certain to be either one of independence or of annexation by the United States. Either of these alternatives was looked forward to with feelings of alarm and distrust by all loyal and thoughtful men. But the Imperial Federation idea had caused a rift in the cloud, and gave promise of a happy solution of the difficult problem. Independence would soon reduce us to a state of vassalage to some foreign country; and, much as he admired the United States, he would be a bold man who would prophesy the mode of its government and its condition twenty years hence. England's trade with her Colonies is seven times greater than her trade with foreign countries. Canada's future is not so much with England as with the British Empire. The more we leave England out of this question the better will the Federation idea be understood. In his opinion an Imperial tariff—the British Empire against the world—would do more to bind the Empire together than anything else could. He then moved a resolution in favour of a movement to diffuse the principles of the League throughout the Province.

MR. M. B. DALY, ex-M.P., in seconding the resolution, said that where Imperial sentiment prevailed, its principle would soon take practical form. To bind this great Empire together must be dear to every patriotic heart. There had lately been held a very remarkable interview between the editor of a newspaper in London and a correspondent at New Westminster. If the English people were thus brought within speaking distance, Federation became not only a possibility but a certainty.

MR. C. H. TUPPER, M.P., made a powerful speech, showing that Imperial Federation meant unity of action as well as unity of hearts. He said the wonderful growth and development of the Colonies without Federation would become the greatest weakness of England. If Federation involved a Colony in expenditure in any one line, it would decrease it in others. The best way to avert war, for instance, was to be ready for it. It would be infinitely cheaper for Canada to prepare for war as a federated part of the British Empire than in any other position. The public do not understand the Imperial Federation idea. It's more light that's wanted. The Halifax branch hadn't furnished the light. He was glad they were about to do so. He suggested, to show that all parties could unite upon this great principle, that Messrs. Jones & Kenny, M.P.'s, should be invited to address a public meeting upon this question.

The resolution was supported in a stirring and patriotic speech by ex-Premier Holmes, who declared that the federated British Empire would rule the world. If the Federation declared for peace, there would be peace; if her voice was for war, there would be war.

Remarks followed by David McKeen, M.P., for Cape Breton, Sir Adams Archibald, D. J. Kennelly, and C. H. Tupper, M.P. The resolution was adopted, and Sir Adams Archibald, Messrs. Jones, Kenny, Tupper, Colonel Lane, and the Secretary were appointed to carry it into effect.

THE FASTEST PASSAGE FROM THE CAPE.—The Union Steamship Company's R.M.S. *Tartar*, which left Cape Town on January 25th, arrived at Plymouth on February 12th. This passage is said to be the fastest yet made between Cape Town and Plymouth, the total time being 17 days 23 hours 37 minutes.

### GREAT MEETING AT MANCHESTER ON STATE COLONISATION.

A PUBLIC meeting, promoted jointly by the Manchester and Salford Trades' Council and the National Association for Promoting State Colonisation, was held on Wednesday, February 29th, in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, to hear addresses on the objects of the last-named Society. Sir William Houldsworth, Bart., M.P., presided, and there were present on the platform Lord Brassey, Lord Sandhurst, the Bishop of Manchester, the Hon. John Sandhurst, Mr. H. Kimber, M.P., Miss Emily Faithfull, Miss Robinson, Dr. and Mrs. Little, Mr. Henry Samson, Major Hale (United States Consul), the Dean of Manchester, the Rev. Canon Woodhouse, the Rev. Canon Kelly, the Rev. Canon Tonge, Mr. J. Fox-Turner, Mr. J. F. Haworth, Mr. T. W. Freston, Mr. C. J. Heywood, Mr. Alderman Schofield, Mr. Geo. Milner, Mr. Alderman Walton Smith, Mr. S. I. Thomson, Mr. H. M'Niel, Mr. J. S. Dods, Mr. George Grey, Mr. Ellis Lever, Mr. G. S. Kelley, Captain Hobbs, Mr. J. J. Bristol, Mr. J. Maltby, Dr. Melland, Mr. P. J. Ramsay, Mr. H. Birch, Mr. J. Grantham, and others. There was a very large attendance of the public.

After Miss Faithfull had read extracts from letters from many influential persons regretting their inability to be present, and expressing sympathy with the objects of the meeting,

SIR WILLIAM HOULDSWORTH said that the meeting had been called to consider a question of the utmost importance, especially to the working classes of this country. The question was how, on the one hand, to make the best use of our Colonies, and on the other hand, to make the best use of the vast and increasing labouring population of this country. On this side they had a population idle and waiting for employment, and on the other side of the sea, land belonging to them, rich both as regarded virgin soil and minerals, which was waiting for labour to go over and develop it. (Applause.)

LORD BRASSEY, who was loudly cheered on rising to address the meeting, contrasted the prosperity which he had seen in the Colonies with the hard struggle for existence of which they saw too much at home. The promoters did not offer this scheme as a panacea for all the social troubles nor as the only solution of all the difficulties of this country. Still, they confidently recommended the plan as one of the remedies for the evils under which we were suffering. He was of opinion that the aid of the State would prove of special value. (Hear, hear.) Taking Western Australia, with an area eighteen times that of the United Kingdom, with a population scarcely equal to Dover, they were confident that if only a beginning could be made with the aid of the State, a large prosperity might be secured for the State, and the development of the country would be greatly accelerated in this its early initial stage. (Applause.) They believed that if the State would assist these early emigrants, they, as pioneers, would draw with them thousands and tens of thousands in their train without the assistance of the State. They believed that by such an operation as he had suggested for Western Australia that a new nation would be rapidly brought into existence that would be good customers to the Mother Country, and of strength and support to the Empire. (Applause.)

LORD SANDHURST said that in considering this matter he would ask them to distinguish between State-aided emigration and State colonisation. It was quite certain that no Colonial Government would facilitate the emigration of single men to compete in the labour markets of their country. But he believed that if put fairly and clearly before them the Colonial Governments would accept the proposals now being made. If they delayed in this matter, they would find other people stepping in and colonising those places, and then they in this country would have to colonise foreign countries instead of those which were under the same Union Jack as their own. (Hear, hear.) If their scheme were carried out, he thought they would see not only the poorer classes relieved, but larger numbers of their middle classes availing themselves of the opportunities presented, and becoming a most intelligent Colonial population. (Applause.)

After Mr. H. Kimber, M.P., had explained the details of the scheme,

The BISHOP OF MANCHESTER, who was very heartily received, moved a resolution in favour of a system of Voluntary State Colonisation, and urging the Government to consider the subject. He would speak of Victoria, as that was the Colony where he had spent nine years of his life. It might be assumed that Victoria could as easily support 5,000,000 as it now did 1,000,000. That, however, would be a great mistake if the Colony of Victoria was as he left it. Victoria could maintain 10,000,000, but not until its natural resources had been developed. Here was a country that had abundant resources undeveloped, and wanted labourers. Over the sea here was another country, full of capital that could not find profitable investment, full of labourers who could barely get bread—resources on one side and labourers on another were obliged to continue separated. They could not bring the labourers to the resources. Was there ever a more absurd, was there ever a more cruel position than that? Why



was this? Because there was no intermediary whose business it was to bring the people where the resources were. (Hear, hear.) He asked them what was the best way to get over a difficulty like that? It was to have the two Governments agree upon a plan whereby the capital and the labour of the Mother Country could develop the natural resources of the Colony to the mutual benefit of both. (Applause.) The condition of this country was very serious. There was no time to be wasted. It was his deliberate conviction, however, that the State could help to prepare a Colony such as Victoria to receive settlers better by developing the natural resources of the country than by paying the passage money of the settler. Help Victoria to irrigate her plains, and on those plains alone two or three millions could soon find a living. Give the people the assurance of a permanent maintenance, and they would get across the sea with very little help. What they wanted was the assurance of success when they got to the other side. (Loud applause.) When they were told that there was a great deal of gold in Victoria, how long was it before they got across, not in hundreds, but in thousands and hundreds of thousands? Give them the assurance that by Government guarantee they had created land and put it into such a position that, unlike gold, it should never fail, but would give them a permanent maintenance for themselves and their children and their children's children, and he would guarantee they would get across the sea. (Applause.) If they could help the Colonial Governments to make such provision as to develop the natural resources of those Colonies, which were the grandest and most magnificent possessions of the British Crown, then he believed that this question of colonisation would be more than half settled to the satisfaction both of the Mother Country and of those of her children that had cast their fortunes in lands beyond the seas. (Loud applause.)

MR. J. C. FIELDEN seconded the resolution, which was supported by Mr. G. S. Kelly, and carried with enthusiasm. After some remarks by the Dean of Manchester, Major Hale, and Miss Faithfull, the meeting terminated.

### LEAGUE NOTICES FOR THE MONTH.

A LARGE outline Map of the World, specially designed for lecturing purposes, fifteen feet by twelve, with the British Empire coloured in red, the self-governing Colonies being distinguished by a deeper tint of that colour, can be obtained by members of the League for the purposes of lectures on application to the Secretary, subject to the conditions of prompt return and payment of carriage both ways. The member who borrows the map must make himself responsible for any damage which may be done to it during its absence from the office. Early application is recommended, as during the lecturing season the map is much in request.

A SERIES consisting of twelve large scene-pictures of the Empire, in black and white, each eight feet by four, strongly bound and mounted on rollers, is also ready. These pictures are now available for use by members of the League upon the same terms as the large map. They are packed in a wooden case, and travel as "Panoramic Views" at a special railway rate.

LECTURES.—Mr. W. Sebright Green, who has been lecturing on behalf of the League during the winter, will attend and give lectures where his services are requested. Mr. Green is provided with a duplicate of the large lecturing map described above, and with illustrations descriptive of the Colonies, diagrams, &c. Terms may be had on application to the Secretary, with whom all arrangements should be made.

ARRANGEMENTS have been made with a London firm of bookbinders for the uniform binding of the volume of IMPERIAL FEDERATION for the year 1887, at a charge of 2s. 6d. Members wishing to have their Journals bound should send them to the Secretary. Samples of the binding can be seen at the Offices of the League.

AN Index to IMPERIAL FEDERATION for 1887 has been compiled, and is ready for binding with the volume.

A FEW bound volumes of IMPERIAL FEDERATION for the year 1886, complete with Index, can be obtained, price 6s. 6d.

"A SYNOPSIS OF THE TARIFFS AND TRADE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE," prepared by Sir Rawson Rawson, K.C.M.G., C.B., is now ready, price 2s. 6d., post free 2s. 9d. In accordance with the terms of membership, the book is being sent free to all members who subscribe one guinea and upwards.

SOME EMIGRATION STATISTICS.—In 1887 the total emigration from the United Kingdom amounted to 396,494. The numbers were 330,801 in 1886, and 264,385 in 1885, thus showing a large increase for the year just past. Of the total number for 1887, 281,487 were of British or Irish origin, the rest being foreign emigrants starting from English ports. This is the largest number reached in any year except 1883, when the total was 320,118.

### THE DEFENCE OF OUR COALING STATIONS.

THE RIGHT HON. EDWARD STANHOPE, Secretary of State for War, and Vice-President of the Imperial Federation League, devoted a considerable portion of his Army Estimates Memorandum to a statement in connection with our coaling stations which is of the highest interest. It will be seen that King George's Sound and Thursday Island are to receive the improved armament which was asked for at the Imperial Conference, and by this contribution to the defences of Australasia another link will be forged in the chain that binds us to the Colonies.

#### COALING STATIONS.

"First in order, I will take the defences of our selected coaling stations, both because these are the furthest advanced towards completion, and also because they have been subject to a more thorough and exhaustive scrutiny than has been the case with the other two categories of ports. In the proceedings of the recent Colonial Conference will be found not only the principal portions of the reports of Lord Carnarvon's Commission of 1879, which for the first time laid down a comprehensive scheme for the defence of the principal coaling stations of the Empire, but also a full account of the work now being carried out in consequence of those reports. The Commission examined very carefully into the relative importance of the different coaling stations throughout our Colonial Empire, and ended by selecting those which are now being defended. For the present, at all events, I am of opinion that the list as drawn up by them must be considered, with one or two exceptions, as complete. Changes in trade routes, increase of population, or other circumstances, may after a time bring into special prominence places hitherto considered as of minor importance. But the points where works are now being executed were chosen after the most searching examination; and the primary duty of any Government at the present time appears to be to complete as rapidly as possible the task which has already been taken in hand. One very important addition to the list has, however, been made, to which I shall presently refer.

"A scheme based on the recommendations of the Commission for the defence of our coaling stations was first laid before Parliament in 1884. Since then a fuller knowledge of the requirements of each place to be defended, and of the defences now thought essential by professional opinion, and still more the great cost of modern breech-loading armaments (at that time imperfectly developed), have largely added, as was foreseen by the Royal Commission, to the estimates of the necessary expenditure.

"The addition to the list of stations drawn up in 1884, to which I have just alluded, is that of Table Bay. The original scheme laid before Parliament made no financial provision for the defence of this important harbour; but I venture to think that my action in including it among the stations to be protected will not meet with disapproval. This work, therefore, has also been undertaken, and an agreement with regard to it was entered into with Sir Thomas Upington during the Colonial Conference last year. Its execution has been expedited as much as possible, though the completion of the necessary works depends upon the Colonial Government.

"With this exception, the programme, which was prepared four years ago, remains substantially unaltered, and has been carried out by means of annual votes which have averaged about £200,000 a year.

"The Imperial expenditure remaining upon this service for works and armaments is £493,495. But this sum does not represent all that is necessary. It is much to be regretted that the original statement of the cost of protecting our coaling stations, which was made to Parliament in 1884, contained no allusion to certain items upon which outlay will be required. It made no provision whatever for the increased barrack accommodation necessary for the garrisons. At St. Lucia, for instance, where everything has to be created, the erection of the new defences, just about to be commenced, involves the simultaneous erection of barracks. At other places additions to existing barracks, or the adaptation of other buildings to the purpose, are required. It is impossible to form an absolutely accurate estimate of the sum required to complete the barracks necessary for the requisite garrisons for the coaling stations. The outside estimate of gross expenditure now before me amounts to £750,000. But the contributions from some Colonies, and the proceeds of the sale of properties to be vacated in others, have to be taken into account. I am, however, assured that the best estimate possible under the circumstances gives the sum necessary to meet immediate necessities, and without the expenditure of which it would be impossible to garrison our coaling stations satisfactorily, as £350,000.

"Again, there is the submarine mining defence of these stations, and the light armament necessary to protect it. This work has been carried on steadily during the last two years, and has, at several stations, made very satisfactory progress. £165,609 has been already expended on this service, and, in order to complete it, £66,451 for buildings, ships, and stores will be required.

"Taking, therefore, the estimates given above, we may assume



that the *minimum* sum necessary from Imperial funds to place our coaling stations in a condition to properly resist the kind of attack they might anticipate in war is—

Works and armaments ... ..	£493,495
Barracks ... ..	350,000
Submarine mines, stores, &c. ... ..	66,451
Total ... ..	£909,946

"First, we propose to complete, as quickly as possible, the works and armaments at the coaling stations within the accepted programme; and, in addition, to provide the armament for King George's Sound and Thursday Island, which was asked for by the Colonial representatives at the recent Colonial Conference. In addition, the submarine mining defences will be perfected, and the absolutely necessary barrack accommodation provided."

### THE AUSTRALASIAN SQUADRON IN THE NAVY ESTIMATES.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON'S memorandum on the Navy estimates contains the following interesting references to the special squadron for service in Australian waters, which is to be created and maintained at the joint expense of the Colonies and the Mother Country:—

#### SPECIAL AUSTRALASIAN SQUADRON.

At the Colonial Conference held in London during 1887, a special agreement was entered into between the Home Government and the representatives of the Australasian Colonies, under which a joint financial responsibility was established between the contracting parties for the creation and maintenance of a sea-going squadron of ships of war to protect the commerce of the Empire in Australasian waters. The peculiarity of the arrangement consisted, not merely in the establishment of a financial partnership between England and Australasia for this specific purpose, but in the apportionment of the liability so incurred. The Mother Country engaged to bear the whole cost of building, arming, and equipping the squadron; on the other hand, the Colonies undertook, when the vessels were commissioned, to meet the whole cost of their maintenance and manning up to a *maximum* of £91,000 annually during time of peace, and to pay in addition a sum of £35,000 annually for ten years as a contribution towards the original cost of construction. The type, size, and special qualities of the vessels to be built will be hereafter described, but they will cost, when complete, between £800,000 and £900,000. Special provision will be made to meet this liability under Act of Parliament, the clauses of which will explain the financial arrangement proposed. It is estimated that £450,000 to £500,000 will be required to meet the cost of building these vessels during the financial year 1888-9, and a somewhat lesser sum during the following year, 1889-90, to complete and render them ready for commission. The ships will be thus built and completed in two years. At the end of that time, the ships being in commission, an annual sum of £91,000 towards maintenance will be paid by the Colonies as an appropriation in aid of Navy votes, and naval funds will for ten years subsequently receive this assistance; and in like manner the Imperial Exchequer will be credited for ten years with an annual payment of £35,000. By promptly performing our portion of the bargain, and paying for it in two years, the Navy will be augmented at the end of that period by seven efficient modern sea-going ships, and naval funds will then have a contribution for ten years to come in reduction of the sums annually voted by the Imperial Parliament. On the termination of the ten years the vessels will become the exclusive property of the British Government.

#### AUSTRALASIAN SQUADRON.

Of the seven vessels to be built for this special service, five are to be protected cruisers and two torpedo gunboats.

It has been decided that the latter shall be built from the Sharpshooter design.

The protected cruisers will in their principal dimensions closely approximate to the *Medea* class of the Royal Navy, described on page 11 of last year's statement. They will be of about 2,500 tons displacement, have a *maximum* speed of 19 knots, and be identical in protection with the *Medea* class.

Their armament will include—eight 36-pounder quick-firers, eight 3-pounder quick-firers, and four torpedo tubes.

In the discussions which took place at the time of the Colonial Conference these vessels were described as "improved Archers." The substantial character of the improvement will be seen from the statement that the new vessels will possess the following advantages over the Archers:—Two knots higher speed; a strong protective deck; a more modern armament, about 10 per cent. heavier in its total weight; a radius of action about 30 per cent. greater.

It is anticipated that all these vessels will be ready for service within two years from the date of order.

### THE ORGANISING LECTURER AT WORK.

KIRKBY STEPHEN.

A PUBLIC meeting was held under the auspices of both Political parties, at the Grammar School, Kirkby Stephen, on Thursday, 15th March.

The Rev. H. A. Feilden (Vicar of Kirkby Stephen), was in the chair.

In introducing Mr. Sebright Green (the lecturer), Mr. Feilden dwelt upon the desirability of drawing the ties between the Mother Country and the Colonies more closely together, and spoke of the warm feeling that existed in the Colonies towards the Mother Country.

After the lecturer's address, a resolution to the effect "That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential," was proposed by Mr. T. Massey, J.P., and seconded by Mr. Bainbridge; Mr. Braithwaite and others addressed the meeting.

There were a good many ladies present at the meeting, notwithstanding the snow was lying to the depth of from 14 inches to 2 feet in the town. Amongst them were Mrs. Feilden and party, Mrs. Mason, &c.; about 150 present.

Questions were put by several in the audience with a view to finding what was the way in which the League proposed to carry out the Federation of the Colonies. Both the chairman and the lecturer pointed out that the League did not propose any cut and dry scheme for remodelling the constitution; for the present it was desirable to confine discussion to the principles of Federation.

The pictures, illustrating different Colonial scenes, were hung upon the walls, and the lecturer had the large map belonging to the League hanging at the back of the platform; and a great deal of interest was expressed in the growth of the Empire and in the prosperity of Greater Britain.

BROUGH.

On the 16th of March a meeting was held at the school-house at Brough, the Rev. Wm. Lyde in the chair.

The weather was almost as bad as possible, the snow having drifted terribly.

The Chairman read letters from Mrs. Brecks, of Helbeck Hall, and others, expressing regret at being unable to attend on account of the snowstorm.

After the lecturer had concluded, Mr. MacNab, who had been himself in South Africa, moved a vote of thanks, and spoke of the strong feeling of attachment that existed amongst the Afrianders to the Mother Country and her institutions.

Owing to the storm, the attendance was small, the roads outside being almost impassable; but those present listened with the greatest attention to the lecturer's remarks upon Imperial Federation and upon Colonisation. The lecture was illustrated by the map belonging to the League, and all of those present took with them some of the leaflets and pamphlets, with the view of circulating them amongst those who had been unable to attend the meeting.

The Chairman urged upon those present to do their utmost to spread amongst their friends the knowledge of the work and objects of the League, about which they would all of them now be able to express their opinions.

APPLEBY.

The third of the series of three meetings in Westmoreland was held at the Free School, Appleby, on Saturday, the 17th of March, under the auspices of the Conservatives and Liberals of the district.

Present: Mr. Alderman Sanderson, Mayor of Appleby, in the chair; The Rev. Canon W. A. Mathews, Vicar of Appleby; Mr. E. A. Heelis, Mr. T. Rigg, Mr. Harris, Dr. Thompson, Mr. Alderman Whitehead, some ladies, and about 170 of different classes.

The Mayor, in opening the proceedings, expressed a hope that Mr. Green would give them a thorough explanation of the scheme by which the League proposed to carry out Imperial Federation, which he believed to be necessary if we were to maintain our Empire in the glorious position which it now held.

The lecturer did not propound any scheme, but gave a thorough explanation of the principles of Imperial Federation, and urged upon the audience the necessity of a close bond of union between the Mother Country and the Colonies being maintained, in order to preserve the integrity of the Empire.

The Rev. Canon Mathews, in an eloquent speech, moved a resolution in favour of Imperial Federation, which was seconded by Mr. T. Howson. Several others spoke, and the proceedings closed with a verse of "God save the Queen."

The audience took away copies of the journal of the League, leaflets and pamphlets, and a desire was expressed by some to have the publications of the League brought within their reach. The lecturer advised all who desired to have the publications supplied to them regularly to become members of the League, and invited those who could not afford to subscribe to establish clubs, and send up a subscription of £1 1s. in the name of one member, who might undertake to circulate the journals amongst those who contributed.



## PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

*Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.*

**ABERGELE, NORTH WALES.**—On March 9th, Mr. J. Campbell Douglas delivered a lecture on "Imperial Federation," at the Constitutional Club, to a large and most enthusiastic audience. Mr. J. P. Earwaker took the chair. The lecturer began by pointing out that the matter he was about to speak upon was one which was quite outside the domain of party politics, and demanded the attention of every subject of the Queen. After having gone into various statistics showing the area and population of the Kingdom and the Colonies, he said that Federation for a number of years had been a mere sentiment, but it had now become a really practical question, demanding a solution at the hands of our great statesmen. Having detailed steps towards Federation, the lecturer said any scheme of Federation to be complete should be of a military and commercial character. The spectacle of a federated British Empire would be a strong factor in maintaining peace, that greatest of all British interests. The navy was the connecting link between the Mother Country and her Colonies, and it should be kept in the highest state of efficiency, as it had to protect the great ocean highways between us and our Colonies and dependencies. In order to protect these lines of communication the arsenals and coaling stations *en route* should be strongly fortified and equipped. This question concerned all classes alike, for if our food supplies from beyond the seas were cut off, one man out of every two in England would be starving, and five out of every six would be out of work. Let all therefore unite to support the great pillars of the Empire by promoting its consolidation. The meeting terminated with a cordial vote of thanks to the lecturer and chairman.

**BEDFORD.**—On Thursday, March 8th, Mr. W. S. Sebright Green delivered a most instructive lecture on "Imperial Federation" before the Liberal Club. The chair was taken by Mr. Hawkins, President of the Club, and at the close of the meeting a cordial vote of thanks was offered to Mr. Sebright.

**COTE ST. ANTOINE, QUEBEC.**—The question, "Is Imperial Federation desirable for Canada?" was lately discussed before a very large audience in the Academic Hall, Cote St. Antoine. The chair was taken by Mr. F. Evans, and the debate was opened by Mr. Arch. McGoun, junr., who made an able speech, answering the question in the affirmative. Mr. McGoun first gave a slight sketch of emigration from the United Kingdom to Canada, and said that the majority of these immigrants had chosen Canada, because they wished to make their home under the old flag. There was only a minority in Canada who opposed the idea of Federation. First, there was a small body who would like to carve a French Republic out of the Dominion. Secondly, there was a certain number of men—generally very young—who wished for independence, and thought that Canada as an independent country could sustain itself by force against a nation ten times its size. The third and most philosophical, though least patriotic, division of the enemy's camp were those who, under one false name or another, as commercial union or reciprocity, wish for annexation. While friendly to the closest alliance between the British Empire and the United States, he was opposed to a surrender by this country to the nation which has taken up arms against our own and cast off their allegiance to everything we hold most dear. The different countries of the British Empire have interests in common, because they are producers of different things. If we are to foster special relations with one country, it should rather be with the United Kingdom. Canada, by contributing to the defence of the Empire, would be entitled to representation in the Imperial authority that appoints our governors-general, manages our foreign affairs, defends our shipping and fisheries, and appoints consuls. We should thus accept a partnership with the Mother Country and self-governing Colonies for such affairs as might be entrusted to the powers that will enforce them in case of breach by foreign nations. This would preserve our real independence, give us a direct and constant voice in the control of foreign relations, and realise the idea of the founders of this country. Alderman Archibald and Mr. Wm. Greig also spoke on the same side, while Mr. J. R. Elliott and Mr. A. R. Oughtred took the opposite side. On a vote being taken, the result was considerably in favour of the affirmative.

**FALMOUTH.**—On the 13th March, at Miss Fox's Reading Room, Budock, near Falmouth, Mr. St. Clair R. M. Stobart in the chair, Mr. Reginald N. Rogers, member of the General Committee of the Imperial Federation League, delivered a lecture on "Imperial Federation," the subject being treated in a most able, clear, and interesting manner. He referred to the close bonds of religion, of language, of blood, that bound together Great Britain and her Colonies, but that

as the latter grew and became still more important and more self-governing, that time would come and that soon when the question would have to be faced, Union or Separation? Eloquently he pleaded in favour of the former, and conclusively showed of what vital importance it was for the Empire to be knit together as one united whole. This, he considered, would be best brought about by a Legislative Union, to which the best representative men of the various parts of the Empire would be sent where Imperial matters would be discussed and resolved upon without reference to party, and by those who thoroughly knew the needs of the different parts of the Empire and had the one aim of promoting its welfare. In furtherance of these views he read some interesting extracts from *Imperial Federation*, showing the opinions held by some of the ablest statesmen in Great Britain and the Colonies, and referred to the late Colonial Conference as a meeting of statesmen specially chosen for their fitness by the various constituent bodies forming the Empire, the value of whose discussions formed a good augury for similar assemblies in the future. The lecture evoked considerable enthusiasm from an attentive audience.

**HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA.**—At a meeting of the Historical Society on Feb. 24, Mr. F. B. Crofter read a paper on Sam Slick as an Imperial Federationist. He claimed that Dr. Haliburton, known as "Sam Slick," was the father of the magnificent idea of Imperial Federation, and a great champion of the British connection. Sam Slick said, that in its present state the Empire was like a barrel without hoops, which must be bound together more securely, or it would certainly tumble to pieces. "The very word *dependencies*," says one of his characters, "shows the state of the Colonies. If they are retained they should be incorporated with Great Britain now that steam has united the two continents of Europe and America. . . I should hope for a united legislature. I do not want to see Colonists and Englishmen arrayed against each other as different races, but united as one people having the same rights and privileges, each bearing a share of the public burdens, and all having a voice in the general government."

In "Wise Saws," published in 1853, Imperial Federation is thus summarily described:—"It shouldn't be England and her Colonies, but they should be integral parts of one great whole—all counties of Greater Britain. There should be no taxes on Colonial produce, and the Colonies should not be allowed to tax British manufactures. All should pass free, as from one town to another in England; the whole of it one vast home-market, from Hong Kong to Labrador." In another place, he says, "That when this state of things has been brought about, the language will change. Then it will be *our* Army . . . not the English Army: *our* Navy, *our* Church, *our* Parliament, *our* aristocracy, &c., and the word English will be left out holubolus, and that proud but endearing word '*our*' will be inserted."

Mr. Crofter then went on to say that although now the Provinces were confederated, and that in a Dominion career aspiring Canadians had a wide field for the exercise of political genius, still men of ambition felt, with the author under discussion, a "want of room"—a want of employment of that description for which is required diplomatic address and international statesmanship.

**OTTAWA.**—A lecture was delivered on February 23rd, before the Literary and Scientific Society, on "A United Empire," by Mr. Thos. Macfarlane, F.R.S.C., Chief Analyst of the Dominion. Mr. J. R. Armstrong presided, and a large audience heard the lecture throughout with marked attention and approval. Mr. Macfarlane, after some introductory remarks, proceeded to trace the growth of the Federation movement up to the formation of the Imperial Federation League, and stated that the holding of the Imperial Conference spoke volumes as to the influence and usefulness of that Society. The lecturer next stated the principles of the Imperial Federation League, which he characterised as excellent, but too general to enable its members to advocate effectively the closer union of all British countries. He then gave his own views as to what is required for this purpose, insisting upon the necessity for an Imperial tariff, armament, Treasury, Senate, and Ministry, as distinguished from those of the United Kingdom. He gave them his own views as to the practicability of Federation, and the plans by which it might be realised, because too many who called themselves Federationists were slow to propose anything tangible, and he desired "to give a reason for the faith that is in me, an Imperial Federationist, a thorough believer, not only in the practicability of consolidating the Empire, but also in the material advantages which such is sure to confer upon the whole British nation."

Professor Macoun then proposed, and Mr. Spencer Jones seconded, a vote of thanks to the lecturer, which was carried with enthusiasm.

**STONY STRATFORD.**—The Self-Help Emigration Society is continuing to do good work. The secretary, the Rev. R. Mackay, lately delivered a most instructive lecture on Canadian emigration at Stony Stratford, the Duke of Grafton taking the chair. A short time previously Mr. Mackay gave a similar lecture at Wadhurst, Sussex.



## HERE AND THERE.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS has stated that the next meeting of the International Congress on State Sugar Bounties is fixed for April 5th.

It is officially stated, with reference to Lord Onslow's declarations in the House of Lords on February 27th, that the Cape Government has never entertained the idea of purchasing the Delagoa Bay Railway.

ACCORDING to a Sydney telegram of March 7th, advices from Noumea, New Caledonia, dated March 1st, announce that the French Governor has received the text of the New Hebrides Convention concluded between France and Great Britain, and that the French corvette *Volta* and the transport *Dives* have been ordered to the New Hebrides to bring back the troops quartered there. It was considered probable that the evacuation would be completed by March 15th.

THE French transport *Ville de St. Nazaire* was to have left on March 1 with 324 convicts for Guiana, but a telegram having previously been received by the Government announcing that a serious epidemic of yellow fever was raging in that colony, other arrangements had to be made. The *Ville de St. Nazaire* accordingly left St. Martin de Ré for Noumea on March 17, having on board 322 convicts, four officials, and thirty overseers with their families.

THE death is announced of Sir Robert Wisdom, one of the New South Wales delegates to the Imperial Conference in London in 1887.

THE Merchandise Marks Act, though undoubtedly a useful measure and sound in principle, has in many cases caused inconvenience to the Colonies. This is particularly the case with regard to Canada, and arises from the fact that Canada contains so many towns which have been named after places in England. For example, Canada has a London, an Oxford, and a Bradford; and the Custom House authorities have stopped many consignments of goods from such places on the ground that the name of the town, unaccompanied by the name of the country, was calculated to mislead.

THE Secretary for War lately informed the House of Commons that the horses purchased in Canada for the army have given great satisfaction, and when ready for service will have cost £56 each, as against £74 each for those bred at home.

WE have received the annual report for 1887 of "The Countess of Dufferin's Fund," for supplying female medical aid to the women of India. We are glad to notice the steady progress made in every part of the work the society has undertaken, and the growing appreciation of the work by the native Indians.

THE Toronto Rowing Club have determined to send a four-oared crew to compete for the Stewards' Cup (the champion race for four-oars) at the Henley Regatta next July.

THE idea of laying a telegraphic cable between Australia and Vancouver's Island seems in a fair way of being realised. The capitalists of Melbourne regard the project with much favour. Mr. Owen Jones, a director of the Pacific Company, has, we believe, started for Australia for the express purpose of endeavouring to make arrangements for carrying out the enterprise.

IT is said that a considerable sum will be included in the Canadian militia estimates for this year, for the construction of coast defences, in accordance with the suggestion of the Home Government. The fortifications at Victoria, British Columbia, will probably be the first work undertaken.

A CORRESPONDENT of a British Columbian paper suggests the opening of a mint, and the coinage of guineas to represent five dollars, and half-guineas to represent two dollars fifty cents. It is proposed that the Queen's head be stamped on one side of the coins, and on the reverse "the Niagara River, with beavers quietly at work felling trees, under the safe protection of a noble lion couchant on the British side, who is regarding somewhat earnestly the approach of a screaming American eagle, who from the American side of the river seems to wish to molest the Canadian beavers."

THE *Toronto Mail* points out that Lord Dufferin is not the only predecessor of Lord Lansdowne who has passed from Canada to Calcutta. The list includes also Lord Cornwallis and Lord Elgin. Moreover, Lord Amherst was the son of "Baron Amherst, of Montreal," and Lord Dalhousie's father likewise was Governor-General of Canada.

COLONEL H. E. DAVIDSON, who has recently been appointed to the command of the 19th Regimental District (Richmond, Yorks, England), *vic.* Col. R. Barrett, is a Canadian, and had his first commission in the 100th Regiment when it was raised. He has many relatives in Toronto.

## IMPERIAL FEDERATION IN PARLIAMENT.

FEBRUARY 22ND—MARCH 21ST, 1888.

## CONFERENCE ON COLONISATION.

February 24th: In the House of Commons MR. RANKIN asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Government had taken into their consideration the question of holding another Colonial Conference for the purpose of discussing matters of Imperial interest, and especially the question of colonisation; and, if not, whether they would do so at as early a date as convenient.

BARON H. DE WORMS: In reply to the hon. member I have to state that to hold another Colonial Conference at an early date would put the Colonies to very great inconvenience, which could only be justified by the necessity of discussing urgent questions not capable of being otherwise dealt with. Colonisation, though a subject of great importance, is one which can be conveniently dealt with by correspondence, and therefore Her Majesty's Government do not consider that a conference should be summoned for the purpose of discussing this question.

## MAIL CONTRACTS.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON asked the Postmaster-General whether it was approximately true that the Peninsular and Oriental Company received a subsidy at the rate of 6s. 8½d. per mile for carrying the mails to India at the average rate of 12½ knots, and the Royal Mail Company a subsidy at the rate of 5s. 4½d. per mile for carrying the mails to the West Indies, at the average rate of 11½ knots, and the Peninsular and Oriental and Orient Lines together, a subsidy at the rate of 3s. 8d. per mile for carrying the mails to Australia at the average rate of 11½ knots, while the Union and Castle Lines were only paid at the rate of 1s. 8d. per mile in the new contract, now practically concluded, for carrying the mails to the Cape, at the average rate of 12½ knots; and what was the explanation of this great discrepancy; and whether ocean postal rates could be very much reduced if all the mail services were paid at the same rate as the Cape mail service.

MR. RAIKES: The hon. member's figures are approximately correct as regards the first three services he mentions; but as regards the new Cape mail contract, which is stated to have been made by the Government of the Cape Colony, I have no official information. I really do not see how it would be possible to fix a standard scale of speed and price for all ocean mail contracts alike. The Post Office makes its contracts after open tender, and has no more power to prescribe universal rates for the carriage of mails to all parts of the world than merchants have to fix a universal tariff for the conveyance of goods. I think this must be obvious to the general intelligence of the House.

## PRIVILEGES TO FOREIGN STEAMERS.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON asked the Postmaster-General whether during the discussion of the mail contracts to and from Australia the attention of the Government was called to the fact that the Messageries Maritimes (French) and North German Lloyd (German) steamers had privileges allotted to them in the Adelaide, Melbourne, and Sydney harbours not granted to the Peninsular and Oriental and Orient Companies; and had there been, or was it proposed there should be, any steps in the matter, in order to remedy the anomaly.

MR. RAIKES: The point referred to by the hon. member was duly considered in making the new Australian mail contracts, and it has been arranged that the two British steamship companies carrying the mails shall be placed on equally favourable terms with the French and German companies as regards the privileges conceded to them in Australian ports.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON: Will the Postmaster-General state if any steps are being taken in regard to giving the same privileges to English mail steamers at Ceylon and other Crown Colonies as are given to foreign semi-Government vessels?

MR. RAIKES: Yes; the matter is now engaging the attention of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Colonial Office.

## THE DELAGOA BAY RAILWAY.

February 27.—In the House of Lords, the EARL OF ROSEBURY rose to ask whether the Government had their attention directed to the importance of the Delagoa Bay Railway, and whether they contemplated taking any action in respect to it. The noble lord said: I rise to put the question of which I have given notice. I do not desire to make any remarks with regard to it except this, that the matter is one, I need hardly inform the House, of very great importance, and also of the most extreme delicacy. It is because of its extreme delicacy that I will not enlarge on the question I have put on the paper. I will, however, say this—I believe the whole test, or the main test, of the Colonial policy of the Government of this country must be found for the future in its dealings with South Africa, and that at this moment this railroad, which gives access to one of the oldest, if not the oldest, port on that enormous length of coast, is in danger of falling into hands which, if not hostile, are at any rate unfriendly, and to control which may not merely have an important effect in shutting in our South African dominions, but may also have an important bearing on our commerce as a country, and be the means of leading to the imposition of differential and hostile rates on our commerce as a nation. I say these are grave matters, and the noble marquis will know that I have not stated them in their full gravity. But that they are great and delicate is, I think, a reason not for discussing them without information, but for asking the Government the simple question of which I have given notice, and on the answer to which will depend the knowledge of how we stand in this most grave and pregnant matter.

THE EARL OF OSLOW: As the noble lord, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, has not yet taken his seat in your Lordships' House, he has asked me to reply on his behalf to the question put by the noble earl. I need hardly say that the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been very seriously directed to the question of the Delagoa



Bay Railway, both as an inlet for trade between the people of this country and the South African Republic, and also as a competitor for the trade coming in by the Cape and Natal, which is not of great volume and may suffer by competition. Several proposals have been made. It has been proposed that Her Majesty's Government should acquire by purchase the territory now belonging to Portugal. But as far as I know at present, a word which the noble earl may perhaps consider "blessed"—the word compulsion—has not come into our calculations; and, inasmuch as Portugal is proud of her Colony and well satisfied with it, she is not disposed to part with it. Therefore, whatever may be the views of Her Majesty's Government, they need not be discussed at this moment. Another proposal has been that Her Majesty's Government should acquire the railway. This railway, however, does not run through British territory; it does not run from British territory; it does not run to British territory; and I believe I am correct in saying that for the British Government to purchase the railway would be an act perfectly unprecedented. I cannot conceive on what ground it can be argued that the British tax-payer should be asked to acquire, and not only to acquire, but also to work and control this railway. If it is of importance to anybody, it is of importance to the Cape and Natal. The Cape and Natal are out of their long clothes; they are perfectly able to look after their own interests; they are wealthy and powerful, and I have reason to know that proposals for the acquisition of this railway have been submitted to the Government of the Cape. These proposals are receiving consideration, and have not yet been decided upon. What they may be I do not know, and am not in a position to state. But with reference to the remarks of the noble earl as to the possibility of differential rates against goods coming in from Great Britain in comparison with those from other countries, we have in existence a treaty with the Transvaal Government which places goods coming from England upon an equal footing with those coming into the territory from any other country. A conference has recently been held between the Orange Free State and the Colonies of the Cape and Natal in relation to the better working of their systems of railways, and my own belief is that the outcome of that conference, which will be made public at the beginning of March next, will tend towards a better arrangement for the working of the railways of South Africa. And, if so, if we can come to a satisfactory arrangement in that respect, I do not fear that this Delagoa Bay Railway will be of that importance which has been made out to us, or the bugbear that some people think it. (Hear, hear.)

#### WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

February 28.—In the House of Commons, MR. KING asked the Under-Secretary for the Colonies whether there was any truth in the rumour that it had been in contemplation to grant responsible government to Western Australia, having a population of under 45,000 souls and a territory of 1,000,000 square miles, and whether Parliament would be consulted before any steps were taken to encourage or approve any such movement by the Colonial Office; whether he would state the quantity of Government land which had already been alienated by the Government of the Colony, with the approval of the Colonial Office, distinguishing land sold from land leased, and would state the average price obtained per acre in each case; and whether he would lay upon the table of the House a return of all land grants, sales, or dealings by the Colonial Government during the past ten years, stating the names of the grantees or lessees respectively, and, in the cases of syndicates or public companies who have been concessionaires, giving the names of the members of such syndicates or companies, and the terms and conditions of the concessions in each case.

BARON H. DE WORMS: In reply to the hon. member, I have to state that it is not proposed, in the event of responsible government being introduced into Western Australia, to give to the present population the control of the whole of the Crown lands within the boundaries of the Colony. It would be necessary to pass an Act before responsible government could be established, so that Parliament will have full opportunity of considering the proposals, should they be proceeded with, before they can be carried out. Her Majesty's Government cannot, however, undertake to consult Parliament before deciding whether a Bill for the purpose should be introduced. The particulars of leases, sales, and grants of Crown lands in Western Australia are not recorded in this country, and would therefore have to be obtained from the Colony. There would be no objection to procure them in the event of a proposal being made to Parliament for legislation on the subject of the hon. member's question.

#### THE COLONIES AND THE MERCHANDISE MARKS BILL.

MR. HOYLE asked the Under-Secretary for the Colonies whether the Colonial Governments had initiated legislation for the prevention of the import and sale of falsely and fraudulently marked goods, and so as to bring Colonial law into harmony with the Merchandise Marks Act, 1887.

BARON H. DE WORMS: The greater number of Colonies have not yet replied to the circular despatch addressed to them by the Secretary of State in September last, urging legislation in harmony with the Merchandise Marks Act, 1887; but all the answers, as far as received, have been in favour of such legislation. The Secretary of State is now addressing a reminder to those Colonies which have not answered.

#### BOMBAY HARBOUR.

March 1st.—In the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. J. Maclean, SIR J. GORST said: Estimates and plans are being prepared and schemes have been submitted by the Secretary of State to the consideration of the Admiralty as to providing graving-dock accommodation in Bombay harbour for ironclads and large mercantile steamers.

#### THE AUSTRALIAN MAIL CONTRACT.

In answer to Mr. Henniker Heaton, MR. RAIKES said: Three of the Australian Colonies being practically parties to the new mail contracts, and having agreed as such to contribute their share of the

subsidy, it has been considered proper, before submitting the contracts to Parliament for approval, to obtain from the Colonies in question a formal confirmation of the agreement in this connection made on their behalf by their Agents-General in London. When that confirmation has been given, the usual course will be taken in laying the contracts before Parliament.

#### NEW GUINEA.

It was agreed that the sum of £18,500, being the amount to be granted in aid of the establishment of British sovereignty in New Guinea, should be postponed until the estimates under the Colonial vote for 1888-89 were brought forward.

#### DOCKS AT BOMBAY.

March 2nd.—In the House of Lords, commenting on a question asked by Lord Middleton, VISCOUNT CROSS said he felt quite as much as did the noble lord behind him the absolute necessity of proper dock accommodation at Bombay, and had every reason to believe that the correspondence between the Admiralty and the India Office was now rapidly drawing to a satisfactory conclusion. Not a moment should be lost on his part, the moment matters were arranged with the Admiralty, in beginning at Bombay a work which was so necessary for the defence of India and of the commerce of the Empire.

#### DELAGOA BAY RAILWAY.

March 5th.—In the House of Commons MR. GOURLEY asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if Her Majesty's Government had had their attention directed to the construction of a railway from Delagoa Bay to the hills bounding the northern Transvaal territory; and whether, considering the strategic importance of the railway to the Cape Colonies and the existing ownership of Delagoa Bay, the Government would enter into negotiations with the Portuguese Government for their concession by purchase to Great Britain.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: The question of acquiring an interest in the railway from Lorenzo Marquez towards Pretoria has not been entertained by Her Majesty's Government, because it does not traverse, and is not intended to enter, British territory. It is difficult to conceive on what ground Her Majesty's Government could acquire possession of a railway in such circumstances. Any British interests concerned must be those of the South African Colonies, and Her Majesty's Government cannot assume their desire for the step which the hon. member contemplates.

#### UNIFORM POSTAGE STAMP.

March 12th.—In the House of Commons, MR. HENNIKER HEATON asked the Postmaster-General whether he had taken into consideration the desirability of introducing a uniform postage stamp for Great Britain and her Colonies, and in fact every part of the Empire.

MR. RAIKES: I have considered the question referred to by the hon. member, and I find that a uniform postage stamp for the British Empire is not practicable, mainly because the revenues of the United Kingdom and of her Colonies being separate, most laborious accounts would be required properly to apportion the receipts. There are other objections which I could not conveniently explain within the limits of an answer to the hon. member, but I may say that they were such as to convince Mr. Fawcett, when he held the office which I now occupy, that a uniform postage stamp could not be adopted.

#### COLONISATION.

MR. KIMBER asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he would telegraph or write to such of the Colonies as had not yet responded to the Secretary of State's circular despatch of September last on the subject of Colonisation and urge them to reply.

BARON H. DE WORMS: Replies have been received from all the Colonies addressed except Newfoundland, New South Wales, Victoria, and Tasmania; and these have been reminded by a despatch dated the 23rd ult.

#### THE DUTCH REPUBLICS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

March 19th.—In the House of Commons MR. KIMBER asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any treaty of union or confederation between the Transvaal (South Africa) Republic and the New Republic in Zululand had been entered into, and, if so, whether Her Majesty's Government had, in virtue of the right reserved to Her Majesty by the London (Transvaal) Convention, approved or disapproved of such treaty; and whether the Government were willing to communicate the terms of the treaty to this House.

BARON H. DE WORMS: In reply to my hon. friend I have to say that a treaty declaring the South African Republic and the New Republic to be united into one State was concluded at Pretoria on the 14th of September, 1887, and will be found among the papers presented to Parliament on the 13th inst. This treaty has not yet been approved by Her Majesty's Government, but it is not anticipated that there will be any obstacle to such approval.

#### PARCEL POST TO NEW ZEALAND.

March 20th.—In the House of Commons MR. TOMLINSON asked the Postmaster-General whether any progress was being made with the arrangements for extending the parcel post to New Zealand; and when a parcel post between Great Britain and New Zealand might be expected to be established.

MR. RAIKES: The department is quite prepared to arrange for the extension of the parcel post to New Zealand as soon as the Colony is ready, and proposals with this object have long since been made to the Colonial Post Office. But the Colony has, as yet, gained little experience of the working of its inland parcel post, and while in this position has been unwilling to exchange parcels with the Mother Country. I propose, however, to communicate again with the Colony, and to urge the further consideration of the matter.



# Imperial Federation League.

## THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE

FOR THE YEAR 1887.

43, ST. MARGARET'S OFFICES, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.,

March 19th, 1888.

THE year 1887 will be remembered in generations to come for an event of which it is impossible at present to gauge the full significance. For the first time in the history of the Empire, its statesmen have been assembled in one Council to deliberate on affairs of vital interest to all its countries. This important step towards the consolidation of the Empire has been effected by the exertions of the Imperial Federation League.

The representatives of the self-governing Colonies assembled in London early in April, and were, by the direction of your Committee, entertained at a Banquet by the members of this League. The Vice-Chairman of the League, the Right Hon. E. Stanhope, M.P., Secretary of State for War, presided at the banquet, and the League was honoured by the presence of H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge and many distinguished statesmen as its guests.

The expression of the representatives of the Colonies towards the objects of the League on this occasion were, in every case, of a most encouraging nature.

The Imperial Conference assembled on the 4th of April at the Foreign Office. Addresses were delivered on this occasion by the Prime Minister and other Ministers and statesmen, as well as by a representative from each Colony, in which the importance of the occasion was fully recognised and the frequent repetition of such Councils foretold.

The sittings of the Conference continued for five weeks, in the course of which the subjects put forward by the deputation of the League, when addressing Lord Salisbury in 1886, were fully discussed.

With reference to the first of these subjects, Defence, an arrangement was arrived at whereby the Australian Colonies will in future contribute towards the expense of maintaining a special squadron of the Royal Navy in their waters. This arrangement has since been ratified by six out of the seven Australasian Colonies.

The principle of a combination of the resources of the different parts of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests and the defence of common rights has thus been definitely established.

Upon the second subject, Postal and Telegraphic Communications, valuable discussions extending over several days took place, and are now bearing fruit in endeavours on the part of the Colonies and of the United Kingdom to cheapen the postal communications between them, and in the negotiations which are apparently about to result in the joint subsidising by Canada and some of the Australian Colonies of a cable connecting those countries.

The proposal of the League that arrangements should be made to facilitate the taking of a census throughout the Empire in the year 1891, as nearly as possible upon the same lines, and on the same day, was discussed and approved.

The opinions of the representatives were taken upon many other important matters, and among them the subject of an Imperial Commercial Union, upon the basis of a discriminating duty in favour of goods of British origin, was brought forward by Sir Samuel Griffith, Premier of Queensland, and seconded by Mr. Hofmeyr, a representative of Cape Colony.

The Conference closed on the 9th of May with the following remarkable utterance on the part of the Premier of Queensland, who spoke amid signs of approbation from his colleagues:—

"It is impossible to predicate now what form future Conferences should take, or in what mode, some day, further effect would be given to their conclusions, but I think we may look forward to seeing this sort of informal Council of the Empire developed until it becomes a legislative body, at any rate a consultative body, and some day, perhaps, a legislative body under conditions which we cannot just now foresee, and that, indeed, meetings such as this will before long be recognised as part of the general governing machinery of the Empire."

"I believe I am not anticipating too much when I say that, and I am sure I express the hope of every one who has been present here, and of all those who have had an opportunity of seeing what we have been doing."

Your Committee refers with the greatest satisfaction to this most successful issue of the policy of the League in calling upon Her Majesty's Government to summon to the Councils of the Empire the representatives of the self-governing Colonies, and will recognise in the fulfilment of Sir Samuel Griffith's forecast the execution of the programme which the League has laid down for itself.

Your Committee also notes with pleasure that its action has met with almost unanimous approbation in every part of the Empire.

It is a matter of regret that the proceedings of this Conference, which are of the most instructive and interesting character, have been published only in the massive Official Blue Books at such a price as will prevent its being studied by more than a very limited portion of the community.

Your Committee congratulates the League upon the fact that this first Imperial Conference was summoned by its Vice-Chairman, the Right Hon. Edward Stanhope, M.P., and was presided over by the Right Hon. Sir Henry Holland, M.P.—now Lord Knutsford—an original member of its executive; both of whom your Committee had subsequently the honour of entertaining at dinner "for the purpose of congratulating them upon the success of the Imperial Conference, and the extent to which the objects of the League have been forwarded during their administration."

At the suggestion of the Chairman of the League, four Sub-Committees

have been appointed to deal specially with Political, Commercial, Postal, and Defence questions.

The Commercial Committee has issued an important work, prepared by its Chairman, Sir Rawson Rawson, in which the forty-four different tariffs of the Empire are shown together and compared in every manner tending to exhibit their effect upon trade. Your Committee regards this as the first step towards the removal of unnecessary and vexatious hindrances to the interchange of commerce between the various parts of the Empire.

The Defence Committee, convened by Captain Colomb, M.P., has met under the presidency of Lord Brassey, and is engaged in investigating and preparing for publication facts vitally concerning the safety of Imperial and Colonial interests in war. It is hoped that a report from the Committee will be published during the current year.

The Postal Committee is similarly engaged upon the consideration of the means of intercommunication.

Early in August a resolution was passed by the Executive Committee of the League, urging H.M. Government to a prompt decision upon the Canadian proposals for a Trans-Pacific Mail Service, which had then been in hand many months, and declaring its belief that prolonged delay would prove seriously prejudicial to the best interests of the Empire at large. This resolution was forwarded by Lord Rosebery to the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and in the following month H.M. Government agreed to subsidise the proposed line of steamers jointly with the Dominion of Canada. Your committee attaches great importance to the establishment of this line of mail steamers crossing the Pacific and thus completing the circle of British commerce and communication, and points with satisfaction to this second instance of that combination between the United Kingdom and the Colonies for the maintenance of common interests, which it is the object of the League to promote.

The agitation in Canada in favour of Commercial Union with the United States, which prevailed during the last few months of the year, has not been successful. This result, over which from its point of view your committee cannot but rejoice, is largely due to the exertions of the Imperial Federation League in Canada, who were convinced that Commercial Union in spite of the protestations of its advocates, tended towards annexation to the United States and the destruction of that unity of the Empire which it is the work of the League to build up and strengthen. The exposition of the case against Commercial Union made by Mr. Arch. McGoun, Hon. Secretary of the League in Canada, was one of the most important factors in the controversy, and was a masterpiece of investigation and argument.

There has been a great increase of vigour in the League in Canada, attested by a large addition to its membership and the formation of several new branches. Perhaps, however, the fact that Canada has been directly and officially represented on the recent Fishery Commission by a Commissioner—Sir Charles Tupper, G.C.M.G.—acting in conjunction with the Commissioner from the United Kingdom, affords the strongest evidence in support of the policy and programme of the League.

The League in Victoria has made considerable progress, thanks largely to the exertions of Mr. G. Downes Carter, its President, and Mr. J. V. Morgan, of Melbourne. The visit of Lord Brassey to Melbourne was made the occasion of a demonstration by the League in favour of Imperial Federation. The Prime Minister of Victoria took part in the proceedings, and declared his adhesion to the principles of the League.

The unusual demands on private purses caused by the Jubilee Year have operated against the funds of the League, equally with those of all other organisations supported by voluntary contributions. Nevertheless, the subscriptions have increased by upwards of £100 since last year.

It having become evident that at the end of 1887 additional funds would be necessary to enable the work of the League to be efficiently developed, a guarantee of at least £1,000 a year was asked for by Lord Rosebery for the next three years, in addition to existing subscriptions. This has resulted in the subscription to this date of guarantees to the amount of £1,328. It is hoped that this sum will be still further increased, in order that the burden upon those members who have already come forward may be reduced.

The expenses of the League show a reduction under all heads, especially in the cost of producing *Imperial Federation*. This journal continues to maintain its high reputation; and its value, in inculcating the principles of the League, in discussing the points which arise, and in recording the progress of the movement is felt by your Committee to be very great.

The following branches have been affiliated during the year:—

UNITED KINGDOM.	CANADA.
Cambridge Town Branch.	Hallfax, Nova Scotia.
Glasgow and West of Scotland Branch.	Ottawa, "
Edinburgh and East of Scotland "	Peterborough, Ontario.
City of Rochester "	
Selby "	
Kendal "	
Huntingdon County "	

The following important names occur among many influential additions which have been made during the year to the membership of the League:—

THE RIGHT HON. LORD HERSCHELL, late Lord Chancellor.  
SIR WILLIAM FITZHERBERT, K.C.M.G., Speaker of New Zealand Legislative Council.  
HON. JAMES SERVICE, late Premier of Victoria.  
BARON H. DE WORMS, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies.



# SUPPLEMENT TO IMPERIAL FEDERATION:

*The Journal of the Imperial Federation League.*

LONDON: APRIL 1, 1888.

THIS SUPPLEMENT CONTAINS FULL REPORTS OF—

THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE LEAGUE, ON MARCH  
21st, 1888.

THE ANNUAL BANQUET IN THE EVENING OF THE SAME DAY  
AT WILLIS'S ROOMS.

## THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.

THE third Annual Meeting was held on Wednesday, March 21st, in the Westminster Palace Hotel. The chair was taken shortly after three o'clock by the Right Hon. the Earl of Rosebery, President of the League. In spite of a number of counter attractions fixed for the same time, there was a very large and influential attendance of members and their friends, among whom were Lord Brassey, K.C.B., Viscount Wolseley, G.C.B., Lord Stratheden and Campbell, Lord Castletown of Upper Ossory, the Right Hon. Sir Harry Verney, Bart., Admiral the Right Hon. Sir J. C. Dalrymple Hay, Bart., Rear-Admiral Sir George Tryon, K.C.B., Lieutenant-General Sir John Watson, V.C., K.C.B., Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Sir Rawson W. Rawson, K.C.M.G., C.B., Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., Sir Francis V. Smith, Lieutenant-General Lowry, C.B., the Hon. W. Cochrane-Baillie, M.P., C. E. Howard Vincent, C.B., M.P., Captain Colomb, C.M.G., M.P., James Rankin, M.P., Alexander McArthur, M.P., J. Henniker-Heaton, M.P., John Corbett, M.P., Colonel Ronald B. Lane (Halifax, Nova Scotia), Colonel E. H. Paske, Richard R. Dobell (Quebec), Hon. Henry Holbrook, Walter Severn, F. P. Labillière, Edward A. Arnold, John Mackenzie, J. Parker Smith, H. F. Wilson, W. M. Acworth, W. Sebright Green, H. T. Mackenzie Bell, C. Freeman Murray, and Arthur H. Loring.

The proceedings were opened by

The EARL OF ROSEBERY, who, in proposing "That the report of the General Committee be adopted," spoke as follows:—As we have circulated copies of the report on every bench throughout the hall, perhaps it would be for your convenience if we did not have it read through. In that case, I will at once rise to propose the adoption of this report. I think it will be desirable—at any rate, it will be convenient—that at this stage I should state to this meeting of the League what, in my opinion, is the point at which we have arrived, and what is the true direction of our policy for the present and for the future. In speaking as I shall do, I am speaking, it must be remembered, only for myself. I do not pretend in the slightest degree to bind the League, or any portion of the League, to my view of its operations; but I am anxious, as being Chairman of the League, from the fact that many various definitions of our work are given to the public by persons who do not belong to the League, that the Chairman of the League should have an opportunity of stating what, in his opinion, the work consists of. Now, the aim of the League, as I understand it, has not been the conversion of Parliament into a Senate in which the Colonies are to be directly represented. If that was the shape that our work were ultimately to assume we should not regret it. But we recognise that that would be so great a change as almost to amount to a revolution—a revolution probably beneficial in itself, but which would require so unanimous a current of opinion among our countrymen, both at home and in the Colonies, as we can hardly hope for in the immediate years to come. If the Empire were in some supreme stress of circumstances, vast transformations might indeed, and would probably, take place. But it is unnecessary to anticipate calamity; we only trust that we shall be found in time of peace to have so adapted our organisation of govern-

ment and of defence to the shifting conditions of the world and of the Empire that we shall not be found unprepared. (Applause.) If we are unprepared—a question upon which it is not now necessary to enter—we shall encounter, perhaps, unprecedented disaster, and we shall also have to reconsider, by the lurid light of that experience, some of our administrative and constitutional arrangements. But the League is engaged in immediate practical work, and the remodelling of constitutions, either in this country or in the Colonies, is not work for a League of this kind. Our work has been and is this—under a firm belief that the bonds which unite the Empire must either become stronger or weaker, our endeavour has been to make them stronger. (Hear, hear.) We found them, in our opinion, unduly weak; but they have never been so strong as they are now. In my own view, indeed, Imperial Federation, in principle and in germ, is already established. (Applause.) Federation, in my view, does not necessarily imply a written constitution. But, even then, the power of the Imperial Parliament to legislate for the Colonies, and the power of the Crown to veto Colonial Acts, may be stated to constitute, or at least imply, a confederation of the legal and nominal sort. That, however, has always existed, and if we were satisfied with that there would be no need for the League. (Hear, hear.) But the Federation we aim at is the closest possible union of the various States ruled by the British Crown, consistently with that free national development which is the birthright of British subjects all over the world—(applause)—the closest union in sympathy, in external action, in defence. Formerly there was no tendency in this direction. The Empire lay listless on the world, politically passive. Now, however, there is a clear tendency of the centre towards the outer parts, and of the outer parts towards the centre. If, then, this point of view be correct, if Imperial Federation does not necessarily imply a Parliament in which all the various States of the Empire are directly represented, but if an Empire of which even the most distant parts are closely leagued together for common objects under a supreme head answers the description of an Imperial Federation, then I think we may claim that it exists already, and our task must be to carry that idea to its furthest possible development. (Hear, hear.) For, since this League has been formed, we have seen a Conference of representatives from all parts of the Empire sitting in London, with all the weight and authority of an Imperial Council, to deliberate on matters common to the Empire at large. We have seen a military contingent sent from Australia to swell the Imperial army in Africa. We are witnessing the establishment of a common fleet for the defence of Australasia. (Applause.) There is a recognition of Imperial unity and the necessity of close communication in the subsidy to the Canadian Pacific route. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, I venture to say that ten years ago any single one of these achievements would have been considered the dream of a madman. (Hear, hear.) We may note, too, in passing, as a visible proof that there is no difference recognised by the constituencies between the inhabitants of the different portions of the Empire, that three Australians have been elected members of the House of Commons in this Parliament. Well, again, the Colonial Office itself shows most clearly the grateful change that has occurred. The Colonial Office, which used to vacillate between ignorant dictation and ignorant apathy, is now an organisation receiving freely all the guidance that the Colonies can give, in which the Agents-General have a recognised and influential position, and is now less a department of Downing Street than an Imperial centre. (Applause.) Well, gentlemen, suppose then you agree with me that the principle of Imperial Federation is already in practical existence, what is our work for the future? All that I have mentioned has occurred within the last three years, and the



bare recital encourages us by the record of an almost miraculous progress. (Applause.) What we have now to do is to press steadily onward, to develop and stimulate the progress already achieved, and to put our hands to those parts of the plan that are ripe and ready. If I am right, we shall not waste our energies in framing new constitutions for this country; the constitution will come when it is wanted, and not before. (Hear, hear.) Meanwhile, our task is that of practical men, and not of doctrinaires. Let us hold tightly to what we have gained, and make it permanent until it is replaced by something better. We have had a Colonial Conference, let us take care that it is to be the first only of a series of biennial or triennial Conferences such as this. (Applause.) Let us, in the next place, keep a vigilant eye on the different requirements for Imperial defence that lie outside these islands. Let us do all that we can to facilitate communication between the different parts of the Empire, that they may be, at any rate, compacted together by steam and by wire. Let us watch that in the external action of the British Government, whether by diplomacy or otherwise, Colonial interests are not neglected. Let us utilise every organisation and every opportunity which may seem to offer a chance of drawing our different commonwealths closer and closer; let us further every Colonial aspiration that tends in the same direction. Let us keep the British and Colonial public fully informed of their stake in our cause and of the true aspect of the question, and so, day by day, the scattered people of our race under our flag will recognise more and more deeply the unity of the Empire in interest, and sympathy, and aim. And when that is done, our work will progress itself. I beg to move the adoption of the report. (Continued applause.)

MR. RICHARD R. DOBELL (of Quebec), in seconding the resolution, said:—My lords, ladies, and gentlemen,—I thought that I could point out to you some of the hindrances and disappointments that at least we fancy we have suffered from and fought against, and then if I could express in common with you all the strong hopes which we have as to the final results of this Imperial Federation, it might not be entirely void of good that I should make some remarks to-day. Now, first, as regards the opinion of those—who, I am happy to say, form by far the largest portion of our public men—who believe that, come weal or woe, prosperity or adversity, loyalty to England and the maintenance of the unity of the Empire forms the first and paramount duty. They do not forget, my lord, what this country did in dealing with Canada in 1867, when she unselfishly aided in forming together a strong confederacy out of a number of then divided Provinces; that she yielded to that federation perfect liberty and almost complete independence; and, without exacting the value of the parchment on which the deed was written, she, by one act, transferred to the Dominion of Canada an inheritance stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. My lord, there is no record in history of any such work ever being accomplished before by any country. (Applause.) Secondly, we have men in Canada who, forgetful of all past obligations, cry out for what they call Canadian independence. They form so small a percentage of the community that it is not necessary to take up your time by alluding further to them. We have another class, too, who have for long years past advocated annexation to the United States, and lately this movement under some disguise has received considerable addition. The men who are moving in this now plead for Commercial Union only; they are under the inspiration of two leaders, one an eminent professor, who beguiles us all by the perfect style and beauty of his essays. (Hear, hear.) He calls this movement the dream of enthusiasts, and he poises himself in an attitude of exalted isolation. Another leader of this movement is a gentleman who is reported to have made a large fortune in the United States; he would dazzle us by the glowing picture he draws us of the wealth and magnificence of that great Republic where he has resided so long, and he would allure us to join that Republic, by giving up our birthright, and joining hands with the United States. Now, I would say one word about the drawbacks and disappointments, though, my lord, as this in a great measure opens up a question that I know this League has not thought desirable to take up at present, and probably the time is not ripe for it, I think it would be out of place for me to take advantage of this opportunity by referring at any great length to it; but we believe all our troubles are traceable to the fiscal policy of this country. I think it is my duty to state this without the slightest hesitation. I speak not as a politician, but as merely representing the merchant class of Canada, and I maintain that if you want to arouse a strong, earnest working feeling in the heart of every Canadian in this movement, you must challenge the fiscal policy of this country; you must be prepared to propound some scheme by which, while all the world is against us in trade, we may be united in one common bond to defend our common interests. (Applause.) I was much pleased, my lord, to hear the remark you made, that you hoped the Conference we had last year would only be the first of many. (Hear, hear.) I hope this Imperial Federation League will, at a very early date, take the initiative to hold a Conference and to show we have nothing to conceal, or which we cannot discuss in the most friendly spirit. I hope that not only will delegates from all the Colonies be present with representatives from Great Britain, but also that we, at that Conference, will offer seats to representatives from the United States of America. (Applause.) I believe that Conference will do a great deal to remove many of the difficulties we labour under. I believe that it may challenge very fairly what Sir Rawson Rawson calls in his very able work "the inexplicable and purposeless tariffs that exist in all parts of the Empire." (Hear, hear.) It has been said, "he is a philanthropist who can make two blades of grass grow where one grew before." I believe it would be a much greater proof of philanthropy if we could only remove any part of that tariff, which operates against a closer trade between the various Colonies and Great Britain. (Applause.) My lord, I shall not trespass longer on the time of this meeting. I have great pleasure in seconding

the resolution, and I hope that very prompt measures may be taken to hold a Conference on the fiscal policy of Great Britain and her Colonies, believing as I do that it would be fruitful of great good, and might possibly point out to Great Britain that by her present extreme Free Trade principles she is exemplifying the proverb that "right held too rigidly hardens into wrong." I can promise a full representation from Canada. (Applause.)

The resolution was put and adopted.

LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B., next proposed "That the future policy of the League, as set forth in the address of the Chairman of the League, be carried out during the ensuing year." His lordship said: Lord Rosebery and gentlemen, the policy of the League has been so fully and clearly explained to us by the noble Chairman that little remains to be said by succeeding speakers. Lord Rosebery has truly said that the policy of the League at the present time is not so much to formulate plans for changes of the constitution between the Mother Country and the Colonies, as to cultivate a sentiment. And what is that sentiment? On the part of the Mother Country, it is pride in the great English-speaking nations which are growing up in distant lands. Old England loves her Colonies, and everywhere she holds before them in the face of the whole world the shield of a great Empire. (Applause.) What is the sentiment that we wish to cultivate in our Colonies? It is a deep and abiding sense that they are one with us, and that their moral, material, and political progress will be best advanced by remaining parts of our Greater Britain. (Hear.) I am glad to know that the policy which has been adopted by the Imperial Federation League is approved by responsible statesmen in the Colonies. On a recent occasion when travelling in Australia, I had the privilege of being received as one of the officers of this League by a branch of our association which is established at Melbourne. We had the pleasure of seeing on that occasion as a guest Mr. Gillies, the Prime Minister of Victoria, and this is what he said:—"The sentiment contained in Lord Brassey's address is the unity of the Empire. To me the unity of the Empire means no possibility of dismemberment. I agree that an attempt to mark out the absolute lines and limits on which federation should be accomplished would be extremely rash and unwise; what the League is more immediately desiring to do is to raise one united and universal sentiment on this subject. Unity is always strength. I feel the greatest possible pleasure in being able to say that, as far as I know, the sentiment of the people of this Colony, and I can speak as to the sentiment of the Government, and I feel quite confident of the Parliament also; they have the strongest possible desire to draw closer and closer the bonds of union between this and the Mother Country. The demonstration of loyalty which has been exhibited during the past week in this Colony" (he was speaking in the week when the Queen's Jubilee had been celebrated) "and all over the Colonies of Australia clearly indicates beyond all doubt that that is the sentiment of the whole of the Australian people." (Applause.) Lord Rosebery has referred to instances which show what sentiment can accomplish in the absence of any specific plans and obligations. In the Crimean war sentiment recruited our forces with the regiments raised in Canada; and in the war in the Soudan, sentiment gave us a contingent from New South Wales. Sentiment has made it easy to carry out that agreement in relation to the Australasian squadron which we all approve so much, and which I believe was initiated by a gallant admiral—Sir George Tryon—whom I have the pleasure to see sitting on these benches. Sentiment secured a marked success for the proceedings of the recent Colonial Conference held in London. I was in Australia when the representatives of the Australian Colonies returned to their homes; and I will conclude by quoting a few words, which I have already quoted in public, from a remarkable speech which was delivered by Mr. Deakin to his constituents in Victoria:—"Of all the signs of the times within recent years among English-speaking people, no sign has been more important than this Conference with closed doors. What sign of the times has appeared that has expressed and symbolised, as that meeting did, the greatness of the British Empire? What a story of enterprise, what a romance of the energy of our race, what a tale of the past, and what a promise of the future was written in that Conference! And, if it said anything, it said that, great as the United Kingdom is among the nations of the earth—and truly great she is—it is the Colonies that have made the Kingdom an Empire." (Applause.) Let it be our policy for the present to cultivate, both here and in the Colonies, the sentiment of mutual affection. (Hear, hear.) If our hearts be true and warm towards one another, we shall never fail to meet the varying circumstances as they arise with the proper expedients.

CAPTAIN J. C. R. COLOMB, C.M.G., M.P., rose to second the resolution. He said: My Lord, ladies and gentlemen, I am sure it needs no words from me to ask your approval of the resolution which Lord Brassey has proposed. It is to endorse the policy for the ensuing year as indicated in the able address of our chairman, Lord Rosebery. All who listened to that address heard the statesman-like programme he put before the League as its duty to fulfil during the coming year. I think myself that we can no longer be accused of being a League of faddists; I think the practical results attained by this League, even though its existence has been so short, have amply scattered to the winds the supposition that we were a body of doctrinaires. (Hear, hear.) As Lord Rosebery pointed out, a few years ago any one who suggested that in a few years hence what happened last year would have happened, would have been considered a madman (hear, hear); but I would ask for one moment, in supporting this resolution, the permission of the meeting to call your attention to one or two facts that I think it is necessary to bear in mind. One is the current supposition out of doors that, having called a Conference, and that Conference having been completely successful, we may go to sleep for a very long time to come. The truth is, I am sure, as those who study the question will agree with me, that the



Conference really laid down a basis for future conferences—(hear, hear)—it brought to a more distinct focus certain questions. Those questions are not such as can be hastily decided; they are complex questions. But practical work was done by that Conference, as we know now, in the proposal which we are almost on the eve of accomplishing—that of an Imperial Australasian wing of the Imperial Fleet. (Applause.) But I would point out how necessary it is for the League to work and spread particular facts; that even since that Conference met there are matters that have arisen, perhaps unnoticed, but of vital importance to every part of the Empire. The Conference considered the matter of defence. Now, the defence of the Empire is very complex, and we believe here that it can only be adequately met by co-operation between all parts of the Empire for common defence; and therefore what is wanted is to spread a knowledge of facts, so that the popular mind at home and in every part of the Empire may be brought to bear, to contemplate these facts, and to come to a common conclusion as to what is to be done in the present. (Hear, hear.) The point I use as an illustration of the importance of this spread of knowledge and of the watching of everything which takes place in such a matter of defence is this:—The communication between our Colonies and the Mother Country is, you are aware, kept up by steamers having a joint subsidy between the Mother Country and her Colonies. The object of that subsidy is to get and keep up as rapid a communication between the Mother Country and the Colonies, and the outlying parts of the Empire, as possible. It is obvious that if ever we are overtaken by war, one of the most important elements in defence will be rapid communication along the great lines of communication joining all parts of the Empire together. (Hear, hear.) Well, the Conference sat; it considered matters of defence; but a new departure has been taken since. I am not going to enter into any technical question, but am simply going to point out that that departure has been taken perhaps without observation—or, at least, without very much observation—by the people of the Colonies or of this country. The arrangement is this: that as through the payment of those joint subsidies the companies have been able to put swift steamers on their lines, the programme now is, when war breaks out, to take them off. Now, I only mention this as an illustration, showing the necessity for the constant supervision of a League like this over all current events. (Hear, hear.) It is a matter I am not expressing any opinion about beyond this: that the point mentioned illustrates the necessity for a body such as this to watch events, and to take care that everything of common concern is brought under the popular supervision of all parts of the Empire, so that what we do in peace we may not have to undo in war. (Applause.) I have great pleasure, my lord, in seconding the resolution. I think we may congratulate ourselves on our progress; and I am bound to say, my lord, I consider that, as Chairman of the League, you have nobly done your part in leading it forward from a sensible and rational basis. (Applause.)

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The RIGHT HON. SIR HARRY VERNEY, BART., moved "That the best thanks of the League are hereby given to the Right Hon. the Earl of Rosebery, for presiding at this meeting, and for the services which he has rendered during the past year." He said: I rise to propose a resolution which will be heartily received by every lady and gentleman in this room. It is a vote of thanks to Lord Rosebery for presiding over this meeting, and for the services which he has rendered to the League during the past year. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, I have long desired the existence of such a League as this, because, in my long services in the House of Commons, I have remarked what injustice has been done in many instances to our Colonies by absence of knowledge. (Hear, hear.) If this League had been in existence some years ago, should we not have had a more direct communication with Canada? Would not Portland have been our North American possession? Would not that province which was called Georgia, and is now called Washington Territory, still have been British? (Hear, hear.) What grievous losses to our country have been sustained by the want of such a society as this, which watches over the interests of all parts of the Empire! How do we all rejoice at the existence of the railway through Canada! What a glorious possession to the world is that line—the shortest communication from England to China and to India, and which is destined, I believe, to bestow upon us great benefits. I trust, my lord, we may long continue to be at peace. I believe peace is for the interests of the world. I believe there is no nation which is interested in war, and that we all are interested in that which, by the mercy of God, we enjoy at present, which is peace in all the world. May it long continue! but may we not be blind to the danger that may be in our way, and may we take every precaution, now that we are at peace, to preserve the unity of the Empire, in case, unhappily and by great misfortune, we should come to be engaged in war. (Applause.) There is no precaution we can take so powerful, and so sure to sustain the British Empire, as to remain on the most friendly terms, the most affectionate lines with our Colonies. (Hear, hear.) What should we be without the Colonies? I will tell you, my lord, what I think has been one of the greatest, I will say no less than crimes, of which our statesmen

have occasionally been guilty. When there has been a man whom a Minister was ashamed to promote and assist at home, he was sent abroad. (Laughter.) I do not think a greater crime than that can be committed by British statesmen. I am happy to think that now we are more fortunate. I think we have as good a Governor-General in India as we ever had. We have a remarkably good Governor at Bombay, and also at Madras; and I am quite certain everyone here rejoices in the high character which Lord Carrington has established for himself in Australia. (Applause.) So far as I know, I believe all our Colonies are well administered, and we have good honourable true men placed at the head of them. I trust we may never again be guilty of what I consider the political crime of sending to a high place in the Colonies men we are ashamed to promote at home. (Applause.) I beg to propose that which I know we shall all agree to—a vote of thanks to Lord Rosebery for the eminent service which he has rendered to our great object. I feel there is no man more cautious and careful than he is. I think we must be very cautious and careful, and we must not run ahead and endeavour to aim at objects which are not, perhaps, quite safe, and which we shall not be able to carry out. I feel quite sure nobody can put a wise restraining force upon us better than the noble lord, to whom I now propose we should offer thanks. (Applause.)

The vote of thanks was carried with acclamation.

LORD ROSEBERY: I am very grateful to you for this vote of thanks, which I hold that your applause has passed; and I am grateful to our venerable friend, Sir Harry, whom we are always glad to see amongst us. I confess I was astonished to hear myself spoken of as a restraining force, but there is nothing like seeing one's-self as others see us. (Laughter.) Gentlemen, I think our meeting to-day has been a very interesting one. I thought it my duty to lay before you a statement of what I conceived to be our present position and our past work. I had to do also, from a sense of conscience, what I confess is extremely disagreeable—to read a statement to you which I had read to the committee, who wished to be acquainted with my views. Now, ladies and gentlemen, being unfettered from that statement for a moment, I should like to congratulate ourselves on the very interesting speech we have had from Canada to-day. (Hear, hear.) We are, I think, rather apt to be swallowed up by the interests of Australia more especially in this League; because we have not had so much personal encouragement, I think, from the representatives of Canada in this country. There is a large resident population from Australia, I am happy to say, in our midst that, perhaps, colours our proceedings more in the direction of Australia than Canada. But this Canadian fisheries question to which Mr. Dobell so eloquently alluded, has distinctly kept the eyes of that part of the public—so largely and daily increasing—which is interested in Colonial affairs, more and more fixed on Canadian interests. Ladies and gentlemen, Sir Harry said in his speech that one of the great interests of Great Britain, supremely above all other countries, was the interest of maintaining peace. Well, I venture to say that every good member of this League has, as one of the foundations of his principles, that this League is more calculated to preserve the peace of the world than any other combination that could be set on foot by any other country that exists in the universe. (Applause.) Our interests, our ramifications, are so wide, we are spread so greatly over the face of the globe, we have in that way such an omnipresent interest in the affairs of the world that when Great Britain desires peace, and she must, I think, under a wise Government always desire peace, the interests of the world must rather lead to peace than war. If we had always held that view of our Empire, if we had always conceived our Empire in that wise and beneficent spirit, I believe that many of the wars of this century, and of the last would have been avoided. The last century was engaged, I confess, largely in wars to obtain Empire. We might not always have been able to avert those, because the tendency of our race is somewhat spreading and aggressive, but, having attained that Empire, we ought to have known how to avoid entering into conflict. The war of 1812 with the United States, for example, ought never to have occurred under a Government knowing our responsibilities. (Applause.) The influence that the centre exercises over the Empire is not the only interest that has to be reckoned in the interests of peace; but, on the other hand, those great Colonies which every day draw closer and closer to us give a regulating influence for that which we exercise over them. But I believe it would be difficult now, and it will be still more difficult in ten years' time, to state which is really the predominant influence in the British Empire: whether that of the Colonies radiating back the heat that we give them, or the central principle extending itself all over the Colonial Empire. They say there are nights in the Baltic or Arctic regions when you can see simultaneously both the sun and the moon in equal splendour at the same time. I believe that is the exact image of what exists in our Empire—that as it is gilded by the sun, the splendour, and supremacy and history of England, it also shows the risen luminary of the future of our race in the destiny and coming future of our Colonies. (Loud applause.)

The proceedings then terminated.



# REPORT OF SPEECHES AT THE ANNUAL BANQUET OF THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE, HELD IN WILLIS'S ROOMS, ON WEDNESDAY, MARCH 21st, 1888.

THE Annual Banquet of the Imperial Federation League was held on Wednesday, March 21st, at Willis's Rooms, under the presidency of the Earl of Rosebery, the chief guest on the occasion being Lord Stanley of Preston, the new Governor-General of Canada. A list of those present is given on a subsequent page.

The first toast was that of "The Queen," in proposing which,

The noble CHAIRMAN said: It would need more eloquence than I am possessed of to add any lustre to this toast which I now propose. (Applause.)

The toast was then drunk with enthusiasm.

LORD ROSEBERY next rose to propose the toast of "The Empire." He said: I have been entrusted to-night with a toast which I had hoped would have fallen into more worthy hands. In any case, I have already had to speak this afternoon on this subject, and I do not feel that I can add any additional freshness to the vast topic which is suggested by the toast itself. Gentlemen, I sometimes wonder if the people who talk about the Empire—and the Empire forms a favourite ornament of perorations—(laughter)—if they realise exactly what they are talking about. (Hear, hear.) The Empire, to my mind suggests two things. In the first place an enormous machine either for evil or for good, either for oppression or for relief. In the second place the Empire suggests this further consideration—By what means was it won, and are there any definite ideas in the minds of the people of this country, or of the statesmen on either side of politics who govern it, how that Empire is to be preserved and to be utilised? (Applause.) It is quite apparent, even from the two considerations which I have enumerated to you, that the subject of the Empire as I view it is hardly one for after-dinner treatment at all. If the Empire is to be viewed as a great and solemn fact, and not as a mere decoration for the purposes of eloquence, it is one which is to be considered under widely different auspices to those festive ones under which we assemble to-night. Now, gentlemen, with regard to that vast organisation, or rather that vast want of organisation, which we call the British Empire—(hear, hear)—what we have to remember is this—that it has not been formed on any fixed rules like the Roman Empire, which was co-extensive with civilisation; but it has been rather the result of a drifting of a masterful race into the waste places of the world. (Hear, hear.) I read the other day in an Australian paper with very deep interest the account of an experiment that has recently taken place there which seems to me to be likely to add enormously to the wealth and resources of that brilliant continent. They have been tapping for underground rivers there, and the other day they tapped one—the Barkledeane spring—which in a moment, and as soon as the borer passed through the soft stratum which overlay the water, rose up, and, oozing out in an irresistible flood, filled up all the cavities and the waste places of the neighbourhood, till it settled into one vast lagoon. And I think that in that description I find some image of this British race of ours, which, without any particular guidance or forethought on our part, has suddenly oozed out, and, adjusting itself to the accommodation that the world can offer, has covered so mighty a space on the globe. (Applause.) It is that irresistible advance that our statesmen have to deal with; it is that irresistible advance which is almost the greatest element in the formation of the British Empire (applause), because that irresistible element would be nothing whatever without something on which the Empire is absolutely founded, and which I will mention in a moment. My neighbour at dinner was talking to me about the game of chess, and it suddenly struck me that the game of chess suggested some considerations in connection with our Empire. In the first place—and rather unfortunately for us in some ways, but not in others—all the great States in the world have become chess-players of late, and are moving their pieces in a somewhat alarming way; and, whereas formerly we had the game to ourselves, we suddenly find check or at least stalemate where we least expected it. (Laughter.) We ought not to grumble at that, because there is nothing so invidious, nothing makes a nation or individual so hateful, as an absolute monopoly; but when you come to think of the pieces, there is something to be said of this analogy of chess. We began with castles. (Laughter.) Our great object was to obtain fortresses like Malta, Gibraltar, Corfu, and Quebec. Then there came what I may call colonising by bishop and knight. (Laughter.) It was the old system of colonial government as sent out from Downing Street, consisting of a highly competent gentleman sometimes sent out from views rather of relief to the Government at home than of absolute bounty to the Colony he was meant to foster—(laughter)—accompanied by a high dignitary of the Established Church, who ultimately turned out a costly luxury for the Colonies, but has been really of great benefit in the way of an ecclesiastical superior since that time. And, gentlemen, to carry on that parallel a little further, I may say this—after all those systems of colonisation have been, so to speak, exhausted, the Queen always remains. (Applause.) We have to remember, in connection with the march of our race, that the future of our Empire rests largely with the pawns. We cannot tell where they may be moved. They have no notion where they will move themselves. It may be a gold mine here, or an irresistibly fertile tract there, which is the great attraction; but where the pawns go, the Empire goes; and that is a fact which those who discuss emigration in the old-fashioned manner of thirty-five or forty years ago are a little apt to forget. (Applause.) Well, the emigrant who leaves these shores—unless he goes to the United States—as a rule takes the Empire on his back in a sense as

truly as my noble friend on my right (Lord Stanley of Preston). It is to point and extend that idea, and to make it a practical and vivid notion among the mass of our fellow-countrymen, that this League so largely exists. (Applause.) Since I have been prominently connected with it I have always been extremely anxious to remove from it the reproach that the Empire with us was an ornamental expression, and that our ideas were liable to the reproach of others of "visionary dreamers." I do not believe that any member of the Imperial Federation League has any hallucination as to our aim or our means. We take the Empire as a thing that exists, not as a thing we should reconstruct; we take it as a practical instrument of which we are determined to make the best possible use. (Applause.) Let us remove, if it exists any longer—and I think we have done a good deal to remove it—the impression that we are "visionary dreamers." Let us remember that in every part of our world, as members of the Imperial Federation League, our work is eminently practical, though it may be animated, and it is none the worse for being animated, by a great, lofty, and imperial sentiment. (Applause.) This leads me to mention what I referred to before as being the prime requisite of Empire, even more than the irresistible advance of our race. The British Empire rests on character, and character alone; because if we were to send emigrants who were like coolies they would carry no Empire with them—they would leave no permanent trace on the globe. (Applause.) We send abroad men who are in themselves capable of bearing on their shoulders the vast responsibilities they take with them. They take, and naturally take, the name of *civis Britannicus* into the waste places of our globe. (Applause.) And if our pawns, our ordinary emigrants and citizens, who go forth are men of this character, who are the men who are to govern and control those citizens? Who are we to send out as the representatives of this ancient State to bear worthily our honour among the colonists who own the sway of the Queen? We were not over-careful in former days of their qualifications, but a new and better day has arisen, and we do take pains to send the best men. (Applause.) We have to-night the high honour of entertaining the Viceroy-designate of Canada. (Applause.) He goes there with perhaps the most ancient and most honoured name in England. (Applause.) He goes there with a high and honourable reputation of his own. He goes there with a long Cabinet experience to which I cannot aspire, and which I could never share. (Laughter.) But we recognise, in whichever part of either House of Parliament we may be privileged to sit—and he has sat in both Houses—the honest, sturdy work he has done for the interests of the State. (Applause.) In bidding him God-speed to-night in his high Imperial mission, we have no doubts, no uncertainty, no misgivings, as to the result. (Applause.)

The toast was cordially drunk.

LORD STANLEY OF PRESTON, who on rising was heartily applauded said in responding, My Lord Rosebery and Gentlemen,—I think that there is nothing but the kindness of your invitation and of your welcome that could have induced me to break silence to-night in an assembly in which I cannot help feeling that in some qualifications I am inferior to every member who sits around your hospitable Board. I cannot pretend either to the wide range of travel which it has been your President's good fortune to enjoy, nor to the personal experience of business which has been the fortunate lot of others; but I feel on the other hand there is a bond of sympathy which enables me to speak as openly, and in as frank a spirit to you as I know will be that in which you will receive my remarks. (Hear, hear.) It seems but the other day when our late friend, Mr. Forster—(applause)—whose memory I trust Englishmen of whatever party will never cease to honour—was speaking in the first inception of what I must call your mission, and when the future course of your League had scarcely taken shape. Mr. Forster, answering by anticipation the criticism which many cavaliers were likely to make, said (I think I am using his own words), that "if you meet together and declare that it is a good thing that there should be a united Empire, what is that but mere talk," and he proceeded in his own sensible and forcible way entirely to dispose of such a supposition. (Hear, hear.) I think it has required scarcely the four years which have passed to demonstrate how the clear common-sense of Mr. Forster and of those who acted with him, have entirely justified the aspirations of the League and has entirely shown the wisdom of those who acted together in promoting an earnest interchange of feeling and knowledge between ourselves and the Colonies. It is only, after all, the reciprocation of that touching sentiment which makes Colonists speak of this country as home, and, on the other hand, of the feeling, which every day gets broader and deeper, of how great are the interests, individually and collectively, of all who live under the Empire in the Greater Britain beyond the seas. Not a steamer goes forth but bears from these shores those who are casting in their lot with, and who follow, others who have been the earlier pioneers of our civilisation abroad. Not a steamer returns but brings those who, either for pleasure or for interest, are once more coming back to this their native land, or that to which they are connected by sentimental ties, but towards which they nevertheless feel deep bonds, which it would be hard to break. There are those who choose to speak of ordinary forces and who leave out of view the effect of the forces of sentiment in this matter. I think you have a wiser appreciation of the power of the human heart when you allow for the feeling which some speak of as a sentimental feeling, but which after all appeals to every British heart. (Hear, hear.) The wise elasticity of your rules, which ignore party and many of those divisions which alas! distract us at home, has united in one common bond men of various occupations and men in various positions of life. My noble friend just now spoke, with the illustrative skill of which he is a master, of how in Australia a spring had by the skill of the engineer been brought to pour forth its water and to fertilise the country which stood in need of its help. I would venture to carry my noble friend's allusion a step further, and point to those latent forces which would render a poor country rich, those forces which would bring out all



that is dearest and best to human kind, which, like the spring in the bosom of the earth, lie latent in the human heart, and which it has been the duty of your body and such skillful engineers as my noble friend who presides over it, to bring down to the common benefit of the people. (Applause.) I cannot help touching on a matter which, though it is on the fringe, perhaps, of those questions on which I have spoken, as unhappily dividing us at home, but which is nevertheless redeemed from that character by the society in which I am. I cannot help thinking that my noble friend, when he was, within a short time ago, endeavouring perhaps to carry the art of the engineer into operation on what I am afraid he would consider somewhat obdurate material—(laughter)—yet, among those remarks which my noble friend addressed to the House of Lords in connection with the subject of rendering its work more real and active, there was no remark of his that met with more general assent, or was welcomed more cordially, than that in which he pointed out the desirability of securing the representation of the Colonies in the House of Lords. This is neither the time nor the place to enter into a discussion how this should be done; but I think we may well take note of the fact that there is on all hands a general desire that there should be at least something approaching a representation, direct or indirect, of the great interests of the Colonies as well as those of India in the Imperial Parliament. (Applause.) I speak not of one House of Parliament alone. It is by such means that we can do much to weld together the different elements that exist in the Empire. If I understand one thing more clearly than another from the programme with which you started, it is that you do not intend to work necessarily from preconceived ideas. (Applause.) Fortunately for this country, we have at no time been celebrated as, in action, a strictly logical nation. We are content to take things as we find them, to make the basis of them, to endeavour to use the things lying to our hand, in a manner in which our conscience thinks best, for the public good. That, I think, is the great mission to which you had set yourselves. You had to consider that not only our nation, but others, are sending forth to the colonies a people who live side by side with our own. There was a time some years ago when, perhaps, like many other persons, we took too easily our own good fortune, and considered as a matter of course that England was to be alone in the work of colonisation; and there are not wanting those who look with eyes of jealousy at some of the great interests which are growing up side by side with our own dependencies. Probably there is no one, if the secrets of his political heart could be unlocked, who could tell you with greater force than your noble president what are some of the great questions which are now arising in the ordinary relations of the Foreign Office in respect of our colonies—the extreme difficulty in at once endeavouring to do that which we believe in our conscience as a European Power it is our duty to do, and at the same time not to lose sight of those interests more closely affecting all those who form a great part of our Empire beyond the seas. That is a task worthy of any statesman. It is a task which even for one who holds opinions generally differing from those of our noble president, I may be allowed to say I think could be dealt with by no one with more advantage, or by anyone having a clearer insight into these matters than Lord Rosebery, who has studied them, and who is able to look calmly on them from every point of view, and who by precept and example has on all occasions set a pattern to all of us to do that which is one of your principal objects, namely, to bring about between the Colonies and the Mother Country the closest and most intimate relations of knowledge and sentiment. (Applause.) Well, gentlemen, these matters are not—and I hope it may always be so—belonging to either one party or one set of men engaged in any particular occupations in life. No; they embrace the whole community. I trust you may, year after year, look forward to meeting each time with growing powers, with increasing strength, and with the consciousness that you are fulfilling the mission you have marked out, and are faithful to the trusts you have undertaken; and that you may in each successive year drink, with an increasing feeling of confidence as to its prosperity, the great toast of the Empire which I have the honour to acknowledge. (Applause.) I can only thank my noble friend for the kindness with which he referred to me. I go forth in a short space of time to preside over a Colony as the representative of the Sovereign, and to be one of the links which I hope will connect the great Dominion and the Mother Country. I hope, though I am not of your body, that I have shown how deeply I feel the motives which actuate you, and how strongly I sympathise with you. I verily believe I shall meet on the other side of the Atlantic with those who entirely respond to the noble sentiments you have given utterance to. (Applause.) Gentlemen, I trust that (although the words have on some occasions been misapplied) on an occasion such as the present the words, "*Imperium et Libertas*," are not out of place. (Hear, hear.) The individual liberty which we claim for all men is what we claim for ourselves; the purest, the most disinterested, care of our Colonial affairs is perfectly compatible with the largest and truest interests of this country; and while, on the one hand, we toast the "*libertas*" which is dear to us all, we shall, I hope, never forget the "*Imperium*" of which we are all members. (Applause.)

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID, BART., M.P.—My Lords and Gentlemen, it is my privilege to propose to you the toast of the "Services of the Crown." There was a time when these services were confined to this island. That time has long since gone by because there are representatives of the services in all parts of Her Majesty's dominions. There was a time when our views were insular only; and when, I think, the feelings which actuated the Imperial Federation League hardly existed. All that has gone; and now we are all doing our utmost to promote a common feeling among all the different parts of the Empire. Nothing has served more to consolidate this feeling and to promote it than the example set by our great Australian Colonies when a case arose in a recent strife in Africa.

I think all will agree with me when I say that the sending of the Australian Contingent served to show that the idea of Imperial Federation might some day be realised; and I am satisfied that it did much to draw together the Colonies and the mother country. (Hear, hear.) My lord, I think I may say the ancient glory of the naval and military services has not departed from our country, and we are as proud of them as ever. The civilian force worthily emulates their deeds in a line more humble but quite as useful when opportunity arises. I beg to propose the toast of "The Services of the Crown."

SIR HENRY BARKLY: My Lord Rosebery, I regret the temporary indisposition of Mr. Heneage, who, as you see by the toast-list, was to have returned thanks, as an old diplomatist, for the Civil Service. I have therefore been requested to perform that duty instead. At first it appeared to me that I was scarcely qualified to undertake it, as it is several years since I have been in active service, having retired on pension from the Colonial service; still, as I had the honour of serving thirty-five years in Her Majesty's Colonies, I think, perhaps, you will accept me as a representative of the Civil Service. (Hear, hear.) It may also perhaps be thought fortunate that one who had been connected with the Colonies should appear as a representative of the Civil Service to-night, showing that the Civil Service of the Empire is considered by us as one and indivisible. There is another feature connected with the position which I occupy to-night which strikes me, perhaps, as not being quite in the ordinary course, and as emblematic of a change which may come about—a change under which the Civil Service will have more to do in settling the affairs of the world than the arbitrament of the sword, as was formerly the case. I trust the day may be approaching when, as our noble Chairman told us this afternoon, the effect of the federation of the great British Empire will be to give additional safety and guarantee for the peace of the world. Under such circumstances, the Civil Service might, perhaps, become of more importance than it has hitherto been considered, and take precedence uniformly of the army and navy. I however hold, if my honourable and gallant friends will allow me to say so, the important and distinguished services of the army and navy in too great respect to occupy further time in keeping you from listening to the speeches they have to deliver; and I hasten therefore to say briefly that the Empire has every reason to feel proud of its Civil Service. So far as my experience extends, I believe that both at home and in the Colonies it is served by honourable men, who fulfil their arduous duties faithfully. I think, therefore, they deserve to receive the compliment which has been paid them to-night, and in their name, and on behalf of the Civil Service of the Empire, I beg to return you their thanks. (Applause.)

ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE TRYON, K.C.B.: Lord Rosebery, my lords and gentlemen, in obedience to the call upon me, I rise to return thanks for the navy, to which profession I have the great honour to belong. I trust that I shall act in accord with your wishes by including in the term "navy" the mercantile marine, because it is not only to it in the past that this nation owes so much of its greatness, but because the profession to which I belong has amongst its members those who belong to the mercantile marine, for many thousands are enrolled in the Naval Reserve, upon whom we, as a naval force, rely so materially in case of active service. Gentlemen, I have had the honour of commanding a very large fleet of merchant ships, having had 300 under my command at one time; and I can confidently say that a more devoted body than their officers never served. (Applause.) I think this must tell us all that in the future history of the country, if ever our statesmen have to speak in a voice which I trust they never will have to, they may rely upon the sailors, not only of Her Majesty's navy, but also of the mercantile marine, to fulfil the behests of the country. I think, gentlemen, this toast commends itself to your favourable consideration for several reasons, and I thank you most cordially for the kind and chivalrous way in which it has been proposed. No British subject who reads the history of our country, no matter in what latitude or longitude he may live, can fail to do so with pride when he reads the record of the deeds of our forefathers, and the enterprises of our sailors will bring a flush of admiration to his cheek. With reference to the future, I know the toast would not have been received as it was unless you gave us your generous confidence. While the past is revealed to us, the future is not; but I trust you will allow us sailors to share with you hopefully and in a feeling of confidence as to the result should the nation require our services. On one thing I am competent to speak. I feel that at no period of history did Her Majesty possess a more devoted navy than now. I think this toast particularly commends itself to a gathering like this, at which, I suppose, there are representatives from every portion of the globe that flies the British flag. I imagine it will occur to most of us that it was through our sailors that our forefathers were, in days gone by, enabled to extend their influence beyond our shores. It was, in the first place, the sailors who in many instances hoisted the flag on those "waste places of the earth" which have recently been visited by our noble Chairman, and one portion that soon will be presided over by the noble lord who sits on his right; and those places will now be found pleasant places to live in. Britons in other seas receive the sailors from the Mother Country with a welcome and hospitality I know well, because I have experienced it. I consider every ship flying Her Majesty's flag is an agent of the Imperial League—(applause)—and, gentlemen, I maintain that our sailors were Imperial "Leaguers" long before the Imperial League existed. We have, as sailors, seen more of our Colonies, and have been more intimately connected with them, than other classes. There is one point to which I desire to draw your attention, as yet not touched upon. As the days go on, the proportion of those born within our great Colonies will far exceed in numbers those who emigrate from the Mother Country; and they will not have all the same old associations to recall, or the same affections for the Old Country, nor the



same desire to come home and see the old place where their fathers lived, as those who went from here. (Hear, hear.) I think this League will enable us to show them that there are national desires and interests to promote, and also to strengthen the bond of brotherhood which binds us together: and I do feel this union by blood and sentiment which exists is strong. Far stronger, too, than any treaty that can be drawn up by statesmen, and stronger than any Act of Parliament that can be passed, is the great material and living chain which I claim to be the navy of England. It is visible in the Colonies at all times, in the persons of the sailors and in the presence of the flag. The reception we receive, and the hospitality extended to us—whether it be in Canada, in the extreme north-west, or in Australasia, in the extreme south-east—makes me proud of this opportunity of returning thanks for the navy. These kindly acts were not extended to me individually, but to all Her Majesty's officers and men, who are proud to acknowledge it, and proud also to belong to such an Empire. (Applause.)

GENERAL SIR CHARLES WARREN rose to respond for the army. He said: Lord Rosebery, my lords and gentlemen,—I can imagine that in returning thanks for the army there might be occasions on which a peace officer might find it difficult to respond. There are two cases in particular which occur to me—one in which it was an army raised for aggressive purposes, a case in which no peace officer could conscientiously respond; and the other, that in which the peace officer himself or his subordinates were engaged in aggressive action, instead of acting for the peace. Happily at the present time there is no occasion for anything of the kind, and therefore I am able to respond. (Hear, hear.) Our army, fortunately for ourselves, is, in the highest sense of the word, engaged as a peace army, for peace purposes, and not for aggression. But, fortunately, the wishes of the country are that it should never be peace at any price; and as the army is employed outside in this capacity, the police are employed inside for peace purposes and for protecting the well-disposed against lawlessness and evil-doers. Now if our commerce and our manufactures are to be continued as they have been in the past, it is absolutely necessary that we should have security in every respect, and on that account I hope the two—that is, the police inside and the army outside (I am not to speak of the navy)—may act together as a guarantee of the peace and security of the country which is so necessary for the welfare of the Empire. Let me say that as far as I understand the objects of the League, it is really doing the work—or should be, when it gets fully on its legs—of the army in itself needful to knit together the Colonies and ourselves in such a manner that we can better develop our resources. (Hear, hear.) Our army, though it is but a little one, has done great service in the past, more particularly in regard to commercial matters and in doing justice to the oppressed. I may say in conclusion that it has in the past done a great deal towards knitting our Colonies together, for have not the officers and soldiers when engaged in the Colonies allied themselves to the fair daughters of our Colonies, and so assisted in bringing us all together? (Laughter and applause.) Thanking you most sincerely for the manner in which you have drunk the toast of the army, let me say that in every capacity which the soldiers of our Empire are called upon to occupy, you may always feel convinced that they will do their duty. (Applause.)

The noble CHAIRMAN: My lords and gentlemen, I want to inform you, before the next toast, that we have as a League had an interesting event in the sense in which that expression is used in the first column of the *Times*—(laughter)—although our infant is a much more articulate infant than the infants so recorded usually are. Port Arthur, in Canada, has to-day started a branch of the League, and has cabled to us since as follows: "Port Arthur formed League to-day; we send you greeting, and wish you God speed." (Applause.) We may congratulate Col. Ray, of Port Arthur, whom we have with us to-night, on this interesting intelligence, and I trust he may be a godfather to the new branch, and bring it to prosperity and maturity in the future. (Laughter and applause.)

The Rev. the MASTER of TRINITY then rose to propose the toast of "Imperial Federation." He said: My lords and gentlemen, you have been pleased to entrust this toast of Imperial Federation to one who, as an academic recluse and a "know-nothing" in politics, can boast none of the claims possessed by the eminent statesmen and gallant officers of the army and navy who, up to the present moment, have addressed you. Yet perhaps I may be permitted, as representing the great university and the great college which I left this morning, to join in the patriotic aspirations expressed a few minutes ago by the noble lord, the Viceroy-designate of Canada, when he said that he had no higher ambition than to be a link between the Mother Country and the Colonies. (Applause.) I too may say, on behalf of the University, that is one of our ambitions; and those of you who know the work of my most distinguished colleague and friend, Professor Seeley—(hear, hear)—on the "Expansion of England," will be able to judge whether it is not one of the privileges of an historic seat of learning to be a link between the Mother Country and the most distant Dependency. That link is sometimes of a charming and chivalrous kind. You heard, a few moments ago, from the gallant general who has just sat down, that it is one of the delights of those who have formed their matrimonial alliances abroad to bring their wives to England. (Hear, hear.) At an earlier period of this evening, my distinguished neighbour, Sir Charles Mills, informed me spontaneously that he had been struck by this remarkable human phenomenon—(laughter)—that one English settler after another, who had married in the Colonies, as soon as he returned to England, gave his colonial wife the greatest treat in his power by taking her to visit his beloved University. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, if personally I have the

slightest right to address you on this occasion, it is because I had the high privilege, a few months ago, to receive at Trinity College a large number of the delegates of the Colonies when they paid their memorable and, as we believe, eventful visit to the Mother Country. As I watched them, gazing in unaffected delight upon the statues of men like Newton, Bacon, Byron, Tennyson, Macaulay, and others—(hear, hear)—it was impossible not to see that a University enjoys the proud distinction of linking together the hearts of men in every quarter of the globe. Before I quit the banks of the Cam, let me be allowed to boast of one link which we have forged even within the last few months. Since I have had the honour of holding my present post, we have had but one election of Fellows of Trinity. There were but two Fellows to elect; and one of the two was the Senior Wrangler who had been sent to us from Australia. (Applause.) My lords and gentlemen, what the gallant admiral said just now lies deep, I think, at the foundation of this Imperial Federation League. Our League reposes upon a great patriotic sentiment. At present—I speak in the presence of statesmen, and would speak very modestly—at present the time has not arrived when we can go far beyond that sentiment, and endeavour to frame formal institutions that shall bind together the Colonies with the Mother Country. (Hear.) For the present we must continue to practise a "masterly inactivity," allowing the sentiment to grow, and remembering that it is not of very long date—(hear, hear); allowing, I say, the sentiment to grow, and leaving it to time to shape the constitutional forms into which it shall hereafter be developed. I say, gentlemen, the time is not very far remote when this sentiment of which we are so proud, and which animates our own breasts, was far from being shared by every patriotic Englishman. I can remember the times, and many here must remember them, when it was the custom—it fills us with shame to look back upon it—to speak in disparaging tones of the Colonies, of their experiments in constitutional government, and even of their politicians. Nay, I can remember that in ecclesiastical circles, when a man was made a bishop, it was sometimes said he is "only a Colonial." Such language is not now heard. Men like the Selwyns, Alfred Barry, Moorhouse, Patteson, and others—Patteson, as noble a man as ever went forth from England—(applause)—such men have taught us how gallantly and thoroughly the servants of the Church of England can do the work both of the Church and the country beyond the ocean. (Applause.) I believe, my lords and gentlemen, that one of the great services of this League is this, to keep alive the sentiment which now prevails, and to make it impossible that any lower sentiment can ever be held. It is a sentiment which, like all other lofty sentiments of the heart, the cynic if he likes can sneer at, the humourist can smile at, but the patriot will be proud to share it, and the statesman, if he is wise, will turn it to account. (Hear, hear.) One of the thoughts that I always delight to link with the work of this League is this, that whatever may be the designs of Providence with regard to the connection between the Government of England and the Colonists—whether the final issue will be, as we all hope, continued union, or whether it may be better for the happiness of our Colonies that one fair daughter after another, as she grows to maturity, shall forget her own people and her father's house—yet, gentlemen, the sentiments which we are endeavouring to encourage and perpetuate will in either case be for the common good. (Applause.) If we are to continue the union, then the sentiments of friendship which we represent are the best guarantee of that union; and if there is to be separation, it will be a separation of which both parties may be proud, not a separation which has for its precursor a Saratoga or a York Town, or some miserable squabble between the Colonial Office and the Colonists. One word more, gentlemen. This union of which we are so proud depends not only on sentiment or on policy, but also upon character. (Hear, hear.) If I were a colonist, if I could imagine myself some colonial settler sending his son back to England, I can fancy myself urging him so to act as not to be unworthy of the traditions of the Mother Country. But speaking here as a representative, however feeble, of the Mother Country, I venture to say we must so comport ourselves as to be worthy of the reverence of the Colonies. It is the greatness of England, it is the historic greatness of the past, it is the great deeds that our nation has done, it is the vast space which she occupies in the imagination of the world, it is the belief that we are still a great ruling Power, knowing our own minds and ready to carry our resolves into action—it is this which won for us, and can alone preserve, the respect of the Colonies. I remember, gentlemen—it is the presence of the noble lord, the Viceroy-designate of Canada, which has brought it back to my mind to-night—one great day which many of you remember too, the day of the funeral of the Duke of Wellington. It was my good fortune on the evening of that day to be in the gallery of the House of Lords, and to hear his most eloquent father describe the impression produced on him as the long procession passed through the streets, and a reverent people looked on as their greatest man was carried to his tomb. The words in which he concluded his speech still linger, even in their very tones, in my memory. He said: "In order to be peaceful England must be powerful; but she will only use her power to preserve the blessings of continued peace." My lords and gentlemen, I apply those eloquent words, which come back to me across the years, to the relation between the Mother Country and the Colonies. (Hear, hear.) In order to be loved and revered by her Colonies, England must be powerful; but she will use that power not to tyrannise foolishly over her Colonies, but to leave to them the blessings of virtual independence, assuring by that independence, and the loyalty which it engenders, the peace of the world. (Loud applause.)

MR. H. LAWSON, M.P.: My Lords and Gentlemen,—One of our kinsmen in the great pattern Federation across the Atlantic has said that Daniel was a fortunate man when he was cast into the den of lions, in this at least, that he was not called upon to make an after-dinner speech. (Laughter.) But a speech depends a good deal on its subject, and if there be one subject less suited than another to the after-dinner



style it is the glorification of a great national and progressive ideal. (Hear, hear.) The truth is, I do not think great ideas and great feasts go well together; either the great feast obliterates the great idea, or the great idea depresses the great feast; and what I have to guard against is undue verbosity, lest I diminish the healthy effect of this League's hospitality. My lords and gentlemen, if I had to seek a reason why I am asked to respond to the toast which has been proposed by the Master of Trinity with that eloquence which has made his name so famous, I do not think I should have very far to seek. It is because I alone, perhaps, of the gentlemen in this room have a span of years sufficiently short to cover the growth and development of the doctrine of Imperial Federation from the fanciful conceit of literary imagination to an accepted article of belief among all those who think that the future destinies of our nation and our Commonwealth depend on the uniting and knitting together of the manifold parts of our Imperial system. (Hear, hear.) I believe it was in 1861 that Sir John Macdonald—the Prime Minister of the great colony to which Lord Stanley is about to wend his way with our good wishes ringing in his ears (hear, hear)—spoke of the future state of our Empire as “the greatest federation of intelligent and civilised men that has ever had an existence on the face of the globe.” (Hear, hear.) After some years—too many years—but better late than never, his words bore fruit in the formation of this League; they are bearing fruit every day, in every move and tendency in every part of our great ocean commonwealth. There are some who think, I know, that partial federation is a bar and a hindrance in the way of the greater work. To my mind it seems that in every federative step you are driving in a pile on which you will be able to build, upon firm foundation, the bridge to unite our local and Imperial politics. (Hear, hear.) Those who take my view must be glad to see that the Dominion is shortly to be made—and I think I may say it in the presence of my Canadian friend on my right—symmetrical and complete, by the entrance of that one Colony of Newfoundland which has so long stood on one side. The same is true—and I think I may speak with equal confidence—of the great continent, the whole and the parts, of Australasia. (Hear.) But we have not only to consider isolated instances, however important in themselves. Those of you who attended your meeting this afternoon will have seen that a great part of your annual report is filled with a synopsis of one great general fact, so precious from our standpoint, that, though we know its appreciation has been wide, we do not think its results have yet been sufficiently realised or rightly understood. I mean the assembling, the sittings, and the deliberations of the Colonial Conference. I see that Lord Knutsford, in opening the Conference, said that “it was the fittest memorial of the past year.” But that is a somewhat narrow and partial aspect. It was much more than that, it was the death-birth of a new order of things, under which our brethren in Greater Britain will feel as indeed they do, that they are no longer treated as a weight and burden on the shoulders of the Mother Country, to be handed over to the tender mercies of red-tape and circinlocution, but are in the future to be treated as bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh—members of one body politic with us, whose willing aid and support are matters of supreme consideration to the realm in which they have their due place and due portion. Sir Samuel Griffith was right in summing up the results, when he said the Conference had a greater importance in its bearing on the future than even for the work which it had accomplished. (Hear, hear.) I am glad to think this recognition of things is not confined to one party or class; it is general. The separatist school is a sort of wonder of a past age; or if not dead, yet liveth in the persons of two distinguished men—one in Canada and one here—who cannot be said to exercise great influence on English or Colonial life. And I think there must be one gentleman who has been mentioned this evening to whom that must give unqualified satisfaction. Professor Seeley's name has been honoured as it should be in this room. You will recollect he said that we conquered and peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind. (Laughter.) At any rate, that was not a mental state in which we could have held it. (Hear, hear.) But the condition is clean gone for ever; the public mind is continually busy with the consideration of the Imperial question. I do not mean to say that people generally are able to grasp Mr. Giffen's figures of Imperial trade, for example; but they see plainly where our trade is increasing, and where it is falling away; they know where, to quote his own words, we have “an overwhelming preponderance” of the commerce and exchange. Well, I fancy that, with one mind and heart, the whole of our people—and there are many political parties gathered to-night—know that this country is anxious for the forging of the sympathetic chain of common religion, common history, and common interest—a three-fold cord which will not be quickly broken—into something yet stronger and more permanent. We and they do not bring forward any cut-and-dried plan. That is because we have some of the wisdom of the serpent as well as the affection of the dove. (Laughter.) We are not going to fall into the pit our enemies have made by precise or pedantic definition. You will recollect that Mr. Froude said truly, “the federation drafted by politicians would break at the first strain.” We are ready to welcome every opportunity as it comes, and take occasion by the hand; we hope that the opportunity soon to come will be a golden one. The truth is, the lapse of time and the force of circumstances will bring about that consummation for which we wish so devoutly. In any case, there has been this great result achieved, for we have got to more than the beginning of our end. Though there is no formal representation as yet of our Colonial possessions by members of Parliament, we have now what Burke once called “a sympathetic representation” of their interests and aspirations. It is not everything, but it is a gain. (Hear, hear.) I have had great pleasure in responding to this toast in this hall. I recollect that my old

master at Balliol, when speaking after some distinguished statesman who had been addressing the assembly in our College Hall on the merits of the college, said, “Yes, this speech has been an excellent one, but it was always easy to praise Athens to the Athenians.” But it was not so easy to praise Athens to the whole of Greece. (Laughter, and Hear, hear.) Yet you know perfectly well, gentlemen, that outside this room, as well as amongst our own members, what has been said to-night will meet with cordial acceptance. (Hear, hear.) We are seeking amid universal aspirations—it is a great point in our favour, but it casts a great responsibility upon us—to find that liberty in unity, and that unity in diversity, which are the principles and watchwords of our faith and of our cause. (Applause.)

SIR D. COOPER proposed the toast of “The Chairman.” He said: The toast is one in itself which requires very few words; it is that of our noble and most esteemed Chairman, Lord Rosebery. We are all grateful and under the greatest obligation to him, not only for presiding here to-night, but for presiding this afternoon at the Annual Meeting. It is a great strength to this League to have such a leader. With his position and his talents he can do more for us than any two or three, or perhaps a dozen, individuals. He has identified himself from the very beginning with this League, and I trust he will continue to identify himself with us not merely, as the Rev. Master of Trinity said, to preserve a sentiment and do nothing. I mean to say that this League must either continue to push forward, or it had better give up the work to other people. No doubt the backbone of the whole work of the League is sentiment; and we, as members of the Empire, should have proper Christian sentiment; but we should have with that sentiment also the feeling that we belong to a great nation and a great Empire; that we have to govern ourselves in different parts by local government; that we also ought to have that kind of feeling and government amongst us that, when occasion requires it, we may move as one man both in thinking and acting. It is such men as our noble Chairman that are competent to act—men who give up their time and their talents and their abilities, day after day, month after month, year after year, taking the trouble to go and look at different parts of the Empire and see what it really is. Lord Rosebery must have felt ten times what he previously did after he passed through America and through the South Sea Islands and through Australasia, then on to India. He must have felt that we are something, not only as a country, a kingdom, and an empire; but that we are the greatest part of the world, if not in territory, yet in power, civilisation, and in Christianity. And if we lag or fall behind it will be sad. I stand here now with the experience of sixty years, for I went out to Sydney with my parents as a child. I recollect those Colonies in all stages of advancement which have been represented to you to-night. Supposing we had stood still and waited all these years, what should we be now? Nothing. I have seen those Colonies grow up from a population of 38,000—this included the whole of Australasia—and those figures include good, bad, and indifferent men, women, and children; now there is a population of four millions. What was their state when I was a child? It is better to forget it. But what is the state of these Colonies now? There are no better conducted towns in any part of the world than those of our Colonies. Then in regard to communication between this country and Australasia. In former days, if you received a letter then in 100 days you thought it was very quick. I have myself been 116 days on two occasions without putting foot on shore during the voyage. Now I received a letter the other day from Sydney in twenty-nine days. To-day I received a message of three pages of foolscap from Sydney from the Colonial Secretary. It occupied myself and my secretary two hours this afternoon to reply to it. That reply will be there before I awake in the morning. (Hear, hear.) I am now acting temporarily as Agent-General, and sometimes receive three messages a day from Sydney. Do you not call that unity of the Empire? (Applause.) They talk to me from Sydney, and I talk to them again within the day. It is more than you can often do in London if you try. (Hear, hear.) But if we had stood still none of these things would have taken place. The communication to the East is very rapid, as I said just now. Before long you will have the fastest steamers on the ocean going to Canada. There will be a railway to Vancouver and lines down to Australia and China; and then the link round the world, both by telegraph and steamer, will be complete, the latter going as fast as boats can at the present day go. (Applause.) I have seen a limit given to the speed of steamers. It used to be thought impossible to make them go more than 12 knots, now they go day by day from one side of the world to the other at the rate of 18 knots. This, however, gentlemen, is not done by standing still and nursing sentiment. You must as Englishmen, and as Englishmen have always done, keep pushing on; and if you are to have a representative Parliament of the whole Empire—and I agree with the sentiments expressed just now by Mr. Lawson, M.P.—you must not draw straight lines and say, “This must be your constitution.” (Hear, hear.) The constitution must grow, as it has done in Australia. First of all we had an arbitrary government. Next we obtained a mixed council; then we got two houses, and in local affairs governed ourselves. We must not, however, interfere with the Imperial part of the business. It is out of this Imperial part of the business that somehow or another, by and-by, you will find there will be some kind of council that will represent the Empire. When it will be, none of us can say, and it would be foolish to try too soon; but, like Englishmen, we must try one way, then another, till we get into the right system. I am sorry to have kept you so long, but I could talk by the hour on such a subject as this. I ask you, gentlemen, to drink to the health of Lord Rosebery. (Applause.)

The toast having been heartily drunk, LORD ROSEBERY, in returning thanks, referred eulogistically to the speeches of the Master of Trinity and Mr. Lawson.

The banquet then concluded.



Printed and Published for the IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE by CASSELL & COMPANY, Limited, at the Offices, , La Belle Sauvage, London, E.C.

Edward A. Arnold.

This plan is given as it was arranged, but a few of the gentlemen whose names appear were unavoidably absent.



# Imperial Federation.

MAY 1, 1888.

## NOTICE.

The Offices of the Imperial Federation League have been **REMOVED** to

30, Charles Street,  
Berkeley Square,  
London, W.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

As we are going to press we receive the following from a correspondent in Canada. It seems to foreshadow exactly the line that we should have wished our friends in Canada to take, and to show that even the ardent zeal of our Canadian supporters will not be suffered to outrun discretion. Our correspondent writes:—"The motions now before the House, introduced by MR. MCCARTHY and MR. MARSHALL, are attracting a good deal of attention, and the debate will be looked forward to with a great deal of interest. The motions will not, it is expected, be carried to a division this session, but a favourable opinion will be elicited from the Government, accompanied with the request that the motions be withdrawn for the present, so that the matter may be further looked into and ventilated. This will be done, and the matter will again be brought up next session."

MORE than one of our contemporaries comment upon the PRESIDENT'S chess simile at the annual banquet. The *Spectator* points out that whereas the pawns in the English game move themselves, the German pawns are moved by the master hand of the player at Berlin. The *St. James's Gazette* has carried the simile one stage further, and points out that the size of the chess-board is limited, and though when the game began there was much open space to be crossed before the combatants could meet, yet, at a later period of the game, the one side can only advance by conquering and expelling the other. It is the fact that we have already gone near to reaching this stage of the game that gives its transcendent importance to the question of the intelligence by which the movements of the scattered pawns are guided.

NATION of shopkeepers though we be, there seem to be some few Britishers in Canada whom "the marvellous market which God in His goodness has placed at their doors"—the phrase is MR. ERASTUS WIMAN'S, not ours—has no power to charm. The following extract is from a letter lately received at the offices of the League:—

I might say that I am a Canadian by birth, and am one of those who has boundless faith in his country and believes in it, and who also believes that the grandest destiny which can be conceived for that country is for it to become an integral part of the greatest Empire the world has ever known. I know of no prouder name under the sun than that of a British citizen, and I claim that I am entitled to that name and all the privileges attached to it. As at present constituted, we Canadians do not enjoy that title except by courtesy—we do not possess all its privileges. That we should do so is undoubted, and when the Mother Country awakens to this fact, and gives to Britons in the Colonies all the rights and privileges appertaining to that citizenship, she will accomplish the grandest stroke of policy that she will have ever consummated. There is a feeling

abroad in Canada that some change in our present status is in the womb of the near future, and it is needless to point out to you what that change should be. The important point is that those in the Mother Country should fully appreciate this fact, and act on it.

"BRITONS by courtesy"—the phrase strikes us as an admirable one. But the author of it might carry his metaphor further. He might point out that the holder of a courtesy title in this country looks so much like a real peer that he is often mistaken for one; that it is only at the door of the House of Lords, if he attempts to exercise the privilege of his order and take part in the government of his country, that the difference comes in. So with Canada. Her Premier—proud though we may be to call him a fellow-citizen, and proud though he may be of the name of Briton—has not so much direct voice in moulding the Imperial policy of England as the meanest compound householder in the Tower Hamlets. We might push the analogy further, and show that, just as a lord by courtesy is sometimes called to the House of Lords in one of his father's baronies, so a Canadian or an Australian may take part in the government of the Empire in the rare instances in which he is in a position to come and live in England, and that then he must forego his Colonial citizenship entirely. But we forbear. The task is not for us. It is for Canada to claim her share in the great chain of fortresses that girdles the world—in the maintenance of the *pax Britannica* among the dusky myriads of India. Nor are signs wanting that the claim will be made ere long, and that when made it will meet with almost universal acceptance in the Mother Country.

*Vixerunt fortes ante Agamemnona*, and there have been American statesmen before MR. WIMAN who have ventured to concern themselves with the obvious destinies of Canada. We are indebted to the *St. Stephen's Review* for calling our attention to the following utterance of one of them:—"As long ago as February, 1858, SENATOR SEWARD, addressing the Senate, said, 'Hitherto, in common with most of my countrymen, as I suppose, I have thought Canada, or, to speak more accurately, British America, a mere strip lying north of the United States, easily detachable from the parent State, but incapable of sustaining itself, and therefore ultimately, nay, right soon, to be taken on by the Federal Union, without materially changing or affecting its own condition or development. I have dropped that opinion as a national conceit. I see in British North America, stretching, as it does, across the continent, from the shores of Labrador and Newfoundland to the Pacific, and occupying a considerable belt of the temperate zone, traversed equally with the United States by the lakes, and enjoying the magnificent shores of the St. Lawrence, with its thousands of islands in the river and gulf, a region grand enough for the seat of a great empire.'"

OUR readers will not have forgotten MR. WIMAN'S letter to the *Times*, in which he showed a natural pride in the fact that, though resident in the States, he had preserved his Canadian nationality, and pleaded with touching earnestness that Commercial Union with the States should be cemented forthwith, lest its delay should in any degree impair the continuance—nay, the eternity of the political and sentimental union with the Mother Country. We are indebted to the *Empire* for the following selections from an alternative creed, "given in MR. WIMAN'S own words in every instance," which is professed apparently only when MR. WIMAN is on platforms in the United States. All is fair in war, of course, but we confess to thinking that, even in the interests of his much-beloved fatherland, MR. WIMAN is hardly justified in thus imposing upon the guileless



simplicity of the confiding Yankees among whom he has so long been a guest :—

"Canada is the natural market for the manufacturers of the United States."

"Commercial Union means to create a market for the excess of U.S. production which protection has stimulated."

"The extent and character of the tariff would necessarily have to be left to the Congress of the United States, they being the larger representative body, while the total amount realised from its enforcement, and also from the enforcement of similar internal revenue taxes, should be put into one pool, and the sum realised divided by per capita proportion according to population."

"Commercial Union means that which would have been accomplished, so far as trade and commerce is concerned, by the extension of the Declaration of Independence over the whole continent instead of over less than one-half of it."

"Canada under Commercial Union could no longer resist the attractive forces which would prevail towards a political absorption."

"If England should not consent to it, it would be the most momentous pause in the history of Canada, and then, as I said to Chamberlain, 'look out for another Boston tea-party.'"

"I come to you to offer you half a continent. The largest part of the British Empire shall be given to the United States without tax, if you so desire it."

"If England refuses to allow the measure, then *we will say to the British Crown: We have no further use for you in North America.*"

IN a leading article urging that any commemoration of the PRINCE OF WALES'S Silver Wedding should take the form of a present to him, rather than a library or a hospital which "would be a gift to ourselves," the Melbourne *Argus* speaks as follows of the PRINCE, whose "popularity is deep and well-deserved":—"Australians may remember that he has taken a deep and consistent interest in the welfare and progress of the Colonies. As executive president, he contributed much to the success of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, and to the advantages which flowed from it. No one has more keenly desired the establishment of an Imperial Institute, which would be a lasting memorial and testimony of the products and energy of the Colonies. In many ways the influence of his birth and station has been cast on the side of things that make for the unity of the Empire, and for the relief or elevation of the people."

THERE is certainly a lack of imagination at the Admiralty. "An opportunity," writes a contemporary, "has been missed of paying the Australian Colonies a compliment that would have been highly appreciated there." The facts are simple. The *Nelson*, the flagship on the Australian station, is to be relieved. At the same moment two precisely similar ships, the *Orlando* and the *Australia*, are being commissioned. The *Orlando* is ordered to Australia, the *Australia* is to go "on foreign service." Perhaps, now that their attention is called to the matter, "My Lords" will reverse the arrangement. It is not every day that they get a chance of gratifying the Colonies without the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER attempting to put a spoke in their wheel.

WRITING to the *Times* as to the National Rifle Association meetings at Wimbledon—of which, alas! we seem to have seen almost the end—MAJOR FLOOD PAGE says:—"This valuable and important national organisation, embracing as it does the Mother Country and all our Colonies—a true instance of Imperial Federation—has the satisfactory number of fifty-five rifle associations in India and the Colonies all affiliated to it and holding their meetings under its rules. Australia, Canada, China, India, Mauritius, Japan, New Zealand, South Africa, and the West Indies divide these fifty-five associations between them, and so carefully do they follow the rules of their parent that at an annual meeting of the Queensland Association, held near Brisbane, I was appealed to by the secretary to decide as

to the interpretation of one of our National Rifle Association shooting rules." In the same strain writes LORD WANTAGE, who declares: "If the National Rifle Association could claim no other merit than that of being the parent of branch rifle associations throughout the vast extent of HER MAJESTY'S dominions, in India and in the Colonies, all modelled upon our rules, and sending representatives to our annual meetings, it would have done a work of no small importance." It may claim other merits, and great ones, but to our minds at least it can claim none greater.

As mentioned in our Parliamentary news, Mr. O. V. MORGAN has withdrawn his Colonial Marriages Bill in consequence of the House having passed the Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill by a large majority. With the principle of this latter Bill we, in these pages, have no concern. But that the law of England and of her Colonies should be uniform, that that which is legal in Victoria should not be illegal at Westminster, touches us nearly. And from this point of view we are able to express our hearty sympathy with the words in which Mr. MORGAN concluded his speech in support of this latter measure :—

To me it appears that instead of creating difficulties between ourselves and the Colonies, it is our duty, as clearly as it is our interest, to do all in our power to assimilate the laws, and thus remove difficulties between Great Britain and the Colonies. Happily for the whole Empire, the people at home and those who live in the Colonies, and who yet speak of this country as "home," are becoming year by year better acquainted. Ideas are afloat which may lead, sooner than some of us expect, to a scheme of Federation, which would indeed make this the greatest Empire the world has ever seen. In the meantime, I hope we shall do all we can to strengthen the ties of goodwill and affection which now so happily exist between the different sections of the British Empire, and, therefore, I support the Bill of the member for Great Grimsby.

WE are happy to think that the force of the late Imperial Conference is not yet spent. The Home Government seems really to have taken up the defence of the Empire in earnest. A graving dock at Halifax, big enough to receive the *Inflexible*, under construction; tenders for a cable from Halifax to Bermuda advertised for; Fanning, Christmas, and Penrhyn Islands, with their convenient harbours commanding the high road from New Zealand to Vancouver, formally annexed; such are some of the items of news since our last issue. There are some other items, the commencement of the Pacific Cable for one, that we trust we shall have the satisfaction of publishing ere long.

MR. COLMER, Secretary in the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, followed MR. BRIGHT at the Birmingham banquet. The morning papers did not report his speech, so we are indebted to the *Canadian Gazette* for the following extracts, which, considering that MR. BRIGHT "mentioned many matters of a controversial nature, to which as an official he was prevented from replying," will, we think, strike our readers as pretty plain speaking. If union with the States, commercial or uncommercial, were within the range of practical politics, speaking as an official, MR. COLMER could hardly have gone as far as he did. After expressing the warm feelings of friendship cherished in Canada towards the United States, he continued :—

I believe that the two countries will continue to exist side by side in the future as in the past, engaged as brothers in the peaceful development of those great resources which Providence has placed within their reach. (Hear, hear.) The community of feeling between the Colonies generally and the Mother Country received practical exemplification not long ago, when Canadians and Australians were engaged with the British forces in the Sudan campaign, and more recently still in the formation of a local Australasian fleet. I think these facts in themselves are an answer to some portions of Mr. Bright's speech,



and notwithstanding what he said, I believe that there is an ardent desire among all the Colonies to remain under the old flag, and that Colonists never look forward to a day when that condition of things might cease. (Cheers.)

THE fondness of newspaper readers for scenes and personalities is surely scarcely sufficient to justify the action of English editors who pass over in a Reuter's telegram of half-a-dozen lines the great Canadian debate on Commercial Reciprocity in order that they may devote half a column to a full, true, and particular account of a disgraceful *fracas* in the New South Wales Parliament. Have we not a right to claim from those who aspire to guide public opinion a more just sense of the proportion between the infinitely great and the infinitely little? All the same, we are glad to note that the discreditable brawl between MR. MATHESON and MR. McELHONE is condemned in no measured terms by the Australian press. The *Sydney Morning Herald*, in an eminently temperate and dignified article, implores Parliament to protect its own reputation by vigorous action, and not "by misplaced and unwise leniency to encourage rowdism, and bring the House into contempt." "In the Parliaments of the neighbouring Colonies," writes our contemporary, "the proceedings of which are often enough disfigured by intemperance of language, the line seems to be drawn at personal violence. But our members of Parliament are not only intemperate in their language, they are over-ready with their fists. This kind of misconduct on the part of the representatives of the people injures the reputation of the Colony, and must sooner or later affect its credit in the eyes of the world."

WE are grateful to the *St. James's Gazette* for raising once more a point to which we have several times alluded. In its "Occasional Notes" the other day a correspondent wrote as follows. We may safely assume that the EDITOR at least regarded his proposal with benevolent neutrality:—"It is much to be wished that the morning newspapers would distinguish their Colonial and Imperial telegrams from those that are strictly speaking foreign. At present the news from our most distant Colonies, which, owing to considerations of expense, is almost always brief, is frequently overlooked entirely in spite of its importance. This morning, for example, in three lines of small print, mixed up with the prices of cotton 'future deliveries' and 'light hogs,' and where not one reader in a dozen will find it, the *Times* publishes a Reuter's telegram from Sydney, announcing that the evacuation of the New Hebrides by French troops has at length been accomplished. The conclusion of an episode which not so long since roused the keenest interest both in France and England, and which at one period seemed almost likely to lead to actual hostilities, was surely deserving of more prominent record! History, however, will, if we mistake not, perpetuate the memory of the New Hebrides incident, not as one of the many instances of disagreement between France and England, but as the first important occasion on which the policy of the new world of Australia has vitally affected the policy of Europe."

THE HON. JOHN BEVERLEY ROBINSON, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, who is now in London, and was present at the League dinner, has just been elected President of the Toronto Branch of the League, with whose doings and sayings our this month's number is so full. The branch was only formed about two months since, and already numbers 250 members. Perhaps the President will be good enough to tell us the secret of how it is done.

BRANCH SECRETARIES and others who have spare copies of the issue of May, 1886, No. 5, are requested to be kind enough to send them to the SECRETARY.

### LEAGUE MEETING IN TORONTO.

A GREAT meeting of the League was held in Toronto on Saturday, March 24th. The chair was taken by Mr. G. R. R. Cockburn, one of the members for the city, and supporting him on the platform were the Mayor, seven M.P.'s., and numerous other well-known gentlemen, not from Toronto only, but from other parts of the Dominion. Letters expressing regret at their absence, and sympathy with the objects of the League, were read from the Speaker of the Senate, the Minister of Marine, Sir A. T. Galt, and many other statesmen. Last, but not least, Professor Goldwin Smith wrote that "he would have much liked to be there, but was off to the South" next day.

In his opening speech the Chairman pointed out that it was not a political meeting. He trusted the Toronto Branch would follow the example of the League in the dear old Mother Land, and keep clear of party politics, though he regretted that in Canada the lines of politics were drawn so closely that it was difficult to look at the subject entirely apart from those considerations.

Colonel George T. Denison, in rising to move the following resolution, was received with cheers:—

Resolved, That this meeting hail with pleasure the establishment of a branch of the Imperial Federation League in this city, and confidently hopes that through its instrumentality the objects of the League may be advanced, and the ties which bind Canada to the Mother Land strengthened and maintained.

He declared that Commercial Union could only be carried out by absolutely severing the ties that bound the Canadian people to the Mother Land. The United States he considered to be an aggressive and grasping country. The prime object of Imperial Federation was to complete an arrangement with the Mother Country whereby our goods would be admitted free with a discriminating tariff against the importations of all foreign Powers. [Col. Denison must forgive us if we are unable to assent to this proposition.—ED.] (Loud applause.) Such an arrangement he believed would not only benefit the agricultural community, but also the whole population of the Dominion. (Applause.) It would consolidate the Empire and give the Canadian people greater influence amongst the nations of the world. (Applause.) Independence would also be preserved in the management of local affairs, while under Commercial Union it was doubtful if Canadians would have any rights at all. (Cheers.) He did not think, if such a scheme was effected, that it would be more than fifty years before Canada, with her vast resources and constantly increasing population, would have as much interest in the Federated Empire as the Mother Country herself.

Mr. J. M. Clark, in seconding the motion, said that a great crisis had arrived in the history of Canada. The question, "What shall the future of Canada be?" was one of pressing urgency. It was not to be expected that they would for ever remain a Colonial dependency of Great Britain; therefore it was for them to say what her future was to be. There were three courses open: (1) they might become an independent nation; (2) they might connect themselves with the United States; and (3) they might become part and parcel of one grand Imperial Federation. In the first place, it would be well to consider what the prospect would be as an independent nation. Canada, with a population of five million people, alongside a nation of fifty-five million, could only expect to enjoy such rights and privileges as the more powerful nation would concede. Then as to annexation, this was palpably undesirable—(applause)—although there were some who would have them think that it was the only road to prosperity. Imperial Federation appeared to be the correct solution of the question. (Applause.) It must be said that there was a lot of sentiment in this; but, after all, there was a great deal in well-directed sentiment. If Canada is to remain an integral portion of the Empire it will secure for her the right of citizenship in that great Empire of which she is a part—the greatest Empire of the world.

Mr. Alexander McNeill, M.P., on rising to propose the second resolution, was received with long-continued applause.

Resolved: That while having every reason to be satisfied with their position as citizens of the greatest Empire the world has ever known, enjoying in the fullest sense the rights of local self-government, with a large measure of protection from external foes, Canadians, now numbering five millions, with their continental territory, rapidly developing resources, growing and far-reaching commerce, and increasing wealth, have attained a position from which they can contemplate with a high degree of confidence such well-matured plans as may be proposed alike by Imperial and Colonial statesmen for a closer union of the component parts of the Empire, and for an increase in the responsibilities and duties necessarily arising out of a union from which so much may be expected of strength, of prosperity, and of glory.

He expressed his great satisfaction that Toronto had that day wiped away the reproach of having done nothing for the great cause of Imperial Federation. Challenged by a certain Mr. Spratt among the audience—the "small fish," the *Empire* reporter is unkind enough to term him—to say what Imperial Federation was, he replied:—"It is, sir, when you ask me, a cause of peace and progress and civilisation. (Applause.) It



is, sir, the cause of your own Empire and your own race—(renewed applause)—and I will tell you further, to give you heart, that it is not a losing cause. (Great applause.) Even if it were, I should never forsake it; even if it were, I should ask for myself no more glorious destiny than that I might go down for ever with it. But it is a cause that will gloriously succeed; and in the days to come the man will account himself honoured who will be able to say, 'My forefathers in the days that are past were among those who helped to bring about the consolidation of our matchless British Empire.' (Loud and long-continued applause.)

In answer to critics who urged that closer union was impossible, he pointed to the Australasian fleet and the Imperial Conference, and asked what was that but closer union. He would say that the Imperial Federation League advocated no particular form of Imperial unity, but it existed to advocate consultation, intercommunication, consolidation, and concerted action among the different members of the British Empire. (Applause.) And what particular form that Imperial unity might eventually take he, for his part, did not care, so long as it was the best possible, and so long as it safeguarded the existing rights of local governments in the management of local affairs.

In seconding the resolution, Mr. C. W. Weldon, Q.C., M.P., "the maritime province orator," said, that from 1688 up to the present time, a period of two hundred years, England had been engaged in eight great wars. For sixty-eight years England had armed men in the field every summer. Every one of those wars, with one exception, were directly or indirectly concerned with the North American continent and with the English settlement of that portion of the Empire. (Cheers.) It was a constant duel between England and France for the possession of the northern half of the American continent. (Cheers.) England had not meddled in strictly European quarrels. Her war with Russia was in defence of and for the preservation of her Eastern possessions. (Applause.) If those wars were for the Colonies they were the wars of the Colonists, and should be viewed as such. (Cheers.) He regretted that the talents of the consummate master of English, who was unfortunately "off to the South," were so sadly misapplied. Some twenty years ago he himself was an ardent believer in Canadian independence, but he had since altered his mind, and was now an admirer of Imperial Federation. Canada's future was a glorious one, and with federation with the Mother Land they were sure of fair play, which was all they wanted. (Applause.) As an integral part of one of the world's greatest Empires they might be sure of this. This was proven by the fleet of ships which the old Mother Land had sent to protect the interests of her Colonies, by the sound of the bugle from the barracks of the Colony, and by the thousands of other reminders they had of England's interests in her Colonies. Were it not for this, Canada would long since have been swallowed up by her powerful neighbours across the border. (Applause.) Parish politicians might say that it was right and proper for each man and each community to look after their own individual interests altogether devoid of national sentiments and national aspirations; but this was parish politics and not statesmanship. As representing New Brunswick, he was for New Brunswick first, Canada next, and the British Empire ever. (Cheers.) New Brunswick would secure her best interests by being with Canada, and Canada would prosper best in being part of the Imperial Federation. He was a true Canadian every time, but should a question arise between Britain and any other nation he was as true a Britisher. The love the old Mother Land had shown for them could not be forgotten, and were it not for this and the power by which it was backed up, Canada would long since have been swept off the face of the earth by her loving neighbours. (Tremendous applause, renewed again and again, and cries of "Encore!")

Dr. Montague, M.P., of Haldimand fame, proposed the following resolution, and in so doing received quite an ovation:—

Resolved: That a more intimate connection with the Mother Land does not involve or depend upon any commercial relationship differing from that which now exists between the United Kingdom and Canada, but in the opinion of this meeting the adoption of Imperial Federation might well lead to such changes in the fiscal policy prevailing as to give to the Mother Country and her Colonies advantages in their several markets, denied to those who do not belong to the Empire, and that this meeting calls upon the House of Commons of Canada to take steps at an early date to give effect to the principles of this resolution.

He pointed out that those who could afford Canadian farmers the best market for their products were the British people, who consumed hundreds of millions of dollars of agricultural products which they admit from the various countries of the world free and without discrimination in favour of their Colonies. He believed for the future that this great scheme of Imperial Federation would succeed, but he believed further that if it were never to be a success that Canada would remain true to her allegiance to the British Crown. (Loud applause.)

Mr. Hugh McLennan, of Montreal, in seconding the resolution, said that the Canadian Pacific Railway was one of the greatest works ever executed for the consolidation of the

country. That line of railway had given the country a nationality. (Applause.) Before it was built they were Englishmen, and Irishmen, and Scotchmen, but to-day the great majority of the people of the country called themselves Canadians. (Loud applause.) He looked back to the day the National Policy was adopted with pride, not because of the tariff then created, but on account of the inauguration of a system calculated to preserve native industries. (Applause.) Britain should do likewise. He believed that a discriminative tariff in favour of Canada by the Mother Country would turn the tide of emigration from the Republic to the Canadian North-West. (Applause.) It was his earnest wish that the people of Canada would press upon the attention of Parliament the necessity for pushing to a practical issue the scheme for Imperial Federation. (Applause.)

Mr. N. C. Davin, M.P., supported. He said it was not to be presumed that in case a satisfactory federation of the Empire could not be obtained that annexation must follow. Such a thing was impossible; and he implored them by the memories of Raleighs, Blakes, and Drakes, to stand shoulder to shoulder in working out the destiny of Canada by the development of her industries, by inculcating a national sentiment, and by defending and maintaining to the last British connection and Imperial sovereignty. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Dalton McCarthy, M.P., President of the Imperial Federation League, was greeted with a regular ovation on rising to propose the following resolution:—

Resolved: That it is not at this stage of the movement necessary, nor in view of the numerous interests involved expedient, that any precise scheme of carrying into practical working the principles of Imperial Federation should be defined, but this meeting is glad to know that the recent Colonial Conference, at which matters of interest common to the Mother Country and her Colonies were discussed, was the direct outcome of the parent League established in London only four short years ago, and it may well be that out of succeeding conferences of this kind is to be evolved the best and most suitable method of carrying into effect the federative principle which the League has been established to promote.

But the President's speech must not be abridged, so we must reserve it for our next issue. Suffice it to say here, that he declared he had not yet seen reason to regret what he had been told was the political mistake of his life—his advocacy of Imperial Federation.

Mr. Cockshutt seconded the resolution. In doing so, he said he would not detain the audience at any length, seeing that they looked as if they would prefer to sing "God Save the Queen."

The Rev. D. G. Macdonell said that he would put sentiment before dollars any day if a choice in that respect were left to him to make. He would live with his own wife and children in a cottage with a patch of garden and put up with hard times until, by honest work, he was able to raise himself into independence, rather than go over the way for breakfast to the rich man on condition that he should barter his freedom. (Loud and long-continued applause, with waving of handkerchiefs by the ladies.)

And then, finally, it being now midnight, the audience separated, after "God Save the Queen" had been sung with fervour.

### WELCOME THE COMING, SPEED THE PARTING GUEST.

MR. G. DOWNES CARTER, member of the Legislative Assembly, ex-Mayor of Melbourne, and President of the Victorian Branch of the Imperial Federation League, to whose exertions it is largely owing that (in the words of the General Committee's Annual Report) "the League in Victoria has made considerable progress," is on his way to this country. While we regret the reason of his visit, which we understand is that he has been overworking himself, and requires a rest, we cannot but rejoice at the fact. Nor, unless his Melbourne friends strangely overestimate his value, is it likely that he will leave our shores without having done something to promote that sentiment of unity with which formal agreements and understandings are easy, if not superfluous, and without which the most stately edifice of Imperial constitutions can only be a house that is built upon the sand.

Mr. Carter was among the guests at the luncheon, of which we have given a report elsewhere. According to the *Argus*,

The Mayor in cordial terms proposed the health of Mr. Carter, who was about to leave for England, and wished him a pleasant voyage.

The toast was drunk to the accompaniment of "He's a jolly good fellow."

Councillor Carter expressed his high appreciation of the compliment that had been paid to him. His connection with the city had been one of continued gratification. In all the years he had represented the Lonsdale Ward he had never once had to contest an election, and he had always met with goodwill and kindness from his colleagues in the City Council. When they remembered what Collins Street was when



they first came there, when they had to plough their way in high boots through the mud of Collins Street, they must be proud of having taken any part in the construction of that city. He looked forward to a greater future for Melbourne and for the Australian Colonies. He trusted that not only Colonial Federation, but Imperial Federation would come, and that the Empire as a whole would be united in a close, enduring bond. As chairman of the Victorian Branch of the Imperial Federation League, he hoped that when in England he would be able to do some good in that direction. (Cheers.)

The same day there was a special meeting of Mr. Carter's friends for the purpose of bidding him farewell, at which Mr. Zox took the chair, and Sir James Lorimer, the Speaker, and numerous other members of Parliament, were present. After the health of the Queen had been duly honoured, the chairman said—

That they were met together to wish their old and tried friend Mr. Carter health, prosperity, and a speedy and prosperous voyage to the Old Country, and a safe return to the land of his adoption. Mr. Carter must have felt extreme pleasure in seeing himself surrounded by so many public men who desired to testify their appreciation of his course of action in every position he had held, and to wish that his health would be so improved that he would be able to do as much in the future as in the past for the country. Mr. Carter was known in political, municipal, and social life, and deserved the presence of so many prominent persons on that occasion. During Mr. Carter's absence Melbourne would be without one of its most energetic men. He could have left with a public banquet or a public testimonial, but he objected. However, his friends had had his portrait painted, and it was to be hung in the Town Hall, the scene of his labours and many successes, where he had done so much to advance the interests of Melbourne. Mr. Carter said it would take a more stoical person than himself to receive an ovation such as he had received without being moved. Looking around him he saw many old friends, some of whom he had known for more than a quarter of a century, but he felt that their kindness was far greater than he deserved. ("No, no.") As for the flattering terms in which he had been spoken of, he could only say that if it were possible for a member of Parliament to blush he would do so, but when a man had been through several contested elections he lost the capacity for blushing, and that was the reason why he rose unblushingly to acknowledge the toast. It seemed to him that Mr. Zox took a mental telescope and looked through the one end to magnify his virtues, and through the reverse at his faults. He had his faults, but they were between him and his Maker, and as far as his public career was concerned he had never allowed anything to stand between him and his duty. They had all had a share in making Melbourne and Victoria what they were. It was thirty-eight years since he arrived, and found this one of the most God-forsaken places on the earth. The limit of success had not yet been reached. He might be in advance of the time, but he considered that in the next fifty years the constitution of England and the Colonies would be entirely altered. He hoped to return in good health to do what he could for the land of his adoption and the birthplace of his children.

The assemblage then broke up.

### THE COLONIAL OFFICE.

THE *World* recently gave an account of the Colonial Office and of some of the leading officials connected with it, which contains some interesting particulars. In the room of Mr. Meade, the Assistant Under-Secretary, when you enter you notice the inlaid Adam chimney-pieces, which have been transplanted from the old Colonial Office, now dismantled. "The Chippendale chair you sit in dates, in all probability, from the time when Wills, Earl of Hillsborough, and Frederick, Lord North, administered the affairs of the Colonies; the wonderful Chippendale bookcase running along the wall was once used by Lord Melville; and Lord Castlereagh's Downing Street guests doubtless saw the splendid Chippendale sideboard which is at present heavily laden with the plans of hospitals, harbours, and Government houses. An old map of Bermuda hangs next to some amusing caricatures of Prince Bismarck's Colonial Army; the track chart of the world is of course replete with useful information; but Mr. Meade's friends generally prefer to look at the photographs of Colonial magnates on the mantelshelf, the picture of an ideal first subscription-ball at Ballarat, which hangs above it, or the admirable sketches which Mr. Fairfield, the Cruikshank of the Colonial Office, has made of half-a-dozen essentially Colonial subjects." In the room occupied by Mr. Baillie-Hamilton, Lord Knutsford's private secretary, "a *kaross*, or cloak of lynx-skins, a gift from our friend and ally, King Mankoroane, is thrown over a prosaic easy chair; a sheaf of Fijian spears and poisoned arrows, with barbs made out of human bones, rests against the side of the window which faces Pitt's Passage and the "Cockpit" of the Judicial Committee; "Keellie," the most sedate of collies, keeps guard over another Adams mantelpiece laden with shells from the South Sea and notices of Cabinet Councils; while from the top of an oak cupboard, sacred to confidential papers, the staring eyes of a clay goddess, at whose shrine hundreds of innocent victims were sacrificed at Eastern Akim, on the Gold Coast, gaze at the battered and patched silver dish, now cushioned in violet velvet and walnut-wood, which sixty-four years since was used to serve up the brains of ill-fated Sir Charles Macarthy as a dainty dish for the delectation of the barbarous King of Ashantee."

### STOCK-TAKING AND DISSOLUTION OF PARTNERSHIP.

THE Centenary celebrations at Sydney, the meeting of the Federal Council at Hobart, and the recent presentation of the Naval Defence Bill to the different Colonial Parliaments, have all combined to induce Australia to take stock of its position. The result of the stock-taking, in the opinion of the *Sydney Telegraph*, is that the junior partner thinks he could do better for himself if he abandoned the old firm at the first convenient opportunity, and set up in business on his own account. We venture to consider that our metaphor is a strictly appropriate one. The commercial point of view is not only uppermost, but in exclusive possession of our contemporary's mind. Of sentiment, of kindly remembrance of the rock whence he was hewn and the hole of the pit whence he was digged, he shows no trace. Another time, perhaps, we may meet him on his own ground, and point out that the old firm is able to make more advantageous contracts, and to conduct its business at a lower rate of working expenses, than any young beginner, however self-confident. But to-day we must leave the *Telegraph* to speak unanswered, at least by us:—

The end of our first century falls at a time of great importance and significance in the development of Australia. "Our clocks," said Carlyle, "strike to show us when an hour is passed, but what stroke on the horologe of time peals to tell us that we are entering on a new era?" There is no such stroke, we have to gather the indication as we may, and doubtless very often our conclusions are very deceptive. But it will scarcely be held that we are wrong in believing that the end of our first century comes to us at a period of important transition, when new ideas, ideas of nationality and national development, are for the first time in our history manifesting themselves as real though not yet potent factors in the mind of the people of Australia. For proof of their existence and activity we need only point to the papers of our contributors in our present issue. We should vainly search for evidences of sentiments and ideas of this nature at any earlier period. And it cannot be doubted that, as we say elsewhere, while the rise of these feelings is largely due to the great expansion which has lately taken place in our estimates of the capabilities of Australia as the home of countless millions yet to be, so also has it been very much stimulated by the movement which has lately been made to persuade, or force, or inveigle the Colonies into the acceptance of an undefined scheme of Imperial Federation. All that we can learn of this scheme is that it involves for us vast toils and great dangers, to be incurred in spheres not of our choosing, and the reward for which is not to be ours. It is natural—it is, indeed, inevitable—that the practical minds of our younger generation, to whom England is already assuming the aspect of a distant and a foreign country, should ask the question whether we should not act more wisely by refusing to enter into a partnership attended by such dubious promise and such dangerous responsibility, and whether we should not act more prudently by developing our own nationality instead of accepting the position of dependence on another. It is while this question is for the first time beginning to occupy the attention of Australians that we are called upon to celebrate our first Centenary. Our paramount duty is to keep our future clear and free, unhampered, uncompromised, safely separate from the war perils of the Old World.

In reference to the Naval Defence Bill the same paper writes—

We, too, regard it as but a beginning, as the foundation of a new policy, as the committing us to a closer and deeper responsibility in the wars of the Empire. We recognise that we cannot stop at this point, and that a stern necessity will compel us either to advance or to recede. Instead of our being self-balanced communities our political destinies will henceforth depend on the decision of a dozen men on the other side of the world, whose counsels we cannot share, and over whose determinations we have no control. And what we say is that we do not wish to be diverted from the path of peaceful industrial progress we have hitherto pursued, even to become sharers of the Imperial toils and glories so liberally promised us. We have not the slightest objection now to state very plainly what is the course in the interest of which we have opposed and shall continue to oppose the plan of military partnership and Imperial Federation of which Lord Carnarvon is an advocate. Our alternative proposal is merely that we should remain as we are. The present arrangement, with all its imperfections, has suited us for 100 years. We do not see why we should be called upon to alter it now. Having answered all practical ends so long we would willingly continue it some time longer, as long, in fact, as it is possible to do so. But when the time comes to alter it we are profoundly convinced that we shall not be doing right to alter it in the direction of Imperialism and military federation. Any start on that road must be a false one, and must some day be retraced. We want no partnership in a policy of war and Imperial ambition. We desire no entanglement in the national, and racial, and dynastic feuds and embroilments of the Old World. We want no place in a federation under which we may at any time be called upon to fight America about the Canadian fisheries, to make war upon China in the interests of opium merchants, upon the Boers of South Africa, upon Russia in vindication of the right of gentlemanly Turks to cut the throats of their Christian subjects, or about a dispute as to the ownership of the huts of Penjideh. We do not wish to render ourselves liable to have to fight one year under a Tory Government to cut Bulgaria in two, or a year or two later under the same Tory Government to secure its reunion. For us, for our patriotism, for our pride of citizenship, for our highest national aspirations, there is ample scope and verge enough afforded us by the development and building up of the great dominion of Australia. That object is not an Imperial one,



but it is enough for us. It involves no aggression, no international entanglements, no defiance, no military aggrandisement, nothing but the peaceful development of our own resources, and the resolute masterful refusal to permit any interference with the noble territorial heritage of which we have been made the guardians for the benefit of the whole Anglo-Saxon race. And whoever tries to divert us from this great national ideal and the duties it imposes, whatever may be his patriotism, and to whomever his loyalty may be paid, shows disloyalty and unpatriotism to the interests and to the high future of Australia.

And yet, again, in commenting on the speech of Mr. Service, which we reproduce elsewhere, the *Telegraph* writes :—

There is strong reason to believe that there is great divergence of opinion on the all-important subject of federation between the ruling opinion of New South Wales and that which has hitherto obtained expression in Victoria. At the festive gathering at which Mr. Service's speech was delivered, Mr. Carter said :—"He trusted that not only Colonial Federation but Imperial Federation would come, and that the Empire as a whole would be united in a close, enduring bond." This is a perfectly legitimate expression of that spirit of Imperialism which found such enthusiastic utterance in Victoria in the discussions on the Naval Defence Bill. But it is a spirit which has nothing akin to it in the living political feeling of this Colony. To find anything resembling it here we must resort to the broken and discredited relics of the party which so long preached Asiatic "loyalty" as a duty and slavish subserviency to Downing Street as a patriotism. This, however, is a party and a policy of a past era. They have no weight on the political sentiment of New South Wales to-day. The only ground on which the people of this Colony would be induced to commit themselves to a great and real federal union would be as the preliminary to Australian nationality. It certainly would not be that we might complicate ourselves more closely with the "toils and perils of the Empire."

We have quoted our opponent in our desire, not only to do him justice, but also not to underrate the forces that are opposed to us, with a fulness that has left us little room to reproduce the arguments of our friends. As far, however, as numerical majority goes, we have preserved the strictest impartiality. If the *Sydney Telegraph* has rivals who share with it the duty of representing the "living political feeling of New South Wales," and who represent it in the same sense, at least their words have not reached us. Here is what the *Sydney Morning Herald*, undeniably the most important paper in New South Wales, if not in Australasia, writes on the subject :—

Some of those eccentric people who think that Australia would be better off if the ties which bind her to the Mother Land were severed, will say, perhaps, that the unveiling of a statue of the English Sovereign is out of place in our Centennial celebrations, that our demonstration should be essentially an Australian one, and that our connection with an Old World monarchy should be kept out of sight as much as possible, instead of being made a prominent feature in our rejoicings. But we are not yet a separate nation, nor have the Australians as a people any wish at present to "cut the painter." On the contrary, they are satisfied with the connection with the Mother Country, and are content to maintain it. While we have full liberty of action, and are free to govern Australia as we please, we recognise Queen Victoria as the ruler of the vast Empire of which we form part, and nothing could be more fitting than to show our regard for the head of the State at a time when we are beginning a new lease of national life.

Remembering that Sir Henry Parkes is not only Premier of New South Wales, but that he led the opposition to the dispatch of the Soudan contingent, and therefore can hardly be accused of being liable to be swept away by a wave of emotion, our readers will agree with us in thinking that, at least, the views of the *Telegraph* are not shared by the majority of inhabitants of New South Wales. For this was what Sir Henry Parkes said at one of the Centenary celebrations :—

Under the united monarchy of the present day we have greater freedom than we could enjoy under any form of republican government known to the world. The bonds that unite us to the Imperial power are bonds of silk; the bonds that ought to unite us together are made of steel and bone, with the magic strain between them of consanguinity, which can never be removed. While, therefore, we are always loyal to the parent State, and I trust that we always shall be, let us also be loyal to ourselves as true descendants of the British stock, doing our utmost, in season and out of season, to sustain our own Government and the rights of the British Constitution. If we will only in this broad spirit work out our own destinies in connection with the Mother Country, let whatever may happen, we shall be conscious of having kept a proper course, and, depend on it, when the time of danger to the Empire arrives, we shall be in a position to act as a worthy colleague and defender. I make no boast of my attachment to the British Constitution, and, at the same time, I do not seek to shirk my just responsibilities. If we are to be part and parcel of the Empire, we must be prepared to take our fair share of its burden and dangers. It is in that way I wish to maintain our position in the future as thorough Australians, and therefore the most consistent and patriotic of Britons.

We have before us numerous other articles from the *South Australian Register*, a journal of whose ability and temper Adelaide has a right to be proud, and from New Zealand papers that we had marked for quotation. But for the present we must forbear. Next month perhaps we may be able to find room for them. But the efforts that have been made, as the *Sydney Telegraph* would say, "to persuade, or force, or inveigle the Colonies into the acceptance of some undefined scheme of

Imperial Federation," have been so far successful, not in New South Wales alone, but throughout the English-speaking world, that the subject of Imperial Federation is occupying many minds, and inspiring many voices and many pens. Meanwhile our columns have undergone no corresponding expansion. We will conclude in the words, in which the *Argus* says on behalf of the people of Melbourne, much what we should wish to say ourselves; noting only that the party at home disloyal to the Empire is, we trust, yet more microscopic than that which is composed of the *soi-disant* Australian Nationalists of Sydney :—

There are some shadows on every scene. It is not to be altogether overlooked that evidence of a feeling almost unknown in Victoria came to the surface during the Sydney demonstrations. Thus comments appeared in sections of the press, intended to be sarcastic about the Imperial connection, and it must be assumed that there are some appreciative readers of this misguided stuff. One complaint was that most of the guests wore "the decorations or livery of the Empire," though as most of the guests were those public men of Australia who have fought their way to the front, the circumstance merely indicates that the Crown honours those whom the people honour. There does not seem to be much to complain of here. As long as we are Her Majesty's subjects, why should any one object to wear Her Majesty's decorations, whether it be the Victoria Cross of the soldier, the ribbon of the civilian, or the stars and medals of the general officer? We must expect, however, to find a party disloyal to the Empire in Australia, because notoriously such a party exists in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and, it is consolatory to reflect that the numbers of such men are as few as their powers in argument seem to be feeble—for what is so weak as a sneer? The Queen's message appears to have been received with rare enthusiasm.

### THE PRESS ON MR. BRIGHT'S SPEECH.

From the TIMES.

MR. BRIGHT, as is well known, does not approve of Imperial Federation. He likes much better the other "big job" undertaken by "that plucky young nobleman" Lord Rosebery—the reform of the House of Lords; though even here he thinks he could, at the right time, do the work better himself. Very possibly; but as to Imperial Federation, we venture to think that if it is to be argued down it must be by arguments somewhat less ignoble than that which commends itself to Mr. Bright. He thinks a federation of the Empire impossible because the Colonies would never undertake any responsibility for the warlike policy of the Home Government. How, then, did New South Wales, quite unasked, come to send troops to Suakin? If for no other reason—and, as Mr. Bright is arguing from self-interest alone, he may be met on that ground—if for no other reason, because the solidarity of the Empire means that the Colonies will gain as much as they give, or more, in time of war. It never seems to occur to Mr. Bright that it may be a matter of importance to Melbourne or Cape Town to be able to appeal to the fleets of Great Britain for protection in an emergency.

From the STANDARD.

Beyond all question, the movement in favour of closer union with the Colonies has reacted on our relations with America. Even if Imperial Federation be, as Mr. Bright believes, a hopeless dream, the sentiment that underlies it is real enough. That England and the various States which have sprung from her are being rapidly drawn together by a community of interests and race instincts more solid than written Constitutions or alliances is fortunately not a matter of conjecture at all. It is an unmistakable fact, and, in some respects, the most momentous fact in the political phenomena of our time.

From the DAILY NEWS.

It is not for Englishmen to encourage the disruption of the Empire, or to suggest that, in Lord Tennyson's words, "so loyal is so costly." When Mr. Bright calls Federation a dream, he uses precisely the same phraseology as was applied a generation ago to the project of German unity by those who boasted themselves to be eminently practical men. "Wildest dreams," to quote the Laureate once more, "are but the needful preludes of the truth," and it is sad to see that Mr. Bright in his old age finds his vision of the future dim. He would be a bold man who should predict the course of the British Empire. But it requires still greater boldness, if far less sagacity, to confine its progress within imaginary metes and bounds.

From the DAILY TELEGRAPH.

The federation of the Empire Mr. Bright declares to be a dream. What are the arguments by which he strives to establish its utter impracticability? Apparently the chief is that it will be very awkward for our distant Colonies to be bound to us when we are embroiled in war, but he did not explain how it would be worse for them in the future than it is under existing arrangements. Australasia, for example, will not—according to Mr. Bright's view—be willing to risk anything for wars ten thousand miles away, and as to the origin of which it has never been consulted. The assumption of those who advocate Imperial Federation, however, is that the Colonies would be consulted very much more than at present; and the best answer to the plea that they will take no interest in our European entanglements is to be found in the story of the despatch of the Australian contingent to Suakin.

From the ST. JAMES'S GAZETTE.

He has the conviction of the nation on his side when he asserts that dispute between Great Britain and the United States must never be allowed to end in blows. As soon, however, as Mr. Bright passed on to the cognate question of the federation of our Empire, he spoke in a fashion which seems to show that he has neither learned the signs of



the times nor marked the lapse of years. Confederation, says he, is a mere dream; and why? Because of the conflict of tariffs between Colony and Colony on the one hand, and the war policy of Great Britain on the other, by which no Colony will be stupid enough to be bound. But because the old heresy has been uttered afresh by a famous voice there may be some who will doubt the evidence and proof which speak to the contrary. If the future drawing together of the English-speaking race in Europe and America already looms large, is not there yet more likelihood of a closer knitting together of Great Britain and its Colonies? This vast concourse of people of the same blood may stand as one man, one in common loyalty and common endeavour. That is no hopeless picture of the future—whatever Mr. Bright may think.

From the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

Mr. Bright, it is generally thought, has made a serious mistake in denouncing Imperial Federation because of the tendency of England to engage in wars with which Colonists have no concern. Statesmen of equal standing who have not very much confidence in the practical side of the subject applaud and encourage the idea just because it undoubtedly has tended to prevent our Foreign Office from intervention where the Empire at large has no real concern. It is the idea of this unity which makes even Tory statesmen comprehend that the question of New Guinea is closer to our interests than that of Bulgaria.

From the PALL MALL GAZETTE.

Those who believe in the Empire, and are patriotically anxious to maintain and consolidate the union of the ocean-sundered commonwealths now under the British flag, may be excused if they regard Mr. Bright's discourse as pernicious treason. Mr. Bright calmly employs all the fervour of his eloquence to incite half-a-dozen great English-speaking communities, with the heritage of continents in their gift, to repudiate their connection with the British Crown. In other words, cut the painter, dismember the Empire, turn the Colonies adrift, and wreck the fairest chance the world has ever had of establishing a world-wide Federation of Peace.

From the CATHOLIC PRESS.

To those who expected to find in Mr. Bright a Unionist in this nobler and wider sense his recent speech at Birmingham must have been a cruel disappointment. Imperial Federation may be impossible of achievement, but it is a very splendid and ennobling ideal, well worthy of more respectful consideration than the sorry sneers and ill-timed gibes which Mr. Bright bestowed upon it.

We readily admit that many obstacles stand in the way, but it is the duty of statesmen to overcome obstacles. Protectionist tariffs and local jealousies may retard its progress, but we do not despair of seeing it one day carried into effect.

From the GUARDIAN.

Mr. Bright's remarks on Imperial Federation were marked in one point by a strange blindness to plain facts. One of his reasons for disbelieving in the impossibility of the scheme is that the Colonies will never be foolish enough to have part or lot in English foreign policy. Mr. Bright has seemingly forgotten that it is to this very foreign policy that most of the Colonies owe their existence. Had England been of Mr. Bright's way of thinking in the last, and in the first fifteen years of the present century, they would have belonged to France. Were England of Mr. Bright's way of thinking now they would probably be shortly distributed between France and Germany. There may come a time in the history of a Colony when it has nothing to gain from the Mother Country in the way of military security, but as regards the British Colonies that time is not yet.

From the OBSERVER.

When he declares bluntly that Imperial Federation is a dream we are prepared to admit that such a sort of Federation as some promoters of the movement have figured to themselves appears to us as visionary as it does to Mr. Bright. But the contention that the Colonies could not afford to affiliate themselves federally to a State with what Mr. Bright calls our "stupid foreign policy of war" is an argument which strikes at much more than Federation. In case of war the question for a British Colony might be, not whether she should send money and soldiers to the distant war, but whether the war would come to her. A European Power at war with England would not stop to inquire whether a British possession in any part of the world was or was not a constituent of an Imperial Federation. The Government of such a Power would only have to consider whether the possession in question was valuable and unprotected, and upon the most valuable and most defenceless of such possessions the first blow would fall.

From the DERBYSHIRE ADVERTISER.

Mr. Bright is not always happy in his public utterances. Why should he dub the notion of Imperial Federation an "idle dream"? Free Trade was at one time a mere "dream," until Mr. Bright arose to interpret it into fact. Mr. Bright dwells a little too much in the past, as is perhaps natural to one who has played a great part in it. Those who look to the future are more and more coming to regard an Imperial Federation between England's sons all over the earth as the only sure protection against the otherwise inevitable decay, which history teaches us is the lot of nations which have reached the proud position England now occupies. If the age of war were really past, as Mr. Bright and all the rest of us would fondly hope, it might be impossible to persuade our great Colonies, like Australia, that they had any interest in the construction of such a Federation. But at a time like the present, when countries like Russia and France are eager for new military exploits, it were an idle dream for England to rest contented in her isolation, fostering the fancy that her power is so firmly fixed that it shall never be moved.

From the OLDHAM EXPRESS.

It is evident that Mr. Bright's opinion upon Imperial Federation are the products of affection rather than reason. He clings to Free Trade doctrines with more tenacity than ever, because the force with

which they have been assailed of late has imperilled them. He can conceive of no possible Federation of the Empire which does not involve his cherished doctrines, and therefore casts about for arguments to discredit it. Mr. Bright distinctly underrates the attachment of the Colonies to the Mother Country. Mr. Bright does indeed advise the cultivation of a friendly feeling with the Colonies, but phraseology like this is especially distasteful to those who are near relations. We cultivate friendly relations with foreign countries, but we must do something more with the children of our own household.

From the MANCHESTER EVENING MAIL.

In any complication that might arise between England and a European Power the interest of our Colonies might be affected to a greater extent than Mr. Bright seems inclined to suppose. Our adversary might easily make a diversion by attacking some one or other of our Colonies—a bait which would be eagerly snapped at if England's power began to show signs of decay. We fancy that the Colonies themselves would be inclined to take a somewhat broader view of their relationship to the Mother Country than is taken by Mr. Bright. As regards the tariff differences, they certainly constitute a serious stumbling-block in the way of most of the various schemes which have been propounded, and until they are disposed of it is not likely that Imperial Federation will make much headway. But whether it comes or not, we shall always be able to rely on those common sentiments of kinship and friendship which Mr. Bright regards as the strongest link between ourselves and our Colonies.

From the NORTHERN WHIG.

He thinks that an Imperial Federation of our Colonies with the United Kingdom would involve them in our wars. But how do they stand now? If we go to war with any of the Great Powers of Europe and Asia, our Colonies would necessarily be involved in those wars as part of the British Empire. An Imperial Federation does not add to this liability. It renders the liability less dangerous. Our foreign policy may, as Mr. Bright says, be stupid, and it may be foolish in our Colonies, as part of the Imperial Federation, to allow themselves to be involved in wars ten thousand miles away. But we must say, with all respect, that the United Kingdom, even independently of our Colonies, cannot exist without a foreign policy of some kind, and that Colonies, whether part of an Imperial Federation or not, cannot free themselves from the risks of war incurred by the Mother Country without ceasing to be Colonies and becoming independent States. England, as the greatest capitalist in the world, and as the greatest naval Power, has really fostered her Colonies as a genuine mother. She has not been merely to them a callous stepmother.

From the DUNDEE ADVERTISER.

The more extensive the federation the greater the blessing to humanity, for federation implies a consciousness of common interests. The defective perception of common interests with reference to trade is, as Mr. Bright pointed out, the greatest barrier to a British federation; but surely the champion of Free Trade does not think that when colonies of kinsfolk in different parts of the world have each an independent fiscal policy the exercise of their independence is a blessing to humanity?

From the EVENING NEWS.

All the world knows that the mere mention of the word "Imperial" always sends Mr. Bright into a rabid state; but much as he hates the word and all that it expresses, he need not have gone out of his way to insult our Colonial kinsmen in the way he did by assuming that their relations to the Mother Country are governed by the smallest and the meanest motives. He declares that Federation is impossible, because our Colonies will never consent to share the burdens of possible wars upon which we may have to enter, and in which he declares they "cannot have the slightest interest." This is not only insulting to our colonists, but is directly contrary to fact. It is mere owlish blindness to say that Imperial Federation is an idle dream; and it is a perversion of facts to say that it is a dream because our colonists will never consent to share our burdens with us. Mr. Bright has done such splendid service at home that much may be forgiven him, but it is impossible to pass over in silence the unworthy sentiments to which he gave utterance yesterday.

From the EVENING POST.

The most striking advantage which Imperial Federation offers is, of course, mutual armed protection to all members of the Empire, and even a Protectionist Colony might be glad to modify its economical principles in order to acquire a proprietary share in the British fleet in case of war. Further, there is such a thing as patriotism, and it is barely possible that the political offshoots of this metropolis island might not be unwilling to entertain a great conception, like Imperial Federation, in a more generous spirit than that of retail trade. Still, Mr. Bright's speech will make Lord Rosebery and the pundits of the League thoughtful.

From the EUROPEAN MAIL.

It has been well said that no principle can be worth fighting for on which there are not two opinions. If this be true, the advocates of Imperial Federation must be grateful to Mr. John Bright for once more throwing down the gauntlet as the champion of the policy of "cut the painter": for the question of Imperial Federation has had so little healthy opposition to stimulate it, that it has appeared likely to be relegated to the limbo of subjects so dull and rusty as to be hardly worth the trouble of more than an occasional perfunctory polishing up, just to show that they are still in existence. At any rate, "honest John Bright" is always ready for the fray, and it will do the cause of Imperial Federation no harm if he, in putting forth his best efforts, induces its supporters to show, not only the full strength of their case, but the weakness of the case against them.

From the NOTTS EXPRESS.

Mr. Bright's declaration against Imperial Federation, for offensive and defensive purposes, has somewhat disconcerted the disciples of the



new creed. Imperial Federation is as much the dream of Liberals as Conservatives. Some of the most pronounced Liberals have joined the Federation League, and those members of it to whose opinions I have access imagined until this morning that Mr. Bright himself was with them. Mr. Bright's federation is a federation of hearts. There must be no saltpetre in it, no guns, no bayonets. That is eminently like the apostle of peace, who, if he is consistent to anything, it is to his hatred of war and to his love of Free Trade. In the Colonies there is an anti-federation faction, and to this Mr. Bright's speech will have brought consolation.

#### FROM TRUTH.

Very sensible were the remarks of Mr. Bright at this fête respecting Imperial Federation. Beyond the haziest of hazy notions that a closer union between Great Britain and her Colonies is desirable, its advocates have not the slightest practical idea of how it is to be effected. The Colonies, as Mr. Bright said, are not in the least likely to assent to be taxed in order that we may spend the money in meddling and fussing in European quarrels, with which we have nothing to do, and they, if possible, still less. Our connection with our Colonies is, on their part, more of a sentimental than a real one, and if we endeavour to make it closer, it is probable that the attempt will end in disintegration.

### WESTERN AUSTRALIA ONCE MORE.

THE daisy in the fable is spared by the scythe that laid low the haughty self-assertion of the poppy. We, too, in this Journal, may now claim to have shared the daisy's fate. In October last we published an article in reference to the proposed grant of Responsible Government to Western Australia. The enterprise of Baron Reuter failed to flash our words to the Antipodes. But a week or two afterwards—and sometimes, at least, *post hoc* is *propter hoc*—the *Times* took up our parable, and now, sheltered under the ægis of the Thunderer himself, we can smile all unconcerned, while the levin fires of wrath dart from the offices of the *Albany Mail* down up the devoted pile of buildings in Printing House Square.

If, however, to change our metaphor, we might venture to come to the assistance of our big brother, we should, we think, have no difficulty in showing that the *Times* has not erred so very deeply after all. The *Albany Mail* begins by laughing at the notion that Western Australia possesses "over a million square miles of fertile and unoccupied territory," or "millions of acres, fitted for both pasturage and tillage, bordering the numerous rivers, which could absorb the surplus population of all Europe for centuries to come." What the *Times* actually spoke of was "the control over a million square miles," and a few lines lower down it gave the exact figures, so the indignation of the *Mail* has got the better of its powers of grammatical analysis. But let that pass. Say that there were only 120,000 square miles of fertile land—a mere Province the size of Great Britain and Ireland; say that there was only room for some ten or a dozen millions of new immigrants, would this affect one whit the argument that the place was unnecessarily roomy, if provided for the accommodation of only 40,000 guests? The next correction made is the somewhat remarkable assertion that Victoria never was a Crown Colony, because she "was a Province of New South Wales till she got her legislative independence in 1851." According to this train of reasoning, the man who owned the whole sheep can never have been said to own either of the legs of mutton.

But the important point of the *Mail's* argument comes last. It writes: "to say that 'this Colony is one of practically only two to which Englishmen from the Mother Country can go to-day with unquestioned right,' is sheer nonsense. An Englishman can go to any British Colony, wherever it may be situated; the choice lies with him. He comes here with no more right than he goes to New Zealand or Canada." The *Mail* has, perhaps, forgotten that the self-governing Colonies not so long since refused to allow English subjects from Dublin to land on their coasts, and that the Imperial Government yielded on the point, but the question is really far wider than this. Legally, of course, it is competent for the Parliament at Westminster to resume possession of the Crown lands in Victoria or New South Wales, and to apportion them out in quarter sections among immigrants sent out wholesale from England, or for the matter of that negroes from the Gold Coast and Chinamen from Hong Kong. Everybody knows that in practice England is as likely to attempt to partition Normandy or Pomerania. Western Australian Crown lands, on the other hand, are still under the direct

control of the Imperial Parliament. Parliament holds this territory, to use the words we have already employed, in trust for the Empire. At no distant time we may hope that there will be an Imperial authority dealing with the vacant lands of the Empire as an Imperial possession. Till this happy day dawns the Parliament at Westminster must retain the control where it has not handed it over to the various responsible Colonial Governments. The principle that Parliament must bear in mind is admirably laid down by Earl Grey in the following words: "This estate the Crown holds as trustee for the benefit of all its subjects, not merely of the few thousands who may at this moment inhabit a particular Colony, but of the whole British people, whether resident at home or in the Colonies; and it is the duty of the servants of the Crown and of Parliament to take care that the magnificent property thus held in trust for the good of the whole Empire shall be wisely and carefully administered with a view to that object." Whatever charge may be brought against the Home Government, no one can assert that hitherto it has dealt with the trust funds in any petty or selfish spirit. To any attempt to send unfit immigrants into Western Australia, whether from the British Isles or from across the border in South Australia, we should be the first to offer the strongest opposition in our power. But for the present, while Western Australia has the population of an English country town, England must retain in her own hands the right to decide in the interests of the Empire at large. That she will insist on sending felons or paupers is simply inconceivable, but that she will firmly refuse to relinquish the power to send such immigrants as she thinks suitable to such West Australian lands as she chooses to allot to them, we confidently trust. If the *Albany Mail* wishes to play the unpleasant part of the dog-in-the-manger we must of course regret it. We can only console ourselves by thinking that the dog is a very little one, and that after all its bite may not be as formidable as the ferocity of its bark might lead us to imagine.

### THE VOTE IN CANADA ON UNRESTRICTED RECIPROCITY.

[FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.]

OTTAWA, 7th April, 1888.

AT half-past four this morning, Sir Richard Cartwright's motion for "Unrestricted Reciprocity" with the United States was defeated by a majority of 57 in a House of 181 members. The Commons of Canada then sang "God Save the Queen," and adjourned.

It is hard to say why "Her Majesty's loyal Opposition" should have courted this crushing defeat of two to one. They had found it impossible to advocate the Commercial Union project of Messrs. Wiman, Butterworth, and Goldwin Smith, which would have handed the control of the Canadian tariff over to the United States. They then proposed another scheme, which was defined by Mr. Charlton, one of the Opposition leaders, as follows: "I understand by Unrestricted Reciprocity an arrangement that would admit into the United States all the natural productions of Canada, all the manufactured productions of Canada, all the productions of Canada of any nature, character, or name whatever, free of duty; an arrangement which would reciprocally admit into Canada all the productions of the United States of the same character; that we leave the United States free to impose such duties as they choose upon the productions of other countries imported into that country; that we leave Canada free to do the same thing." This is a proposition which no sane American could accept, because under it their foreign goods would of course pass through Canadian ports where the duties are lower. And yet three weeks were spent by the Opposition in attempting to show that this strange proposal should be made to the United States Government. Still more strange does the proposal seem when it is considered that the Opposition, although professing Free Trade principles, were willing to cast in their lot with a nation practising the extremest protectionism.

During the latter part of the debate, something else than Unrestricted Reciprocity was in the air, and present to



the minds of many listeners. Instead of considering this first step to annexation—and that a delusive step so far as regards the acquisition of better markets—many were thinking of better markets in the Motherland; markets in which colonists have a title to some slight preference over the foreigner. This feeling found some expression in the speeches of Messrs. McNeill and Cockburn, and afterwards in the motion of which notice has been given by Mr. McCarthy, which reads as follows: "That it would be in the best interests of the Dominion that such change should be sought for in the trade relations between the United Kingdom and Canada, as would give to Canada advantages in the markets of the Mother Country not allowed to foreign States; Canada being willing, for such privileges, to discriminate in her markets in favour of Great Britain and Ireland, due regard being had to the policy adopted in 1879 for fostering the various interests and industries of the Dominion, and to the financial necessities of the Dominion."

It was not found practicable to introduce this motion in the Reciprocity debate, and some time is likely to elapse before it can be taken up by the House. It is scarcely to be expected that the resolution will then be carried, because the idea expressed in it is entirely new in our politics, and members have not yet had time to study its bearings. We can afford at present to be satisfied with the fact that an influential Canadian statesman has resolved to advocate such a policy.

The form which opposition to it is likely to take has been indicated in the recent debate. One member said: "Does any sane man suppose that England is going to return to the Corn Law system? Does any man suppose that England will impose duties upon any raw material whatever for the benefit of her Colonies? I think it is preposterous to suppose it." Perhaps it is, when put in that way; but at the same time, as was said not long ago in *IMPERIAL FEDERATION*, "there is a widespread and growing desire in Canada, Great Britain, and in other parts of the Empire, for some measure of discrimination in favour of each other, and against foreign nations"—in other words, for Imperial Reciprocity.

As far as Canada is concerned, Mr. McCarthy has every reason to anticipate ultimate success in the movement he has inaugurated. For many years Canada has been looking abroad for better markets, and less restricted commercial intercourse with foreign nations. Even at the present moment, there are on record statutory offers to the United States, France, and Spain, of more favourable terms for the interchange of their products. A similar proposal has been advocated as regards trade with the West Indies, Australasia, and other British possessions. Mr. McCarthy only proposes to offer now that which ought to have been offered first of all to Great Britain, namely, mutual discrimination in favour of each other's trade.

### THE LEAGUE IN CANADA.

THAT the League in Canada is not only alive but a great and growing power in the country will hardly be doubted by those who read the report, which we give elsewhere, of the splendid public meeting at Toronto. But this was not the only meeting held by the League in Toronto that day. In the afternoon the Annual General Meeting of the Imperial Federation League in Canada was held, when the following resolution was moved by Mr. Wm. Hamilton-Merritt (Hon. Sec. Toronto Branch), and seconded by Mr. D. R. Wilkie (Cashier Imperial Bank of Canada), and carried unanimously:—

"That the Imperial Federation League in Canada make it one of the objects of their organisation to advocate a Trade Policy between Great Britain and her Colonies, by means of which a discrimination in the exchange of natural and manufactured products will be made in favour of one another, and against foreign nations; and that our friends in Parliament are hereby called upon to move in support of the policy of this resolution at the earliest possible moment."

Accordingly on March 28th, Mr. Dalton McCarthy, President of the League in Canada, placed on the order paper at Ottawa the following important notice of motion:—

"That it would be in the best interests of the Dominion that such changes should be sought for in the trade relations

between the United Kingdom and Canada as would give to Canada advantages in the markets of the Mother Country not allowed to foreign States, Canada being willing for such privileges to discriminate in her markets in favour of Great Britain and Ireland, due regard being had to the policy adopted in 1879 for the purpose of fostering the various interests and industries of the Dominion, and to the financial necessities of the Dominion."

Mr. Marshall, M.P. for East Middlesex, has also given notice, independently, of the following resolution:—

"That the establishment of mutually favourable trade relations between Great Britain and her Colonies would benefit the agricultural, mining, lumbering, and other interests of the latter, and would strengthen the Empire by building up its dependencies; and that the Governments should invite the other Colonial Governments to join in approaching the Imperial Government with a view to obtaining such an agreement."

Our correspondent at Ottawa, who is in a position to speak with authority, tells us that some time is likely to elapse before this question can be taken up by the House, and that even then it is scarcely to be expected that the resolution will be carried. The idea, we are told, is entirely new in Canadian politics, and members have not yet had time to study the question in all its bearings.

But if this is true of Canada, whose statutory offers of exceptional treatment to France, Spain, and the United States are already on record, which, moreover, is at the present moment endeavouring to secure commercial reciprocity with our West Indian Colonies—it is certainly true, and with tenfold force, of Great Britain. The proposal to introduce differential duties into Great Britain will be resisted to the uttermost, not only by the arguments of convinced Free Traders, but by the dogged and unreasoning opposition of the great mass of the people, who have been brought up to believe that our prosperity depends mainly upon the policy of admitting food and raw materials absolutely free from duty. Another consideration, too, must be borne in mind. Its trade with England is not far from half of Canada's total foreign trade. No fair-minded Canadian will, we think, argue that because Canada is ready to make a small alteration in practice for the sake of improving its position in its most important market, therefore Great Britain is bound at once to follow suit with a revolution in principle which could only favour a comparatively unimportant branch of its traffic.

Glad, therefore, as we are to learn that an influential Canadian statesman has resolved to advocate in so marked a manner a policy of *rapprochement* towards England, we confess that we are not sorry that the resolution is not to be passed out of hand. For our own part, we could wish that Canada to start with would operate along a line of less resistance. Confidence, in Lord Chatham's famous phrase, is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom; and this old Mother Country of ours has as yet only half realised that she will be safe in turning her back on Europe, and relying on the boundless resources and boundless energies and boundless affection of her daughters throughout the world. Why should Canada begin with us among whom there are very many to whom Free Trade is a dogma, and reciprocity and differential duties are *anathema maranatha*, when elsewhere there are English trading communities who would ask nothing better than to add a few more clauses to the long list of their existing customs duties and exemptions? If we might give a piece of advice to our Canadian friends, it would be this. They are negotiating for trade privileges with the West Indian Colonies. That is well. Let them go further and make sure that provision is made in the treaty that any other portion of the Empire may come in afterwards on the same terms. Once again, direct trade between America and Australia will be advancing ere long by leaps and bounds. Let the Canadians endeavour, by mutual concession and mutual encouragement, to secure that this trade comes not to San Francisco but to Vancouver, always remembering in any tariff wall they may erect to leave a gap through which may enter anyone who can utter the password of "Fellow Citizen." And then, perhaps, by that time England may be ready to admit, what mothers always have a difficulty in admitting, that her children are grown up, and as competent as their parents to settle what is best to be done in the interests of the family.



## NOTICES.

THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

The annual payment of Five Shillings ensures inscription upon the Register of the LEAGUE, and the receipt of the JOURNAL of the LEAGUE monthly, post free.

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The annual subscription to the JOURNAL may begin with any number, to cover twelve months from that date. It will be sent post free the world over for the subscription of Four Shillings, payable in advance.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be obtainable through any bookseller. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining it, the SECRETARY of the LEAGUE should be communicated with, when the matter will be at once attended to.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire should become members of the LEAGUE, and promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves and introducing it to their friends.

The JOURNAL can now be sent at the 2 oz. rate.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London, W.

## Imperial Federation.

MAY 1, 1888.

### AN EVENTFUL MONTH.

OUR function in this journal is, as we understand it, twofold. It is, in the first place, to gather in and place on record every event that occurs, every word that is spoken, and every line that is written within the bounds of the Empire that makes either for or against the cause of Imperial Federation: so that not only those of us who are in England, at the heart of the system, but also our members throughout the world, may know in each quarter of Greater Britain how the rest is faring. And then, further, we have to assert and maintain the principles on which the League is based; to show how they should affect our attitude towards the different events that from time to time arise; and also to defend those principles, not only against the attacks of open foes, but against the more insidious assaults of those who would sometimes sacrifice a principle for a detail, and risk wrecking an Empire, if only they may found some ingeniously-constructed constitutional edifice upon a corner of the ruins. Latterly, it has seemed as if the latter of these functions must largely give place to the former. From all quarters there press in upon us facts to be recorded; words of encouragement to be thankfully noted; now and again unfriendly criticism to be set down, too, that for the future at least we may take heed that similar strictures shall be undeserved.

This month there is no portion of the nation that is happy enough to have no history. In Australia, Federation, whether Imperial or Colonial, is in the air, and it is impossible to take up an Australian newspaper that is not full of both the one and the other. The *Sydney Daily Telegraph* plaintively declares that it is the Imperial Federation "people" who are to blame for the fact that Australians are growing tired of parochial politics, and that "ideas of nationality and national development" are persistently intruding themselves. It may be that the *Telegraph* does us too much honour, but the fact is certain nevertheless. The greater Colonies, at least, are pondering the question, What will be their position a century hence? Western Australia is asking eagerly who is to have the control of its vast territories? New Zealand has begun again to discuss schemes of immigration, and Tasmania has suddenly awaked and founded a branch of the League, of which almost every leading man in the island is, we are told, a member. But if we have been the aggressors in Australia, in Canada it is we that have been sinned against. Had

not Mr. Wiman and his allies so cynically invited the Canadians to fall down and worship the Almighty Dollar, we should not probably have had to chronicle such a splendid triumph as the League meeting at Toronto. Had not Mr. Goldwin Smith insisted that Commercial Union was necessary for the salvation of Canada, the Dominion Parliament might never have been asked to consider the question of a commercial treaty with England.

Here at home it is hard to decide whether it is to the fierce onslaught of the elder, or to the sympathetic encouragements of the younger, member for Birmingham—whether to the modest suggestions of our President's programme, or to the unsparing exposure of tariff anomalies made by Sir Rawson Rawson, that we owe the importance that is thrust upon us. But we can truly say that if we had attempted to reproduce one tenth part of the newspaper comments that have reached us, we might have laid down the pen and relied on the editorial scissors to fill our columns for the next twelvemonth. And though in our issue this month we have said little of Africa, it is not that Africa has no story to tell. On the contrary, since we last wrote, the text of the resolutions come to at the Cape Town Conference has reached this country. And the attention of the public at home has been largely directed to African affairs. The *Times*, in a remarkable article entitled "Africa after the Scramble," has emphasised the fact that out of 11,000,000 square miles only 4,500,000 now remain outside the sphere of influence of some European power, and of these nearly half are in the great Desert of the Sahara. The Colonial Institute has probably never called a more crowded meeting than assembled three weeks back to listen to the paper which Sir Donald Currie read on his recent experiences at the Cape. And we understand that shortly the same subject is again to be discussed in a meeting at the London Chamber of Commerce. But as long as there is a prospect, not only of sudden political changes, but of the rapid commercial and economical development that we see taking place at the present moment, there is no fear that South Africa will suffer from public neglect. So we may defer what we have to say on this subject to a more convenient season.

### MR. BRIGHT.

THE Federation "people"—for we can have no hesitation in using a phrase stamped with the *imprimatur* of so great a master of style—owe a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Bright. It is not alone for the noble orations with which he has endowed our literature, nor yet for his life-long devotion to that country which, in the words of the most eloquent peroration of one of his most eloquent speeches, "he has loved so well," that we have to thank him, but for the support and encouragement that he has given to the movement in favour of Imperial Federation. We speak in all seriousness. Every one remembers how, when Pitt was believed to have been ungenerously treated by the Court, in Horace Walpole's picturesque phrase, "it rained gold boxes." We can truly say, that since Mr. Bright's speech it has rained sympathetic leading articles in the offices of the League. Elsewhere we give our readers a sample of their contents, though it is impossible to do more than make the briefest extracts from the mass that we have received. Beyond expressing our thanks, we must not stay to allude to them here. We must just note an odd mistake of the London correspondent of the *Notts Express*, who declares that members of the League had hitherto been under the impression that Mr. Bright sympathised with them. On the contrary, we have more than once spoken of Mr. Bright as one of the very few serious statesmen who was actively opposed to us. We must say, too, that if our readers think that the amount of space allotted to *Truth* is somewhat out of proportion with its claim to be considered a serious journal, the blame must rest, not on us, but on the fact that *Truth* is the solitary supporter of Mr. Bright, whom we have been able, after most diligent search, to discover, and that, therefore, common honesty compelled to make the most of it.

But enough of this. Let us turn from opinions and sentiments to facts. Imperial Federation is a "dream and an absurdity." And for this assertion Mr. Bright, who "always reads what people say about the subject," has been



able to find neither more nor less than two reasons. The first is, that the different tariffs of the different Colonies, and especially the Free Trade policy of New South Wales, as compared with the protective policy of Victoria, make Federation impossible. We might point out that elsewhere in his speech Mr. Bright expressed a confident expectation, we might almost say a confident hope, that the enormous tariff of the United States would not be a bar to union with the much more moderately protected Dominion. Or we might ask, if Mr. Bright has so entirely lost his faith in Free Trade as to be ready to admit that the abolition of protective duties is nowadays impossible? But we will rather meet him on the ground of history. Had France, we would ask no national unity before the Revolution, because the boundaries between the different Provinces were marked by custom-houses? Is India not one political whole at the present moment, though the Salt Tax varies from Presidency to Presidency, and though there may be a transit duty on Malwa opium? Or, again, what of the tariff walls that fell when Canada and New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and the rest were united into one Dominion? Or of that other tariff wall in South Africa that as we write seems already tottering to its fall? Were there no customs duties in Germany till the *Zollverein* discovered this expedient for raising revenue? Nay, more, Canada increased its customs duties scarcely a twelvemonth since, and some of those duties at least have tended to exclude the manufacturers of the Mother Country. Will even Mr. Bright deny that the sentiment of unity between England and Canada has grown and quickened in the interval?

The other reason which makes Federation impossible is the existence of our foreign policy. "Will the Colonists be willing," asks Mr. Bright, "to undertake the responsibility of entering into wars, the seat of which is 10,000 miles away, in which they cannot have the slightest interest, when they may not have been in the least consulted as to the cause of the quarrel which this country was rushing into?" To this question, so put, most of us would probably have replied in the negative a short time back. But in the face of the manner in which our Australian brethren sprang to arms to avenge the great Englishman who lies

"Somewhere dead in the far waste Soudan,"

that answer is henceforth impossible. The dullest amongst us has been forced to recognise that the brotherhood of the English nation all over the world is a great fact, and that a man who finds his brother lying on his back in a street brawl is likely to intervene on his side somewhat hastily, without knowing or greatly caring who struck the first blow, or whether the quarrel might not have been avoided altogether, if the matter had been referred to the arbitration of the vicar of the parish. But of course we should refuse to answer the question in this form at all. We should point out to our questioner, in the first place, that 10,000 miles away is merely an appeal to popular ignorance. What matters it whether the seat of war be 10 or 10,000 miles away, if the effect on us be the same? Unless the astronomers are much mistaken, the sun is a good deal more than 10,000 miles away, and yet even Mr. Bright will not assert that a solar disturbance would be a matter of no importance to us. To say that the Colonists cannot have the slightest interest in such a war is to beg the question. Or by parity of reason, would Mr. Bright assert that the permanent occupation of the New Hebrides as a moral lazaret-house by France is a matter in which Great Britain cannot have the slightest interest? But when Mr. Bright goes on to say that the Colonies might not have been in the least consulted before the war was undertaken, we are delighted at length to welcome him on our side. For what says the Constitution of the League adopted as long ago as November, 1884? That "Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights." If Mr. Bright will raise his powerful voice in support of the policy so happily inaugurated in the Australasian Naval Force Bill, by which the whole Empire can unite in the great task of Imperial Defence, need we say how happy we shall be to enrol ourselves under his banner? Mr. Bright pictures to himself the old England as an aggressive

and war-loving Power. He even can describe the men who under Nelson and Wellington saved Europe and European civilisation from the brutal and soulless despotism of Napoleon as our "stupid fathers." His countrymen are not yet, we think, either sorry for or ashamed of Trafalgar and Waterloo. But let that pass. Granted that we here at home are over-ready to go to war. Is not that the very reason why Mr. Bright should desire to see the youthful prudence and self-restraint of the Colonies called in to correct the hot-headed impetuosity of their elders at home? That a federated British Empire should sigh, like Alexander, for more worlds to conquer, is simply inconceivable. If, on the other hand, the 200,000 English volunteers, whose motto is "Defence, not Defiance," were linked into one organisation with the defensive forces of the English Colonies, it is almost equally inconceivable that the maddest and most passionate of military despots would dash himself against so impenetrable an obstacle. And if he did,

"Come the four quarters of the world in arms,  
And we should shock them."

### TOO FAIR A VISION.

At the banquet in his honour at the Devonshire Club on Monday, April 10th, Mr. Chamberlain spoke as follows:—"In the case of the United States of America I hope for anity and peace, and I ask for nothing more. Our course has been marked out for us as separate and independent, but I hope as friendly nations. But is it necessary, is it desirable, that our relations with Canada, with our great Colonies in Australasia and South Africa, should follow the same course, should result in a similar absolute independence? I am willing to submit to the charge of being a sentimentalist when I say to you that I will never willingly admit of any policy that will tend to weaken the ties between the different branches of the Anglo-Saxon race which form the British Empire, the vast dominion of the Queen. (Cheers.) I feel myself a natural pride in the restless energy and dauntless courage which have created this great Empire. I feel a satisfaction in the constant evidence which is given us of the affectionate attachment of our fellow-subjects throughout the world to their old home. (Hear, hear.) It seems to me that it would be unpatriotic to do anything which would discourage this sentiment—that it would be cowardly and unworthy to repudiate the obligations and responsibilities which the situation entails upon us. (Hear, hear.) I would be willing to put it on the lowest possible grounds. Experience teaches us that trade follows the flag, and even in commercial questions sentiment is a powerful influence on the question of profit and loss. A great part of our population is dependent at the present moment upon the interchange of commodities with our Colonial fellow-subjects, and it is the duty of every statesman to do all in his power to maintain and increase this commercial intercourse and to foster the attachment upon which to a large extent it is founded. We have to watch for opportunities to strengthen the ties between our Colonies and ourselves. There is a word which I am almost afraid to mention. I have been assured upon the highest authority that confederation is an empty dream, the fantastic vision of fools and fanatics.

"It cannot be. The vision is too fair  
For creatures doomed to breathe terrestrial air.  
Yet not for that shall sober reason frown  
Upon that promise, nor that hope disown.  
We know that only to high aims are due  
Rich guerdons, and to them alone ensue."

(Cheers.) I am well aware that up to the present time no practical scheme of Federation has been submitted or suggested, but I do not think that such a scheme is impossible. (Hear, hear.) There are two points which have to be prominently borne in mind. There is the question of commercial union and the question of union for defence. I have heard it argued that the Colonies would be very foolish to allow themselves to become mixed up in our Old-World policy, and to concern themselves with wars in which they can have no possible interest or advantage. But I may point to the action of the Colonies not so very long ago in the case of the Egyptian war—(hear, hear)—when they exhibited a sentiment which I think we should all be



ready to appreciate on the occasion of a war in which they certainly had nothing but a sentimental interest. But I will go further. I suppose the Colonists read history; and if they do, they will know that every great war in which this country has been engaged since the great French war at the beginning of the century, and that every dispute which has seriously threatened our peace, has arisen out of the concerns and interests of one or other of the Colonies or of the great dependency of India. (Hear, hear.) And under these circumstances it appears to me that it may be at least as much to the interests of the Colonies as to those of the Mother Country that we should seek and find a concerted system of defence. (Cheers.) The difficulty in the case of commercial union is, no doubt, much greater. It is no use to expect that our Colonies will abandon their custom duties as their chief and principal source of revenue. It is hardly to be hoped that the protected interests fostered by their system will willingly surrender the privileges which they now enjoy. All we can do is to wait until proposals are made to us, to consider those proposals when they come with fairness and impartiality, and to accept them if they do not involve the sacrifice of any important principle or of any interest vital to our population. Meanwhile, my lords and gentlemen, I say that we ought not to do anything to discourage the affection or to repel the patriotic and loyal advances which are made to us by our fellow-subjects and fellow-kinsmen, who are proud of the glorious traditions of our country, who share with us our history, our origin, and our common citizenship in the greatest and freest Empire that the world has ever known." (Loud and continued cheers.)

If anything could add to the feelings of profound satisfaction with which these words will be read by members of the League throughout the world, it would be the remembrance of the position of the speaker and circumstances under which they were spoken. Mr. Chamberlain is the colleague of Mr. Bright in the representation of Birmingham, and we may fairly say that he is more likely to represent the present sentiments of the inhabitants of that great city than a member whose claims to confidence, however great they may be, rest upon the past rather than upon the future. Further, Mr. Chamberlain, when he speaks of the affectionate attachment of our Colonial fellow-countrymen for the Mother Country, speaks with the amplest and most recent information on the subject. We may safely assume that it has been the depth and strength of this feeling in Canada that has roused the late High-Commissioner to express his own feelings in so unmistakable and emphatic a manner. Finally, we would point out that Mr. Chamberlain is not a member of our League. If we may borrow the words in which a Canadian correspondent alludes to the great Toronto meeting, "This shows that we have a vast amount of sympathy behind us outside of our membership; in fact, that the members of the League are only an advance guard skirmishing with the enemy, with a whole army in the rear to be called on when the time comes for a decisive blow." And the strategists tell us that the army which is able to assume and to continue on the offensive must always in the long run be victorious over the defence.

COPY of an Advertisement in the *Ottawa Evening Journal*, March 29th, 1888:—

#### ENVELOPES!!!

##### BRANDS.

*Commercial Union*: Not a good colour, but cheap, very cheap. We present a copy of Mr. Wiman's pamphlet with each thousand, yet the demand is small.

*Imperial Federation*: Bright handsome colour and a good cut, rather expensive, and sold in small choice lots.

*National Policy*: Very high (flap). The people like it, the manufacturers will use no other. We sell in big lots.

J. DURIE & SON.

DR. J. G. BOURINOT, clerk of the Dominion House of Commons, is about to publish a "Short Constitutional History of Canada," as one of the "English Citizen" series.

THE *London Times* receives its Canadian news *via* Philadelphia, which is neither a Canadian nor a United States news centre. It would be as sensible for it to receive great French news *via* Naples.—*Empire*.

### IMPERIAL INDEBTEDNESS.

IN a long and sympathetic article bearing the above title, the *Sydney Mail* reviews a pamphlet, the "Genesis of Imperial Federation," recently published by Mr. Maurice Hervey, headmaster of Illawarra College, Wollongong. According to the *Mail* there is a "growing feeling in favour of some form of Federation. . . . The idea is increasingly fascinating, and there are many who think that the work can be done, and might advantageously be done." We quote at full length the comments on what is perhaps the most interesting and novel point in the pamphlet, the question of the National and Colonial debts.

In case of a federation, what is to be done with the National Debt? The Mother Country and the Colonies have each their own debts, contracted for their own purposes. Mr. Hervey's proposal is to put them all into a common stock and make no minute inquiries. "What!" it will be said, "make the Colonies responsible for the English National Debt?" Mr. Hervey boldly replies—Yes. The debt was incurred by our own ancestors, and for purposes at least thought to be for the interests of the Empire; and it was certainly due to the supremacy then obtained that Canada is now English, and the English possessions in Australia may also not unfairly be ascribed to English naval supremacy. The French fleet was busy in these seas, discovering not purely for the purposes of discovery; and it is on the cards that but for Pitt's resistance to Napoleon the tricolor might have waved over Australia. Mr. Hervey goes into figures also to show that, as England can borrow at three per cent., the Colonial loans could all be borrowed at the same rate if they were thrown into the common stock, and that, taking our debts as they stood three years ago, we should gain in diminished interest as much as we should have to pay by taking our share in the Imperial debt. Indeed, according to his figures we should gain, because we pay £20,000,000 for interest alone without any sinking fund, while England pays less than £29,000,000 a year, inclusive of £10,000,000 for a sinking fund. The united debts could be met by a payment of £45,000,000 a year, including a sinking fund, and the Colonial share would be less than £17,000,000, which is £3,000,000 less than the Colonies now pay for interest alone.

Mr. Hervey has done good service by showing that to throw all the debt of the Empire (as the lawyers call it) into hotch-pot would by no means be the one-sided bargain that it might at the first blush be supposed to be. The debt per head of the population in Great Britain may be roughly said to be £20. In some of our Colonies it is double or treble. Nor is this all. England can borrow for certainly considerably less than three per cent. Mr. Goschen shows that the true rate is not much more than two-and-a-half. The Colonial average is fully one per cent. higher. And one per cent. on £400,000,000 means a sum of not less than £4,000,000 per annum. So that the Colonies have evidently something to gain by unification. It is not merely the improvement of the security that tends to raise the price, or, what is the same thing, to reduce the rate of interest. Every railway shareholder must know that the consolidated debentures of some great company—a North-Western or a Great Western—are worth more than the small unknown debentures of petty local lines. Not that the interest of the smaller systems may not be safe enough, but that there is not a large enough market for buyers always to count on being able to get their fair value at an hour's notice. And so it would be with the twenty millions of Queensland, or nineteen millions of South Australian debt, as compared with the twelve hundred millions of Imperial Consols—a sum which, vast as it sounds, is yet some twenty per cent. less than the public debt of France, and which, in proportion to the vast resources of the British Empire, is but a flea-bite as compared with the terrible weight that is slowly crushing the life out of the citizens of the French Republic.

Still for our own part we confess to thinking that the problem is something more than a matter of simple addition. If the debts are merely to be lumped together, we must also throw into the common stock the assets that stand on the other side of the balance-sheet. Is the Cape, for example, to become part owner of the Victoria or New South Wales Railway system, or Victoria to hold a share in an experimental ostrich farm at Cape Town? Surely it will be necessary to distinguish Imperial from local assets as well as Imperial from local expenditure. Let us take our own country as an instance. Against our seven hundred millions of debt must be set off all the Crown property in lands and buildings throughout the country, with as



one item the hundreds of post-offices and hundreds of thousands of miles of telegraph wires. But we must distinguish between Chatham Dockyard, let us say, which belongs to the Empire, and Chatham Convict Prison, which is maintained for the exclusive benefit of England. Or, again, we may fairly debit the Colonies with the cost of site and buildings for the Colonial Office, the War Office, or the Foreign Office, but can hardly ask them to pay a share of the Local Government Board or the Home Office. Assuming that our strictly English stock-in-trade amounts to fifty millions, and our Imperial stock-in-trade to another fifty, it would only be the balance of six hundred millions that stands in our ledger as unproductive debt. The rest would be earning interest, so to speak, one half for the British, the other half for the Imperial Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The mention of this latter functionary brings us round to a further consideration. You may consolidate your debt to-day, but what of the morrow? Is Victoria to raise a new loan next morning on the guarantee of the Empire, in order to construct new railways for her own individual benefit? Must we not have some central control, such as the Treasury exercises over the local authorities, to whom it advances money, before such a plan can be made feasible in practice? We shall be told once more, doubtless, as we have been told times without number already, that we in this journal can do nothing but criticise, and object, and procrastinate. Discussion and deliberation is all very well; but is it not time for something practical? We can but answer that Rome was not built in a day, and, it is too much to expect the foundations of our great World Empire to be laid in a twelvemonth. We cannot think the time has come yet for a fusion of the different debts of the Empire. It is, however, something gained when we can recognise that such a fusion, when it does come, will be, above and beyond its sentimental attractiveness, for the direct pecuniary advantage both of the Colonies and of the Mother Country.

#### THE EARL OF ROSEBURY ON EMIGRATION.

LORD ROSEBURY, speaking at the Bow and Bromley Reform Club on March 14th, referred to the great questions of Emigration and Colonisation in the following passages, which we extract from the *Times* report:—"Your population is growing at a rate which I do not like to cite, but you know Professor Huxley's estimate. Are we taking measures to deal with that population in an intelligent and far-sighted way? I venture to think that we are taking very few such precautions, if any. And when you come to think what that question of population involves you must see that it is one which will force itself on our attention in a very unmistakable way before long. In the first place, it forces on us the great question of the land of this country, which remains limited, while the population knows no limit to expansion. In the next place, you have the question of emigration. This question is one which to my mind has never yet been dealt with in a large, statesmanlike, and capable manner. (Hear, hear.) It is to that I believe that the prejudice against emigration is largely owing. The people who are asked to emigrate say that if they emigrate the landlords should emigrate too. (Cheers and laughter.) I am not sure that they are so far wrong; and I have a twofold belief in that respect. In the first place, the Colonies would be better founded if the people went out to them complete, landlords and all (cheers), an organisation complete in itself; and in the next place I believe that before very long, if not now, you will have as many landlords emigrating as you can possibly desire. (Cheers and laughter.) But emigration cannot be treated simply from the point of view even of the population of this country. It has to be treated, and will be treated some day, in a much more Imperial sense. It is all very well to talk of keeping the population within our own limits, whether they will hold it or not. Some statesman will rise some day who will advocate emigration on the ground of the claim of this country to its full share of the colonising of the waste places of the world. (Cheers.) We have done that in the past. We have much before us in the future, and if emigration is to cease, as I see by some it is intended that it shall, those places of the world to which our race and our character give us a birthright will be occupied by aliens who may possibly be hostile to ourselves. Therefore it is not only a question of population, but of empire and trade (hear, hear), and though I quite agree that it is a question which has not really been so thoroughly sifted and considered as to make it a practical political question at this moment, there is no reason why we should not consider it with that view."

#### PRIVATE AND UNOFFICIAL.

THE following letter from the Secretary of the League, which appeared in the *Times* of April 4th, once more draws the distinction between the official efforts of the League to secure unity and the irresponsible suggestions of individual members, or even of sympathetic outsiders, as to the precise method in which that unity is to be brought about, and the exact lengths to which it is to be carried in the immediate future:—

To the EDITOR of *The Times*.

SIR,—I beg to thank you on behalf of the Imperial Federation League for the prominence which you have given in the columns of *The Times* to its latest publication, the admirable work of Sir Rawson Rawson upon the tariffs and trade of the British Empire.

Will you allow me at the same time to make a few remarks upon the article in your issue of this day, in which the work appears to be regarded with suspicion as containing some covert attack upon the fiscal system of this country?

I should like, in the first place, to make it clear to your readers that the synopsis is a statement of facts and comparisons, pure and simple, and that no arguments are deduced from these by Sir Rawson Rawson either for or against free trade or protection in any of the countries of the Empire. The forty-four different tariffs are placed side by side, and compared in every way that is likely to throw light upon their operation and afford information to the shipper.

The object of the League in publishing these facts is clearly stated in the book itself—namely, to afford a sound basis for the consideration of the suggestions which are from time to time being made for some form of commercial union in the British Empire. It is obvious that this act of the League will eliminate a large number of these proposals and will greatly facilitate the treatment of the remainder.

The article is possibly correct in stating that "the political union which the League seeks to bring about would be more feasible if a commercial union were in existence," but is not, therefore, justified in referring to commercial union as "the change which the Imperial Federation League postulates as preliminary to the larger scheme." I am not aware that the League has as yet even proposed an Imperial Zollverein, though it has no doubt often been discussed by individual members; but I am absolutely sure that the League has not made it a preliminary to any other step towards unity.

On the contrary, when addressing Lord Salisbury upon the subject of an Imperial Conference, the two matters proposed by the League for consideration were defence and postal communication, and those were the two subjects which that conference was summoned to discuss, though others were introduced later on. The Prime Minister also, when opening the conference, made it clear that federation for other purposes did not involve a Zollverein.

I trust that by affording space for this letter you will allow me to remove from the minds of your readers the serious misapprehension as to the prospects of Imperial Federation which, I venture to think, might arise from the passage which I have quoted.

May I also refer briefly to Mr. Bright's speech at Birmingham on Wednesday last, as reported in *The Times*?

Mr. Bright finds it necessary to go back a hundred years and to establish a hypothetical state of affairs at that time in order to show that the Colonies are not concerned in the foreign policy of the Empire.

Surely it is more profitable to examine the history of the last few years, and to consider how the differences with other Powers have arisen which have shaped that foreign policy.

New Guinea, the New Hebrides, Angra Pequena, and the Fisheries Question are all instances of recent date in which our foreign policy has been directly invoked on behalf of separate Colonies. Egypt and Afghanistan are, of course, instances where it has been used on behalf of the Empire collectively.

These cases alone suffice to show the interest which our fellow-subjects in the Colonies have in the relations of the United Kingdom to other Powers, and Mr. Bright, though he asserts that the people of Melbourne would not care about a danger to the Mother Country in the future, does not show how in such cases as those quoted above the Colonies concerned would have fared without her.

The advocates of Federation may congratulate themselves upon this—that whereas less than four years ago, when this League was founded, Mr. Bright contemptuously dismissed the movement as "childish and absurd," we now not only have his assurance that, though a "dream," he reads everything that is said about it, but we find him devoting half his speech to a statement of his reasons for continuing to believe in its impossibility.

Such a growth of interest in Imperial Federation is a distinct encouragement from Mr. Bright.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

ARTHUR H. LORING,

Secretary of the Imperial Federation League.



## THE PRESS ON THE ANNUAL MEETING.

## THE ST. JAMES'S GAZETTE.

LORD ROSEBERY made a couple of practical and effective speeches yesterday in his capacity of President of the Imperial Federation League. He had some right to rejoice in the very quickened feelings which sprang up in this country as to the need and urgency of Imperial organisation; but he showed both sagacity and common sense in encouraging his audience to resist the temptation to draft Constitutions and follow out doctrinaire schemes. To keep a vigilant eye on imperial defence outside as well as inside these islands; to devise facilities for intercommunication, and to see that our Colonial interests are not overlooked or hurt by the diplomatic action of our Government—these points were very rightly laid down by Lord Rosebery, in his earlier speech, as the proper aims of the Federation. In his after-dinner remarks, Lord Rosebery made a point which is well worthy of reminiscence. Speaking of the growth of the Empire, he said that the British emigrant, unless he goes to the United States, takes as a rule the Empire on his back, as much as any great Viceroy. That is very true, and has been a large factor, though ill-recognised, in our Colonial growth. It is doubly true to-day that our strength beyond the seas lies in the character of our race; and it is a point of view which ought always to govern our future schemes of emigration.

## THE GLOBE.

Those who are of opinion that the fertile idea of Imperial Federation has made no progress, should consider Lord Rosebery's and Lord Stanley's speeches at the meeting and banquet of the League last night. It is what we may call the modesty of the objects proclaimed by that body which is the best security for solid success. They do not ask for a paper constitution. They do not come out with a cut and dried plan to reconstruct the Empire; they take it as it is, and, recognising the fact that the bonds of unity must either grow stronger or weaker, do their best to make them stronger. Nor can it be said that they have not to a great extent succeeded. Whether we call the thing which exists an Imperial Federation or not, the fact is that the various component parts of the Empire are closer together than they were a few years ago. It is the gradual growth of the transformation which affords the best promise of ultimate success. The chiefs of the movement are not doctrinaires; they belong, like those who aid them, to all parties; and if their exertions continue to be based on the principle of doing what the moment demands, and limited to what is practical, the accruing results will be sound and beneficial.

## THE SUSSEX DAILY NEWS.

The line which Lord Rosebery adopted on this very important subject was that, just as the English constitution has in the main developed of itself, without any written laws, so Imperial Federation should be allowed to progress without any undue or fussy interference on the part of the State. This is the right principle on which to work. Any premature attempt to organise an Imperial Parliament would probably only end in disaster, and the mischief effected might be irreparable. There are some people who maintain that a great Empire is a curse both to the people who form it and to the rest of the world. But we are not of this opinion. In the past, it is true, vast Empires have generally been used as instruments for despotism; but the reason for this was that their inherent organism was despotic, and that their great strength was used to develop the principle on which they were founded. This rule does not apply to England. In no country have the true doctrines of liberty deeper root in the soil. The stronger the British Empire becomes the further will these principles spread, and the greater will her strength be to uphold them against all assailants.

## THE NEWCASTLE DAILY JOURNAL, March 22nd.

There is no doubt that Imperial Federation, as the Earl of Rosebery declared in opening the proceedings at the third annual meeting of the League on Wednesday, in a most peculiar and important sense, already exists. No movement has taken place in our times in which so much has been done in so short a time and to such good purpose. Who could have guessed that in three years the Colonies and the Empire would be practically co-operating in postal and telegraphic service, in Imperial and Colonial defence, and on other matters in which they are mutually interested? By simply dealing in a practical way with their mutual requirements, and without any great parade of treaties and paper constitutions, a strong and durable fabric has arisen which tends daily to blend and unite the people of this country with their "kin beyond the sea." The representation of the Colonies in either House, direct or indirect, is now absolutely essential. It is the next practical step, in fact, in Imperial and Colonial Federation.

## THE HUNTINGDON COUNTY NEWS, March 24th.

The annual meeting of the Imperial Federation League was held on Wednesday, and the reports which were presented show that the League has made most encouraging progress. It has been in existence but a short time, but it has quietly and

steadily accomplished a work, the importance of which it is difficult at present to fully realise. The members of the League have not injured their cause by promoting "fads," or drawing up any hard and fast scheme of Federation, but they have done incalculable good in creating a freer intercourse between all parts of the Empire, and in fostering a feeling of true and warm fellowship between the Mother Country and her Colonies.

## THE NEWCASTLE LEADER.

The Federation League was once dreaded as a recklessly go-ahead institution. There is no justification for any such apprehension now. Its mode of procedure is to continue to be eminently circumspect and cautious, worthy of an organisation which seeks and values the confidence of British subjects in every part of the world.

## THE PALL MALL GAZETTE.

There was a remarkable figure in Lord Rosebery's speech to the Imperial Federation League yesterday—one of many felicitous things in a series of singularly felicitous speeches.

## HOME NEWS.

Everyone who has the unity of the British Empire at heart will read with extreme interest the speeches delivered by Lord Rosebery, Lord Brassey, Lord Stanley of Preston, and others, on Wednesday night, at the annual meeting and dinner of the Imperial Federation League. Recent though the birth of this body is, its growth, both in numbers and influence, has been extraordinary. It is a step towards the concrete expression of an abstract principle, and its work so far has been that—as Lord Rosebery and Lord Brassey recognised—chiefly of cultivating a sentiment. Lord Rosebery's remarks on the grandeur of the Imperial idea and on the necessity of tightening Imperial connections, were as brilliant and sound as anything he has ever uttered.

## THE PRESS ON "TARIFFS AND TRADE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE."

THE vast importance of Sir Rawson Rawson's work is amply recognised by most of the influential journals of this country. *The Times* in particular devotes to its consideration not only a review of four columns, but also a leading article. We regret that the leading paper, whilst loud in praise of the industry, knowledge, and public spirit of the author, and the importance and magnitude of his work, looks at the result as proving the utter impossibility of bringing about a commercial union between the different parts of the Empire. We entirely deny that "the result is calculated to fill the aspirants after Federation, at least on a commercial basis, with despair." Despair! far from it. Before this book was published we knew some of the difficulties we shall have to conquer; now we know more of them, and see them clearer. Surely it is a great advance to have made, to have catalogued our obstacles, and thus be able to lay our plans, so as with the more certainty to surmount them each in good time. From our point of view, indeed, it might be argued without paradox that the anomalies with which, as Sir Rawson has shown, the Colonies tariffs bristle, were an advantage. Once they have been pointed out, it is impossible but that an effort will be made to remove at least the most flagrant of them. And every effort in this direction, by promoting intercourse between different parts of the Empire, must be one step towards Imperial unity. We are pleased to see more than one journal refer to future Imperial Conferences as necessary events, certain as a matter of course to be held. We give a few extracts from papers which have noticed the book:—

## FROM THE TIMES.

The aim and object of the Imperial Federation League are explained sufficiently by its name. The political union which the League seeks to establish between the different parts of the Empire would be more feasible if a commercial union, or some approach to it, were in existence. Sir Rawson Rawson has accordingly made it his business to inquire into the degree in which such a union exists, and his report is in a decided negative. The Empire, generally speaking, is a body divided against itself. Almost every section and sub-section of it is fenced about with hostile tariffs, directed against all the rest and against the outside world generally. But can nothing be done to bring order or some approach to order out of the existing chaos? Uniformity is out of the question, but it is quite possible that some of the most flagrant absurdities in our Colonial tariffs may be toned down, and reduced to more moderate proportions. The facts which Sir Rawson Rawson has tabulated, and which it will be the business of the Imperial Federation League to make known throughout the Empire, cannot fail to be instructive, whatever may be the lesson they convey. The majority of those who desire a commercial union have, he says, a very indistinct knowledge of the materials with which they have to deal, and of the obstacles which they have to encounter. A better acquaintance with these will be of use, whatever the results it brings, whether it serves to show how much or how little can be done towards an attainment of the object aimed at.

## FROM THE DAILY NEWS.

Sir Rawson W. Rawson, Chairman of the Sub-Committee of the Imperial Federation League, has just prepared a work on the tariffs



and trade of the Empire which will rank among the statistical achievements of the reign. It is but a little book, but it is solidly packed with numerals from the first page to the last. It is hardly a work for drawing-room reading; Mr. Mudie will know nothing of it; but, to those who are able to read it with profit, it will probably be one of the most fascinating volumes of the day. His object is to show us how far we may, or may not, hope for that commercial union between the Mother Country and the Colonies which is one of the magnificent dreams of the advocates of Federation. Is such a union within the range of practical politics? Sir Rawson Rawson gives no positive answer. He simply does us the immense service of showing the difficulties that stand in the way. The true permanence of our Empire is to be found in the strengthening of these peaceful bonds. The efficiency of the Services is a thoroughly good cry, but, on the whole, the extension of trade is a better one. The two together, of course, are indispensable to a harmony.

From the MORNING POST.

The object of laying this elaborate statement before the public is to remove or reduce the difficulties which exist at present through the prevailing system of taxation, not only in Great Britain, but throughout the Empire, to the formation of a British Commercial Union which shall include the British possessions in all parts of the globe. The various tables have been framed and the figures extracted from the most authentic sources, viz., the statistical abstracts of the United Kingdom and the several Colonial Blue-books. Besides serving the purpose for which it was compiled, the work will be useful as supplying a synopsis of the tariffs and trade of the Empire.

From the BIRMINGHAM DAILY GAZETTE.

It is a book indispensable alike to the enthusiastic advocates of a commercial union between all the British Dominions, and to those who impatiently scout an idea they have failed to grasp for lack of adequate information. To the former, the complications of forty-two different tariffs will give some idea of one phase of the difficulties which compel the League to make haste slowly. To the latter, unless absolutely callous and devoid of imagination, the minute analysis of the course of our Imperial trade, and the magnificent possibilities of development disclosed by columns of undeniable figures, must enforce reasons even more practical than sentimental why the demand for a closer inter-federation ought to be unanimous, and as free from party politics as the Imperial League itself, with Lord Rosebery as Chairman, and Mr. Edward Stanhope, M.P., as Vice-Chairman.

From the GLASGOW HERALD.

The work is designed to throw light on the question of a commercial union between all the members of the British Empire—the many difficulties in the way of which are hardly understood by ardent Federationists. The chief object of this essay is to supply the needful information regarding the obstacles, as a first step towards their removal or reduction. In fact, the book is full of most valuable statistical and other information bearing upon the esoteric relations of the Empire.

From the YORKSHIRE POST.

Sir Rawson Rawson, as Chairman of the Commercial Sub-Committee of the Imperial Federation League, has just completed a self-appointed task of stupendous dimensions, the result of which must be of great general usefulness—namely, an inquiry into the tariffs of all the component parts of the British Empire and the local reasons for their imposition.

From the DAILY CHRONICLE.

Sir Rawson Rawson's Report on the Tariffs of the British Empire, compiled for the Commercial Sub-Committee of the Imperial Federation League, is an admirable piece of statistical workmanship. It is, indeed, surprising that the costly and bustling Statistical Department of the Board of Trade should have shrunk from attacking a task of such vital importance as that which has now been accomplished by voluntary enterprise. The investigation which Sir Rawson Rawson has now completed is, we may say, essential to any rational understanding of the problem of Imperial Federation. How far does the British Empire stand from fiscal union now? Such is the question which Sir Rawson Rawson sets himself to answer. In brief, his reply is that every British Colony in a fiscal sense is at war with every other, and they are all at war with the Mother Country. Now, what are the conclusions which we must draw from these startling researches? Why these? Tariff reform within the Empire must be taken up without delay by the Imperial Federationists. In fact, it is just the sort of work a Colonial Congress such as met last year could advantageously initiate. But no reforms in the direction of abolishing customs duties can be looked for, because import duties afford the cheapest means of raising revenue in young and sparsely-peopled countries. Local conditions and circumstances, too, vary much, and it might therefore not be possible to establish a fixed proportion between import duties and general revenues. But some scale exhibiting less capricious diversity than that which now exists might surely be adopted. Though local interests must determine the selection of dutiable articles and the amount of the duty, a congress might, without injuring the Colonial Treasury, do much to harmonise each Colonial tariff with the general convenience of men of business all over the Empire. Purely fortuitous, gratuitous, and capricious diversities or inequalities in the tariff, not justifiable either on the ground of local or Imperial interests, might also be swept away. More than this, however, cannot be hoped for by the Federation League at present.

But the notice which is most flattering, as coming from the quarter best qualified to judge, may be found in the *Bulletin de l'Institut International de Statistique*, a society composed of one hundred of the leading financial authorities of the world. In an eight-page review, which gives a careful and sympathetic

account of the origin and progress of the Imperial Federation League, the *Bulletin* writes:—

"This is the first step towards lifting the veil which spread obscurity and perplexity over the international commercial relations of the world. It cannot fail also to throw light upon the inequalities and inconsistencies, not to say the extravagancies and absurdities, which are manifest in most of the national tariffs, and sadly disfigure them. . . . The synopsis of Sir Rawson Rawson cannot fail to be useful to the Brussels Conference, and to interest all who are concerned in the imposition and adjustment of national tariffs, or in the study of their operations and results. . . . The tables appended will be useful for reference in connection with many questions engaging the attention of economists and politicians in all parts of the world."

### FORMATION OF A BRANCH OF THE LEAGUE IN TASMANIA.

ON Friday, March 9th, a meeting was held in the Town Hall of Hobart, and a resolution in favour of forming a branch of the Imperial Federation League was unanimously carried. According to the *Launceston Examiner*, the movement that has been set on foot is both "spontaneous and influentially supported," and "the project has the support of nearly every leading public man at the capital, irrespective of creed or party." Certainly at the meeting there were present the Premier (Mr. Fysh), the Bishop, and two of the judges, besides many members of Parliament. The president of the new branch is Dr. Agnew, member of Council; while the Premier and two other members of Parliament are vice-presidents. "Mr. Fysh suggested that only three vice-presidents should be elected that evening, as the former Premier of the Colony, the Hon. Thomas Reibey, was not at present a member of the League, but if he were to become one it might be as well to include him in the list of vice-presidents." So we may venture to think that the *Examiner* is right, that the movement is influentially supported, and also that no one is likely to suppose that it partakes of a party nature. In the course of the evening the rules of the new branch were drawn up and agreed to, and the names of 74 members were enrolled. A public meeting is to be held at an early date, at which the energetic hon. secretary, Mr. R. J. Beadon, is to read a paper and raise a discussion on the whole subject of Imperial Federation. Meanwhile we are glad to think that, though Hobart has been chosen for the meeting-place of the Federal Council, the inhabitants of Tasmania can look beyond a mere Australasian federation, and aim at a higher and Imperial unity. To quote once more from the Tasmanian journal, "Our prosperity, our very existence as a nation, is inseparably connected with the power and position among the European powers of the sea-girt isles from which we claim our existence, and under whose flag we have grown great and prosperous in undisturbed and peaceful security. . . . The Imperial Federation League is a practical and useful association, and in forming a Tasmanian branch we are doing our little part in extending and strengthening the sphere of operations of the parent society, and also keeping in touch with a movement that is now in operation in every part of the Empire, and may be expected to exert an influence upon its future history."

### HERE AND THERE.

ONE more proof that the Empire is self-sufficing. According to the *South Australian Register*, Australian butter sent home in refrigerating chambers has now taken a distinct hold in the London market.

MR. JUSTICE FAUCETT, one of the survivors of the first New South Wales Parliament, has resigned his seat on the bench, and is succeeded by Mr. W. J. Foster.

THE South Australian Government has accepted the tender of a local firm for locomotives to the value of £169,000. This is estimated to be about 23 per cent. higher than the price at which Messrs. Beyer & Peacock offered to deliver English-built engines in the Colony.

MR. WISE has resigned the Attorney-Generalship of New South Wales, and is succeeded by the Hon. G. B. Simpson, Q.C., who will represent the Government in the Legislative Council.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN has shown that he takes intense pride in the greatness of the Empire as a whole, that his wish is to tighten the bonds by which its various parts are connected, and that he even believes in the possibility of some form of Imperial Federation. If Mr. Chamberlain maintains this tone, as we may hope his convictions will lead him to do, he will become an even greater power in English politics than he has hitherto been.—*Graphic*.

MESSRS. BELL, MUTTLEBURY, and LANDALE, who rowed 4, 5, and 6 respectively in the winning crew in the University boat race, are all three Australians. According to a contemporary, "the victory was largely due to the exertions of the Colonial trio."



**MR. SERVICE AT HOME.**

LAST month we chronicled the fact that Mr. Service had got as far as Adelaide on his road home. He is now back in Melbourne, where he was one of the principal guests at a luncheon recently given by the Mayor, at which he received an enthusiastic welcome. We are confident that members of the League all over the world will share the satisfaction with which he must have listened to Sir James Lorimer's reply to the toast of "Her Majesty's Ministers in Victoria." It is due not only to the importance of his words, but to Sir James's position as the only Australasian Minister of Defence, that we should reproduce *verbatim* the portion of his speech which refers to this subject:—

There was a measure, the passage of which was an event memorable not only in the history of this Colony, but in the history of the Empire. He referred to the passage of the Naval Defences Act. (Applause.) To have belonged to the Government that had the credit of having carried that measure was something worth having lived for. Great Britain without her Colonies could scarcely expect in the future to maintain the high position in the scale of nations which she had hitherto held. But so long as Great Britain and her Colonies were united, Great Britain would remain a Great Power. Nothing had occurred of late years that would add so much to the strength and solidity of the British Empire as the naval partnership which had recently been made a completed fact. He anticipated great results from it, and if nothing else had been done during the session than the passing of the Naval Defences Act, that would be something of which they might be proud. In regard to its administration, no fault had been found with the present Government. Mr. Gillies had maintained the Treasury Department in the very satisfactory condition in which he had inherited it from Mr. Service, and Mr. Service could tell them that the credit of the Colony in England never stood higher than it did at the present time. (Mr. Service: "Hear, hear.") That was something upon which the Government might fairly congratulate themselves. He would only say a few words about the Defence Department. He was particularly grateful to Parliament for the fact that every shilling that he as Minister of the Defence Department had asked for had been freely granted. That was a cause of great satisfaction to him, and it showed that the country was with the Government in their determination to make the defences of the Colony so complete that they could rest perfectly secure against any attempt at hostile invasion. Immense progress had been made during the past year in the completion of the defence works. Since the return of Captain Thomas and himself to the Colony, profiting by the knowledge that they acquired at home, very considerable alteration and improvement had been made in the naval ships. The *Cerberus*, the gunboats, and the torpedo-boats had received a complete overhaul during the last four months, and were now in a state of efficiency such as they had never been in since they were built. As fighting ships they were now as efficient as it was possible to make vessels of that class. Great progress was being made also with the fortifications, and he would not be afraid of any hostile invasion. We were thoroughly well prepared to meet any attack that might be made upon us, and in a few months more, when the remodelling of our armament and our forts was further advanced, the city of Melbourne would be the best-protected place in Her Majesty's dominions. (Applause.) It was the policy of the Government to make it so, and in that determination they had the country and the Parliament of Victoria at their backs. (Applause.)

The President of the Legislative Council and the Speaker of the Assembly then responded on behalf of the two Houses of Parliament. Sir James MacBain, in his reply, took occasion to say that it would be a very undesirable departure from the traditions of the Australian Colonies, and would have a very disturbing effect, if the suggestion of the Colonial Office, that Western Australia should try the experiment of a single chamber, were adopted. To this Mr. Lee Steere, the Speaker of the Western Australian Legislative Council, replied:—

That there were not more than one or two public men in Western Australia who would be favourable to the proposal of the Colonial Secretary that a single Legislative Chamber should be established in that Colony. The only country in the world possessing constitutional government which had only one Chamber was Greece, and its government was of the most unstable character.

Mr. M. H. Davies complained, on behalf of the Assembly over which he presided, in language with which we have already expressed our sympathy,

That the *Times* and some other English newspapers had lately very severely commented on some of the scenes that had taken place in the Legislative Assembly. But in view of recent occurrences in the English House of Commons he thought that that body could not claim, despite the greater power of control it had, to have succeeded better than the Legislative Assembly of Victoria in the manner in which it conducted its business. (Applause.) Every one of the eighty-six members of the Legislative Assembly was desirous of discharging his duty honestly, and of giving to the country the best services he was able to render. Whenever we fell into the humiliating position of regarding the position of a Parliamentary representative as not worthy of high consideration, then we would soon find that those whom we most desired to represent us would not care to be elected to those positions.

In reply to the toast of his health, which was drunk with enthusiasm, Mr. Service expressed doubts, which we heartily trust may prove unfounded, whether "in future he would be able from the point of view of physical ability to do much in the interests of the Colony." He continued:—

It was not fair of him to detain them; but he must refer to the Federation movement. A member of the Sydney Government which was in power at the time the discussion took place at the Imperial Conference on the subjects of New Guinea, the New Hebrides, and the transportation of *releevistes* to New Caledonia, acknowledged to him that the Colony of New South Wales would be held responsible in Australian history for the loss to us of northern New Guinea and the other islands of the Pacific. If they had been present at the Conference to see the immense effect produced upon the Imperial statesmen when Sir Robert Wisdom spoke for the Colony of New South Wales, endorsing the sentiments which had been expressed by the delegates for Victoria, West Australia, South Australia, and Queensland, and stating that when the time came New South Wales would be ready to join the other Colonies in establishing a Pacific Dominion, ruled over by the Australian Colonies, they would have been very much gratified. Then, for the first time, the whole of the continental Colonies were united as one man, and the result was that the New Hebrides question, which had dragged its slow length along for years, was settled in a few months. That was an instance of the power they would exercise if they spoke as a united people. Australians were no longer country cousins when they went to London. They were received on pretty equal terms, but with some little display of patronage. He admitted at once that London was the second city in the world, and when he was asked what city was the first he replied Melbourne. (Laughter and applause.) That was no "blow." (Laughter.) It was merely discounting the future. (Laughter.) In a few generations the Colonies would contain a population of 50,000,000 or 60,000,000 inhabitants, and what would Melbourne be then? (Applause.)

MR. PERKINS: What about Brisbane?

MR. SERVICE: He said nothing about Brisbane, nor Sydney. We would all like to see Sydney at the top if she would assist in bringing the other Colonies forward. We wanted to be proud of all our cities, and we would not allow any other feeling to arise in regard to New South Wales than the determination to have them with us.

**LEAGUE NOTICES FOR THE MONTH.**

A LARGE outline Map of the World, specially designed for lecturing purposes, fifteen feet by twelve, with the British Empire coloured in red, the self-governing Colonies being distinguished by a deeper tint of that colour, can be obtained by members of the League for the purposes of lectures on application to the Secretary, subject to the conditions of prompt return and payment of carriage both ways. The member who borrows the map must make himself responsible for any damage which may be done to it during its absence from the office. Early application is recommended, as during the lecturing season the map is much in request.

A SERIES consisting of twelve large scene-pictures of the Empire, in black and white, each eight feet by four, strongly bound and mounted on rollers, is also ready. These pictures are now available for use by members of the League upon the same terms as the large map. They are packed in a wooden case, and travel as "Panoramic Views" at a special railway rate.

LECTURES.—Mr. W. Sebright Green, who has been lecturing on behalf of the League during the winter, will attend and give lectures where his services are requested. Mr. Green is provided with a duplicate of the large lecturing map described above, and with illustrations descriptive of the Colonies, diagrams, &c. Terms may be had on application to the Secretary, with whom all arrangements should be made.

ARRANGEMENTS have been made with a London firm of bookbinders for the uniform binding of the volume of *IMPERIAL FEDERATION* for the year 1887, at a charge of 2s. 6d. Members wishing to have their Journals bound should send them to the Secretary. Samples of the binding can be seen at the Offices of the League.

AN Index to *IMPERIAL FEDERATION* for 1887 has been compiled, and is ready for binding with the volume.

A FEW bound volumes of *IMPERIAL FEDERATION* for the year 1886, complete with Index, can be obtained, price 6s. 6d.

"A SYNOPSIS OF THE TARIFFS AND TRADE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE," prepared by Sir Rawson Rawson, K.C.M.G., C.B., is now ready, price 2s. 6d., post free 2s. 9d. In accordance with the terms of membership, the book is being sent free to all members who subscribe one guinea and upwards.

THE Secretary of State for War, with the concurrence of the Duke of Cambridge, has complied with the request of the Canadian Government to retain the services of Lieutenant-General Sir Frederick Middleton to the period allowed for service for Lieutenant-Generals in the Imperial Government. His promotion to the rank of Lieutenant-General will enable him to remain in Canada for four years more.

SIR JOHN MACDONALD has stated, in reply to Mr. Charlton, that in consequence of the discovery of gold on the upper waters of the Yukon river, and the growing importance of having the boundary between Alaska and the Dominion of Canada defined, negotiations were in progress between the Governments of Her Majesty and the Dominion of Canada and the Government of the United States to settle, if possible, by mutual agreement, the question of that boundary.



## THE PRESS ON THE TORONTO MEETING.

ELSEWHERE we give a report of the great meeting at Toronto. We only wish our columns were elastic enough to enable us to give it in full. But the account of the meeting occupies ten long and closely-printed columns of the *Empire*, so that is, alas! impossible. Here we must only quote very briefly the comments of the Toronto press. But we will preface them with an extract from a private letter from a member of the League in Montreal. Our readers will, we think, agree with us that even in the newspaper report the speeches show no sign of falling short of the greatness of the occasion, and that the League has every reason to be proud of the first public appearance of one of its youngest daughters. The *Mail*, it should be explained, is, or rather was, the leading Commercial Union organ.

The Toronto meeting was a triumphant success, said to have been the most successful political meeting held there for years. The hall seats 1,300; before the meeting commenced it was a case of "standing-room only," and not too much of that. The speeches were much better than the reports, which are to some extent condensed, and necessarily not so well turned or as pointed as they came from the speakers' lips. This manifestation of strength will no doubt have a very great effect throughout Ontario. The *Mail* has been so taken aback that it has not yet mustered up courage to speak of it. The meeting shows that we have a vast amount of sympathy behind us, outside of our membership; in fact, that the members of the League are only an advance guard skirmishing with the enemy, with a whole army in rear to be called on when the time comes for a decisive blow.

From the *GLOBE* (Opposition).

The first distinguished Canadian to advocate Imperial Federation was the Hon. Edward Blake in his famous and unforgotten Aurora speech. There is no reason to doubt that he sympathises as warmly as ever with the sound sentiment upon which the Imperial Federation League is based. The inhabitants of Canada mostly desire to attain political equality with their fellow-subjects of Great Britain, and they desire, too, the establishment of common citizenship for the whole Empire. As Mr. McCarthy and several other speakers did vehemently and not untruly protest, Canadians are at all times willing and ready to aid Great Britain with money and men to the full extent of their power or her necessity. The Imperial Federation League of Canada seems essentially one for effecting radical change—one for establishing Canadians in political equality with their fellow-subjects in Great Britain. The heart of man can desire no prouder political position than that. It would gratify the aspiration of Young Canada for independence. It would accord with the strong desire of all Canada for the formation of a great race league—"till all the north be ours and the utmost southern lands." It would in no degree interfere with the friendliest commercial relations between the Dominion and the States. The Imperial Federationists may be dreaming a dream, but it is a noble dream at worst, and from such come the grandest benefits to humankind.

From the *EMPIRE* (Ministerialist).

Even those most bitterly opposed to Imperial Federation must admit that the meeting under the auspices of the League on Saturday night was an unqualified success, while the friends of the movement will probably claim that its success has been such as to justify the belief that Imperial Federation is the popular theme of the hour in Canada. Certainly, the meeting, viewed from whatever standpoint, was one of the most successful ever held in Toronto. Association Hall was crowded to excess in every part, many persons standing throughout the night. People began to arrive at seven o'clock, and entered in a steady stream up to half-past eight, and indeed there were fresh arrivals for hours after. It is estimated that two thousand people were present, including about one hundred ladies, and a more intelligent audience could not be assembled in America or Europe. The meeting did not break up until within a few minutes of twelve o'clock, and during this long interval the closest attention was given to the arguments and statements of the speakers. This was shown by the readiness with which every patriotic appeal, every outburst of eloquence, and every reference to Canadian nationality were responded to. The speaker's idea was realised and appreciated almost before it was uttered, so thoroughly were the audience in sympathy with the objects of the meeting and the sentiments of the orators. The demonstrations of satisfaction were altogether remarkable. In fact, the meeting was a prolonged ovation by the city of Toronto to Imperial Federation and its advocates. It was noticeable, too, that while what may be called the business side of the argument was ably presented and heartily approved by the audience, the appeals to stand by Imperial Unity regardless of consequences were those which called forth the wildest storms of applause. It was clear to all present that uppermost in the minds of all was the determination that on no account should Canadians consent to dismemberment of the Empire; that the policy of drawing closer the bonds of Imperial Union must be insisted upon; that conjoint action for securing for England and the Colonies greater freedom of trade within the Empire should be immediately taken; and that the initial movement should begin in the Canadian Parliament during the present session.

From the *WORLD* (Ministerialist).

The Imperial Federation meeting was very effective as a repudiation of Commercial Union, and to that extent at least the *World* welcomes its appearance on the boards. Mr. Wiman and his fad were knocked out in fine shape, Saturday night. The meeting will have another good effect, namely, in letting the Mother Country know that Canadians intend to lean in the future more heavily on her for the vindication of our rights and for her support against the aggressions of our neighbours. Let our cousins understand that England is behind us and they will respect us.

From the *TORONTO DAILY NEWS*

("Purely democratic," advocating national independence).

Sentiment makes the great majority of the Canadian people who speak the English language loyal to Britain and British institutions. But there the matter ends. While there may be a great many who would gladly take up arms in England's cause, there are many more who believe that only the land of their adoption should claim such service, and who would hesitate before going beyond the borders of Canada to support any quarrel in which the Crown should become involved. Enlarged business and the accruing profits are what govern, not sentiment, and until it can be shown that it will assist trade, assist it so largely that nothing further in that direction can be desired, the Imperial Federation idea is a meaningless one to Colonists, and especially to Canadians.

From the *EVENING TELEGRAM* (Opposition).

A loud-lunged, loyal, hearty, and enthusiastic audience—one which could yell louder and cheer more heartily and groan deeper than any crowd assembled in Toronto for years—packed Association Hall to the doors on Saturday night. It was the occasion of the grand Imperial Federation meeting, and it was one of those gatherings in which even the alien and the stranger is stirred into sympathy with the heartiness, the enthusiasm, and the virile force of the throng about him. The great gathering was a perhaps unnecessary proof of the undeniable truth that loyalty to the Old Land is yet a living force in Toronto. It is good for Canada that organisations such as the League should be formed with the definite idea of shaping the national future. We are glad that the movement is a living, breathing reality. It represents the heart of the country, while Commercial Union appeals to the pockets of Canada. May the fight go on and end in the result that is best for Canada.

As already mentioned, the *Mail* (Commercial Unionist) offers no comment. It publishes, however, a report of the meeting (which it confesses was enthusiastic), two columns and a half in length, and acknowledges that the large hall was filled to its utmost capacity. Perhaps, as the *World* of the same date reports that, "including the *World* reporter, there were seven citizens at the latest attempted Commercial Union meeting in this town," the reluctance of the *Mail* to pronounce its opinions just yet upon another new and far-reaching movement may be both understood and forgiven.

## THE QUEEN'S HIGHWAY.

By silver streams and azure lakes,  
'Neath snow-clad mountains soaring high,  
Through wild primeval forest-brakes,  
O'er plains that sleep beneath the sky—  
Three thousand miles, from sea to sea,  
From rosy dawn to twilight grey,  
It runs—and every inch is free—  
That royal road, "The Queen's Highway."

Atlantic to Pacific speaks  
Along the wonder of its wires;  
Through gorges deep, by lonely creeks  
Glimmers its chain of signal fires.  
The drowsy giantess reveals  
Her huge Dominion's ample sway,  
As through her mighty bulk she feels  
The backbone of "The Queen's Highway."

Should battle's angry tocsin toll,  
Or treason mutter from afar,  
Along the iron track would roll  
The thunder of the wains of war.  
But now, on either hand, the fields  
Their blameless stores of gold display,  
And West to East its plenty yields.  
Fit gear to grace "The Queen's Highway."

O God of nations! praise be Thine,  
That puny man should thus prevail!  
Without Thy aid his powers decline,  
Falter his steps, his labours fail.  
In days of peace, 'neath danger's stress,  
Of Thy great mercy grant, we pray,  
Our children's children still may bless  
That royal road, "The Queen's Highway!"

H. F. WILSON.

COLONIAL OFFICE PAPERS.—The practice adopted by the Foreign Office within the past two years of publishing Consular reports and documents of a like character singly, at the cost of a penny or two, has lately been followed by the Colonial Office in regard to the annual reports on Her Majesty's Colonial Possessions. Hitherto these reports, which are usually summaries of the local Blue-books, were published in parts containing a dozen or more reports. They are now to be obtained singly, and the fly-leaf of each contains useful references to the reports of the same Colony for each of the past six years. The Colonies from which reports have been published in the new series up to the present are (1) Virgin Islands; (2) Mauritius, the Seychelles, and Rodrigues; (3) Gambia; (4) Victoria; (5) New Zealand. The first and third cost a penny each, the second 2d., the fourth 2½d., while the New Zealand report, which contains 72 pages of the most varied statistics, costs 3d. There can be no question that the reports reach public attention more readily, and that their utility is greatly increased by the new method of publication adopted.—*Times*.



### PROCEEDINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

THE Executive Committee of the Council met on Monday, April 16, at 1.45. Sir Rawson Rawson, K.C.M.G., C.B., in the chair.

The Secretary reported that the offices of the League had been moved to more convenient premises at 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, on the 2nd of April; and that a branch of the League formed at Hammersmith requested affiliation, and that a branch was in course of formation at Aberdeen.

A letter was read from the League in Victoria, addressed to the Earl of Rosebery, announcing the departure of Mr. Downes Carter, M.L.A., its president, for England, and expressing confidence "that he will receive a hearty welcome from the parent body." It was stated that Mr. Downes Carter would arrive in England in May.

The Secretary further reported that "the attack of Mr. Bright upon the object of the League has been the means of showing the large measure of support which it has acquired during the last year from the press and from public men, by whom it has been almost unanimously defended against Mr. Bright."

A statement having been made in the leading articles of the *Times* to the effect that a Zollverein was regarded by the League as a necessary preliminary to Federation, a letter from the Secretary traversing the statement appeared in that paper on the 4th of April.

The report of the Commercial Sub-Committee recommending the printing and publishing by the League of the second part of Sir Rawson Rawson's work, dealing with the fluctuations of trade and prices and with the shipping of the Empire, was read and adopted.

The following resolution was unanimously carried:—"That the thanks of the Imperial Federation League are due to Sir Rawson Rawson for the valuable publication which he has prepared for its use, and for the great service which he has thereby rendered to the cause advocated by the League."

The Hammersmith Branch of the League was affiliated, and a vote of thanks to Mr. Freeman Murray, Secretary of the Kensington Branch, for his exertions in procuring its promotion, was passed.

The Finance Committee of the League was reconstituted as follows:—The President (*ex officio*), the Vice-President (*ex officio*), the Hon. Treasurers (*ex officio*), Sir Daniel Cooper, Bart., Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., Mr. James Rankin, M.P., Mr. William Mackinnon, General Lowry, C.B., Colonel P. R. Innes, F. P. Labilliere, A. O. Rutson, and E. A. Arnold.

A request from the Edinburgh and East of Scotland Branch of the League for information as to the proceedings of the Committee having been considered, it was resolved to publish in the Journal from time to time such an account of the Committee's proceedings as may be useful or interesting.

Mr. John Scott Keltie, Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society, and Editor of the "Statesman's Year Book," was elected a member of the Council.

The third Monday in May being Whit Monday, it was resolved to adjourn until the 28th of May.

The following elections to the Council have been made since January:—

Herbert Gardner, M.P.  
Sir John Trevor Lawrence, Bart., M.P.  
Admiral Sir John Commerell, G.C.B., M.P.  
Admiral Sir George Tryon, K.C.B.  
Admiral James E. Erskine.  
R. Munro Ferguson, M.P.  
Hamar Bass, M.P.  
Colonel Henry Blundell, C.B., M.P.  
William George Ainslie, M.P.  
Lord Henry Bentinck, M.P.  
Alfred Thomas, M.P.

John Corbett, M.P.  
Sir John Dorington, Bart., M.P.  
R. T. Hermon Hodge, M.P.  
J. H. C. Hozier, M.P.  
G. Downes Carter (President of the I. F. L. in Victoria).  
General Sir John Watson, V.C., K.C.B.  
The Hon. W. Cochrane-Paillie, M.P.  
The Hon. Egerton Hubbard, M.P.  
William F. Lawrence, M.P.  
J. Scott Keltie.

### THE MELBOURNE "ARGUS" ON EMIGRATION.

THE *Argus* of February 24th has an article on the subject of emigration which is worthy of close attention. It begins by showing that, as in Great Britain half-a-million more people are born than die in each year, it is absolutely necessary for the Mother Country to relieve the pressure by transferring a portion of her increase to lands where the individuals would become customers instead of competitors. Australians will not respond to any appeal made to them to receive State emigrants upon a large scale. Objection, however, to immigration of every kind is very unreasonable. Melbourne owes her wonderful prosperity to the growth of her population, whilst, on the other hand, places can be seen in Victoria where decay is resulting from non-increase. Still, there are people who believe in the absurd fallacy that the fewer the hands the more work there will be for the few. The fact is that Victoria is infinitely richer with a million of people than when she had but half-a-million; and with two millions her prosperity will be still greater. A feeling,

however, exists against emigration promoted from the Old Country. A State sending for immigrants endeavours to secure the best men, whilst a State which wishes to send out men to relieve the burden of over-population is most likely to send out the incapable members of its community. The Crofters of the Hebrides are a case in point. It is proposed to emigrate them wholesale. At the same time, we read of their indolence, laziness, want of foresight, and lack of ambition. Now to make a Crofters' colony, such as is suggested, succeed, not only capital, but enterprise and organising ability, would be required. If, then, the character given of these Crofters is a true one, the failure of the scheme is a foregone conclusion.

The English leaders in the emigration movement have, however, a claim upon the people of the Colonies for advice as to the best course to be pursued. It may be laid down as a rule that to send out emigrants from the English, each without Colonial co-operation, will involve grave risks. The best system yet devised is to allow the Colonist to nominate some person to be brought or sent out. The nominated passenger almost always turns out a valuable Colonist. It will be well worth while to endeavour to increase this system, and the Imperial Institute should take it up. At all events, there should be at the Colonial Institute capable officers, with suitable material for making known the resources and attractions of Victoria to all inquirers.

### IMPERIAL FEDERATION AT THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

UPPINGHAM.—On Tuesday, April 17th, a lecture on Imperial Federation was delivered to the whole school (in the presence of several of the masters) by Mr. H. F. Wilson, who said that he was there in response to a two-fold invitation—from the present and the late Headmaster. Mr. Thring had been a warm and consistent advocate of the policy of the League, and Mr. Selwyn, both from personal conviction and as a relative of the late Mr. Forster, was also in complete harmony with its aims. The Headmaster presided, and introduced the lecturer in a short speech. Mr. Wilson's address was listened to with great attention, and the pictures with which it was illustrated were much admired. A large quantity of literature was distributed, and many stayed after the lecture to make further inquiries as to the work of the League. A special feature of the meeting was the performance of a selection of choruses from "The Ocean Throne," the Uppingham Jubilee Cantata (words by the Rev. J. H. Skrine, music by Mr. P. David), which were admirably rendered by the school choir during the evening. The proceedings closed, amid applause, with the singing of "God Save the Queen."

WESTMINSTER.—At the invitation of the Headmaster, the Rev. W. G. Rutherford, a lecture will be given by Mr. H. F. Wilson on Thursday, May 10th, at 4 p.m.

### ORGANISING LECTURER AT WORK.

ALCONBURY, HUNTS.—An address was given on Tuesday, 10th April, by Mr. Sebright Green, in the School-room, on the invitation of the Rev. R. Conway, vicar of Alconbury, who took the chair. The subject of the address was "The Unity of the British Empire," "Colonisation and Emigration," "Our Homes beyond the Seas." The school was well filled, principally by working men and their wives, and a number of young men and boys; altogether there were about 200 present, amongst whom were Miss Bromhead, Messrs. J. Bromhead, Parsons, S. Bromhead, J. Fitch, T. Green, G. Norman Ball, Betts, and Cranfield.

The audience listened with great attention to the lecturer's remarks, which, in the first part of the address, were principally directed to pointing out the advantage of settling our surplus population in our Colonies, rather than allowing them to emigrate to a foreign country. Many labourers from the neighbourhood have gone out to the United States during the last four or five years, where they have done well.

The lecturer pointed out to his audience, by means of the League's map, that the passage to Canada was as short as to the States, and passing on to the second part of the lecture, pointed out how much more advantageous it was to the Empire for the population to expand and occupy the vacant spaces in Greater Britain, thereby creating a new consuming population, and increasing the export trade of the Mother Country, than for our emigrants to drift into a foreign country, where they would require very little from the Old Country in the way of manufactured goods.

After illustrating from recent events how strong the bonds of affection for the Old Country were in her Colonies, the lecturer concluded by exhorting the working men of this country not to be behind their sons and brothers of Greater Britain in doing their utmost to support the Unity of the Empire.

An interesting conversational discussion of nearly an hour's length followed the address.

A hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer brought the meeting, which had lasted for two hours and a quarter without flagging, to a close.



## PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

*Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.*

**ARBROATH.**—At a recent meeting of the Arbroath Artisan Literary Institute, Mr. John Eaton, of Craigo, delivered a most interesting lecture on Imperial Federation. Mr. John Cameron, the president of the institute, took the chair. The lecturer began by showing that unless we bind our Colonies more closely to us they must inevitably drift further away. He then proceeded to criticise various schemes which have been proposed for promoting closer union. The formation of such a federation would have a mlghy effect in lessening the possibilities of war in the world. Such a federation would make the Anglo-Saxon people permanent. It would not be in the nature of such a federation to be aggressive, but every despotic Power would see in it a spirit the very incarnation of liberty, and would recognise that its influence would be flung into the scale of universal peace. A hearty vote of thanks was given to Mr. Eaton at the close of his lecture.

**CREWKERNE.**—A meeting was recently held in the club-room of the Liberal Association, to hear a lecture on Imperial Federation by Dr. Summerhayes, a member of the League. Mr. G. Tebbs took the chair, and there was a good attendance of members of the Association. The lecturer, after a few preliminary remarks, gave reasons for the necessity of federation of the Colonies with the Mother Country, and, alluding to the wars which had been waged by the Home Country, said that the Colonies had had no voice in the matter, neither had they to pay the cost. But, should they be federated, it would be necessary to have an Imperial Senate established in London, in which every self-governing Colony might be represented. He admitted that many difficulties existed to this being realised, and thought that many years would elapse before Imperial Federation would be brought about. Captain Blake proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer, which was seconded by the Rev. J. Cruickshank. A similar compliment to the Chairman concluded the meeting.

**KENSINGTON.**—At a meeting of the St. Michael's Literary and Mutual Improvement Society, held on March 24th, a debate took place on Imperial Federation. Among those present were Rev. H. G. Hellier (President), in the chair, Rev. Thos. Evans (Vice-President), Rev. C. W. F. Jones, J. F. Wallace, C. Freeman Murray, J. Munford (Secretary), &c. &c. The debate was opened by Mr. C. Freeman Murray, who pointed out what had already been done by the League, and the immediate objects which it was working to attain, and concluded with a vote of confidence in the Imperial Federation League. Mr. J. Munford opposed, and a lively discussion ensued, which resulted in the vote being carried by an overwhelming majority, and Mr. Murray had the satisfaction of enrolling Rev. H. G. Hellier as a member of the Kensington Branch.

**LONDON (CAMBERWELL).**—An address, on the subject of "England and her Colonies," was delivered by Mr. H. F. Wilson before a Mutual Improvement Society in connection with the Trinity College (Cambridge) Mission, on Friday, April 6th. Literature was kindly supplied by the Imperial Federation League and by the Emigrants' Information Office at Westminster. The League's large lecturing pictures were also used, and remained on view, under the care of the clergy, during Saturday and Sunday, being visited by a large number of people. Several interesting speeches, by working men and others, were made at the conclusion of the address. The Rev. S. Tetley Rowe presided.

**LONDON.**—On March 23rd Mr. J. E. Cracknell, F.R.G.S., gave a lecture at St. James's Hall before the Balloon Society of Great Britain, on "Great Britain and her Colonies." Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., took the chair. At the close of the lecture, the following resolution was put to the meeting, and carried unanimously:—"This meeting of the Balloon Society of Great Britain once more desires to impress upon the people of the United Kingdom the vital importance of close union between the Mother Country and her Colonies."

**LONDON (CHELSEA).**—Captain Pfoundes, M.R.U.S.I., lately delivered a lecture at the Hall of the Institute, King's Road, to a large and appreciative audience, on "The Unity of the British Empire of the Future." He began with an interesting sketch of the rise and progress of our Colonial and Indian Empire, and of the present state of prosperity of its several parts. He went on to prove the vital importance of maintaining something more than a sentimental union between those parts. Everything possible should be done to draw the bonds of union closer; to sever the connection between the Mother Country and her Colonies would be to wreck the ship of State, and to ruin the millions of wage-earners in this country. He had no doubt that, once we lost our maritime supremacy, our trade

would soon follow; and that supremacy could not be maintained if we were once to separate from our more distant parts. Imperial Federation would be the greatest possible guarantee for the peace of the world, and hence the best thing possible for the prosperity and happiness of the human race. This was no visionary idea, but one within the range of practical politics, and likely to be realised in our own time.

**SOUTHWARK.**—There was a large assemblage of members and friends of the Southwark Irish Literary Club in the Bath Street Hall, on Wednesday, April 4th, to welcome Mr. J. F. Hogan, of Melbourne, Australia, and hear him deliver a lecture on "Our Australian Brethren." Mr. Hogan took occasion to allude to the late speech of Mr. John Bright, at Birmingham, in which the right hon. gentleman ridiculed the idea of a general legislative assembly for the Empire as an impossible project and a visionary scheme. He (Mr. Hogan) thought the progress of the Empire would be seriously impeded if the reactionary doctrines of Mr. Bright and his school should unfortunately meet with any general acceptance. As a matter of fact, there assembled in London last year a consultative conference of representatives of Greater Britain, which was in reality a sort of informal Imperial Parliament. Though not invested with legislative powers, more than one of its decisions and recommendations had since borne sound legislative fruit. Mr. Bright had become a confirmed pessimist in his old age, but he hoped that the veteran statesman would gradually come to take a more cheerful view of the questions of the day, and that he might live to see his doleful predictions, both with regard to Australia and Ireland, falsified by the facts. A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Hogan for his lecture.

**TORONTO.**—The Branch met on March 2nd, to hear a paper by Mr. John Matthews.

Mr. Matthews said that the Imperial Federation movement was a reaction from the movement in favour of disruption organised some years ago. This movement was now dying, and the feeling in favour of the unity of all parts of the Empire was growing in strength. It was imperative, in view of self-defence, that some arrangement should be mutually agreed to. It was argued that Canada would have to surrender her rights on entering a Federation scheme, but local rights would in fact be untouched as compared with what they would be under annexation to the United States. The powers of individual States were closely restricted, while Canada under Federation would be as free as at present. It would also be immensely advantageous to adopt the Federation scheme in preference to annexation in point of taxation. The expenditure classed as Federal in the United States amounted to 5 dols. per head.

The expenditure classed as Imperial in Great Britain amounted to about 4 dols. per head. The cost of maintaining cruisers for the protection of the fisheries, the maintaining of militia, and such services, would of course be borne by the Imperial Treasury, taking off a large local tax. In addition to this great advantage, it was proposed under Federation to consolidate the Colonial debt and have the Empire guarantee it. A lower rate of interest would be the result, hence another benefit.

Federation, every way considered, was much superior to annexation to the United States. It would cost greatly less, Canada would still continue to enjoy its present local privileges, and social vice of all kinds, so prevalent in the United States, would not be thrust upon Canadians.

**VICTORIAN BRANCH.**—A meeting of the council of the Victorian Branch of the Imperial Federation League was held in the Town Hall, Melbourne, Monday, February 6th, Mr. G. D. Carter, chairman of the branch, in the chair. The chairman informed the council that the calling of meetings had been delayed in consequence of the continued absence of the secretary, and that the accounts were not ready, neither had the prize essay been printed. To prevent similar delays it was determined to dispense with a paid secretary at present, and Mr. Jas. Vaughan Morgan was elected joint hon. secretary with Mr. E. G. Fitzgibbon, who has so ably filled that post since the starting of the League, but finds he cannot spare necessary time just now.

Mr. Godfrey Downes Carter, chairman of this branch, goes home by this week's steamer for the benefit of his health, and will spend a short time in the South of Europe, reaching London about May. The Melbourne Branch heartily commend their chairman to the kind consideration of the Parent Council.

Since the meeting the prize essay has been discovered amongst the secretary's papers, and at once put into the printer's hands.

THE Dominion Artillery Association proposes to send a team to Shoburness this year. Lieut.-Colonel Macdonald is the new president of the Association.

COLONEL DENISON has brought up the question of the acquisition by the State of all telegraph lines in Canada. The question was, he said, forced upon his attention by the fact that a few strangers (one of whom controlled a large system of telegraphs in Canada) had, by dead-headed telegrams and special reports, endeavoured to boom the Commercial Union scheme in Canada.



## IMPERIAL FEDERATION IN PARLIAMENT.

MARCH 22ND—APRIL 21ST, 1888.

## COLONIAL POSTAGE.

March 22nd.—In the House of Commons, in answer to Mr. Henniker Heaton, MR. RAIKES said it is quite true that a letter exceeding the prescribed weight allowed for a single rate of postage is charged an additional postage rate. This rule applies generally to letters for all parts of the world, and not alone to Australia and the Cape of Good Hope. Obviously a limit of weight must be fixed in all cases, and I have no intention, as at present advised, of proposing any exception from the practice which has universally obtained with respect to this matter.

## THE WEST COAST OF AFRICA.

SIR W. HOULDSWORTH asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether Her Majesty's Government could communicate any information relative to the protectorate which it was reported the French Governor of Senegal had established, and also relative to the rule which he was endeavouring to administer over a part of the Gambia territories, which for many years had formed part of the British dependencies on the West Coast of Africa; and what steps Her Majesty's Government were taking to obtain the withdrawal of French troops and the restoration of British influence in those territories.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: The French have not formally declared any protectorate in the manner stated in the question, but have lately advanced into territories bordering on the river Gambia. They have, however, checked their progress in deference to representations from Her Majesty's Government with a view to friendly discussion of the question of boundaries and of spheres of influence.

## COLONIAL NEWSPAPER POSTAGE.

March 26th.—In the House of Commons, in reply to a question by Mr. Henniker Heaton,

MR. RAIKES said: I have to state that a Colonial newspaper re-directed to the same person but at another address in this country is, if it has not been opened, not charged for re-direction; but if re-posted to another person it is liable to the book rate of postage, as the privilege rate conferred by the Newspaper Act of 1870 applies only to newspapers printed and published in this country. Many Colonial newspapers do not, I believe, exceed two ounces in weight, in which case the prepaid book rate would be  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. only.

## SOUTH AFRICAN POSTAGE.

In reply to Mr. Henniker Heaton,

MR. RAIKES said: I am aware that letters posted at Delagoa Bay for England, which have been transmitted through the Cape Colony, although bearing the Mozambique postage stamp, have been surcharged by the Cape Post Office—for the reason that no part of the postage represented by the foreign stamps was accounted for to the Cape Post Office for the duty imposed upon it of carrying the letters through the Colony to Cape Town and thence by packet to England. The inconvenience has arisen through the action of the Delagoa Bay Post Office in sending its letters through the Cape Colony without preconcerted arrangement. The matter has lately formed the subject of correspondence between the Imperial and Colonial Post Offices, and, I have no doubt, will be satisfactorily arranged.

## THE ALASKAN FISHERIES DISPUTE.

MR. GOURLAY asked the Under-Secretary for the Colonies whether, as reported by cable from Victoria, British Columbia, a number of Canadian sealing schooners had been permitted to clear for Behring's Sea with the intention of prosecuting seal fishing, contrary to the regulations of the United States Alaskan authorities, carrying large Indian crews for the purpose of waging war upon American revenue cutters, should their commanders attempt to molest them; and what measures Her Majesty's Government intended to adopt for the purpose of arriving at an amicable solution of the Alaskan fisheries disputes.

BARON H. DE WORMS, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, in reply, said: The Governor-General of Canada has stated, in reply to a telegraphic inquiry, that the rumour referred to by the hon. member is not confirmed by any information, private or official, in possession of the Dominion Government, and is not credited by them. The question of a settlement of the Alaskan fisheries disputes is now under the consideration of the two Governments concerned, but it would be premature at this moment to say more than that Her Majesty's Government have no reason to doubt that a satisfactory arrangement will be arrived at.

## THE GOVERNORSHIP OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

March 27th.—In the House of Commons MR. FERGUSSON asked the Under-Secretary for the Colonies whether, on the next appointment to the Governorship of the Cape of Good Hope, it was proposed to combine that office, as at present, with the High Commissionership of South Africa.

BARON H. DE WORMS: In reply to the hon. member, I have to state that this question has received careful consideration, and that Her Majesty's Government, as at present advised, do not propose to make any alteration in the existing arrangements. I may add that the relations between the Cape Ministers and the High Commissioner are on a very satisfactory footing, and it would be undesirable to check that cordial co-operation, which has been of benefit to British and native interests throughout South Africa. (Hear, hear.)

## POSTAL ORDERS TO EMIGRANTS.

MR. H. HEATON asked the Postmaster-General whether it was true that the cost of sending small sums of money to Malta and Gibraltar, to which emigrants did not go, ranged from  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for 1s. 6d. to 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for 20s.; yet that those sums could not be sent through the post to Canada or any other place where the emigrants did go for less

than 6d.; and whether he had under his consideration any alteration of this system.

MR. RAIKES: The case is as stated by the hon. member, and the explanation is simple. To Malta and Gibraltar postal orders are available on the same terms as within the United Kingdom itself. Indeed, until recently the post-offices in those two dependencies were under the direct control of the Imperial Post Office, and practically enjoyed all the advantages of the Imperial postal system. Canada, on the other hand, although invited to participate in the postal order system to the same extent as it has been adopted in India and some of the Colonies, has not hitherto shown any disposition to do so. Consequently, the money order system alone is open to the public for the remittance of small sums of money, for which the lowest charge is 6d. for any sum not exceeding £2. I shall be happy to communicate again with the Canadian Post Office on the subject. (Hear, hear.)

## THE DEFENCES OF THE CAPE.

April 12th.—In the House of Commons, in answer to Lord Charles Beresford,

MR. STANHOPE said: As my noble friend is aware, the defence of Table Bay has been undertaken in consequence of an agreement entered into between Sir Thomas Upington, on the part of the Cape Government, and myself last year. Under that agreement the unskilled labour is being provided by the Cape Government, and I am unable to say exactly when the works there will be completed, though they will be pushed on, so far as we are concerned, as quickly as possible. The works at Simon's Bay, which have been undertaken by the Imperial Government, are almost complete. The armament is in a forward state, with the exception of two 9-in. guns. All the remaining guns proposed are either ready or are provided for in this year's estimates, and should be completed within the year. All guns will be sent out with ammunition.

## THE PARCEL POST.

April 13th.—In the House of Commons VISCOUNT EBRINGTON asked the Postmaster-General whether it was true that parcel post packages from South Africa, the British West Indies, and South America, though landed at Plymouth, were forwarded to London for distribution; whether Indian and Australian parcels, though sealed by the Custom House authorities at Plymouth, were forwarded to London by the same steamer; whether, if those parcels were distributed from Plymouth, they would be delivered 24 to 48 hours earlier over the greater part of England; whether foreign parcels landed at Liverpool were distributed from there; and whether there was any good reason why the same system should not be pursued at Plymouth.

MR. RAIKES: I need not assure the noble viscount that I am glad to do all that I reasonably can to render the foreign and Colonial parcel post as popular and efficient as possible. But while there would, no doubt, be a certain gain of time in assorting some of the sea-borne parcels at Plymouth, the question is largely one of expense, which I have not hitherto seen my way to incur. The Indian and Australian steamers call at Plymouth on the homeward voyage only. Hence, as regards these lines, an establishment in duplicate would be required—one in London for the outward parcels, and one at Plymouth for the homeward parcels. There are other substantial objections to a change of practice at Plymouth, even as regards mails from the Cape and elsewhere. These do not prevail at Liverpool, where certain Colonial parcel mails are wholly dealt with. But I will examine the whole question further, and come to a decision at an early date. (Hear, hear.)

## STATE-AIDED COLONISATION.

April 17th.—In the House of Commons MR. SETON-KARR, who had a motion upon the paper upon this subject for discussion at the evening sitting, asked whether, as the motion was to be postponed, the Government would give a pledge to supply a subsequent opportunity for the discussion of the question.

MR. W. H. SMITH: I think my hon. friend has exercised a wise discretion in postponing his motion, as the Government could not give him a complete answer this evening. An opportunity will be given him on the Estimates or in some other way to invite the House to grapple with and express an opinion upon this subject.

## COLONIAL MARRIAGE BILL.

April 18th.—In the House of Commons MR. OCTAVIUS V. MORGAN withdrew his motion for the second reading of this Bill, on the ground that the House had just resolved, by a majority of 239 to 182, to read a second time a Bill legalising a marriage with a deceased wife's sister within the United Kingdom itself.

## THE COLONIES AND THE MERCHANDISE MARKS ACT.

April 19th.—In the House of Commons, in answer to Mr. SCHWANN,

BARON H. DE WORMS said: Since the date of my last answer in the House on the subject of colonial legislation as to trade marks, some further replies have been received from the Colonies. As the matter now stands, sixteen Colonies have not yet replied, fourteen have promised legislation, three others have introduced it, and in two others—viz., the Straits and St. Helena—ordinances have been passed and are now in force.

## TELEGRAPHIC CONNECTION WITH HALIFAX.

April 20.—In the House of Commons SIR G. BADEN-POWELL asked the Postmaster-General what decision Her Majesty's Government had arrived at in regard to establishing telegraphic connection between Halifax and Bermuda in view of the great value and necessity of such connection for strategic as well as for other purposes.

MR. RAIKES: In reply to the hon. member, I have to state that Her Majesty's Government have invited tenders for laying, maintaining, and working a telegraph cable between Halifax and Bermuda, and that the last day for the reception of the tenders is the 30th inst.



# Imperial Federation.

JUNE 1, 1888.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

LORD ROSEBERRY has, we understand, been formally invited, in his capacity as President of the Imperial Federation League, to visit Canada as the guest of the League in Canada. No answer to the invitation has as yet been sent, but the visit if made at all would have to be postponed till the late autumn, as engagements in this country that cannot be broken have already been entered into for September and October. We need not say we trust that the answer will be in the affirmative. England could send no more acceptable representative than LORD ROSEBERRY, a statesman who studied Colonial affairs in days when interest in and sympathy with the Colonies was not quite so universal as it is to-day. Our only complaint is that the personal qualities of LORD ROSEBERRY would of themselves secure him so warm a reception that they may tend to overshadow the heartiness of the welcome that would in any case await him as President of the Imperial Federation League.

WE have to offer our congratulations on more than one of the "birthday" honours. CAPTAIN COLOMB, C.M.G., M.P., has received a step in promotion. SIR JOHN, as in future we must call him, began his patriotic labours on behalf of Imperial defence in days when France still was, and Germany as yet was, not an Empire, and has long since earned his knighthood in the order dedicated to the warrior archangel and the patron saint of England. The services of SIR DANIEL COOPER, not only in Australia, where he was Speaker of the New South Wales Parliament, but at home as chairman of great Colonial trading and banking companies, and now latterly as acting Agent-General for his old Colony, have been fitly rewarded with the Grand Cross of the same order. Nor, though he is not like his two brethren of higher degree, a member of our Executive, must we fail to congratulate MR. COLMER on his companionship. The official position which he occupies as Secretary to the Canadian High Commissioner did not prevent MR. COLMER from letting the guests at the recent Birmingham banquet know how far he was from sympathising with the parochial limitations in the ideas of MR. BRIGHT.

AS will be seen from our Parliamentary news, MR. HOWARD VINCENT, who is a member of the Executive Committee of the League, has moved for and been promised a return showing what commercial treaties there are in existence between the United Kingdom and foreign countries, precluding the exercise even by the self-governing Colonies of the right to admit the production of the Mother Country on more advantageous conditions than those of other countries. Not only has the return been promised, but the Foreign Office has moved with such unusual celerity that it is already, so we learn from a reply to another active member of the League, MR. O. V. MORGAN, in the printer's hands, and may be expected to be published in a few days' time. The importance of the question is undeniable, and though the existence of this obstacle to a system of reciprocal trade relations between the different portions of the Empire is no news to many members of the League, still we shall be glad to have the whole matter set out in black and white on the authority of a Government Department. But the fact that such treaties exist at all makes one wonder why our

French neighbours suppose us to be such astute politicians. To us it seems that the foreigner is always getting the better of the guileless and confiding Briton. When it suits Europe to settle the charge that is to be paid for the carriage of foreigners' letters in English steamers that are run at the expense of English subsidies, then England and her Colonies are counted as only one country, and so must only have one vote in the Postal Union. But when it is a question of commercial intercourse, Australia and Canada are, it would appear, to be considered as separate countries, just as much as Holland and Belgium, or Germany and Austria.

THE Canadian branches of the League demand so much space for the record of their varied and beneficent activities that they leave us scant room to express our own opinions on them. For the present, at any rate, we must content ourselves with chronicling the facts, and calling our readers' attention to the almost universal acceptance with which the idea of Imperial Reciprocity has been received in the Dominion Parliament. The Government, it is officially reported, intend to take advantage of the recess "to proceed vigorously with their plans for the expansion of trade between Canada, the West Indies, and Australia, together with, if possible, some plan for Colonial reciprocal arrangements." It would thus appear that SIR JOHN MACDONALD, though he declined to express his views when the question was debated in the House, is now ready to go even further than was suggested in the memorial presented, "in an excellent spirit of caution and moderation" (to use his Excellency's own words) by the League to LORD LANS-  
DOWNE. No one is likely to question the desirability of establishing trade and friendly intimacy between the different members of our widely-scattered Empire. Nor will the most convinced Free Trader find anything to regret if, in their desire to promote such intercourse, Canada and Australia are induced mutually to relax somewhat of the rigours of their present tariffs.

MR. F. B. CROFTON, the librarian of the Nova Scotian Legislature, whose name we regret to say was in our April number, by a printer's error, misspelt "CROFTER"—though we are unable to adopt the kindly suggestion of the *Halifax Mail*, and admit that "the current interest in the Crofter question is probably responsible for the mistake"—writes to us in reference to our notice of his lecture. "My paper," he says, "was on 'HALIBURTON, Thinker and Writer' generally, not on him as an Imperial Federationist alone; and I did not claim (though the *Herald* reporter says I did) the paternity of the idea for JUDGE HALIBURTON. I only showed that he had advocated it strongly long before it had been brought into its present prominence. The idea, I believe, can be traced further back still." We trust that, if not MR. CROFTON himself, then some other member of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, will endeavour to trace the *genesis* of the idea. It behoves Imperial Federationists to look forward with confident expectation to the time when its first advocate will rank with the great pioneers of humanity, with COLUMBUS or the MARQUIS of WORCESTER, who, like MOSES, saw the vision of the promised land, though it was not given to them to enter therein.

OUR friends in Halifax do not, however, confine themselves entirely to the historical interest of Imperial Federation. If not fully prepared to let the dead past bury its dead, they are at least ready to act in the living present. We have seldom seen the case for Federation, from the Colonial point of view, better put than in a recent letter addressed to the *Daily Echo*. "Federationists," says the writer, "hold



that the responsibilities of the various parts of the Empire to each other should be *reciprocal*. Most Canadian Federationists feel that this Dominion is not now an infant plantation; that, to be entitled to the full rights of an adult nation, it should assume the duties and responsibilities of one; that the time is at hand when it must no longer be a 'dependency,' but a co-ordinate and equal partner, if it is to continue in the Empire at all; that at present it perhaps does not deserve, and *certainly does not get*, the protection and backing of the Empire as fully as the three paying partners; and that, to pass from this humiliating and parasitical state, only three courses are open to it—to support diplomatic, naval, and military services of its own, or to subscribe to those of the United States, or to those of our British Empire. And, weighing the probable cost and worth of each, they believe that the last course is the best."

OF one department at least of the Melbourne Centennial Exhibition, the Fine Art section, we may venture to say already that it must be a brilliant success. Of the loan collection, that is now on its way to Australia on board the P. and O. steamer *Rome*, a competent critic writes that "the pictures are the cream of many academies and exhibitions, and as a collection of recent art, mainly British, they are unique. Certainly such a collection never left these shores before." We rejoice to think that our Australian cousins will be able to feel that England has freely sent them of her best. For of the great names of English art, from MORLAND and CONSTABLE, onward to TURNER and LANDSEER, and PROUT and STANFIELD, hardly one is wanting. Of contemporary painters, MILLAIS and WATTS, FRITH and ALMA TADEMA, and scores of other scarcely less famous names, are to be found in the list, represented, most of them, not by one but by several of their finest works.

THE subjects, too, should have peculiar interest for the mass of Englishmen who have never seen the land which yet they call home. There are portraits of CARDINAL MANNING, MR. GLADSTONE, and of MR. BROWNING, whom few colonists are ever likely to see in the flesh, and of one whose face none of us will see again—MATTHEW ARNOLD. Thanks to the generosity of the DUKE of WESTMINSTER, who sends no less than twenty-two pictures, New South Welshmen may gaze on the stately pile of Conway Castle, while LORD CHEYLESMORE will help Scotchmen to dream themselves back among the scenes of their youth as they watch the rushing brown waters of LANDSEER'S "Highland Spate." It is only fitting that in the list of supporters of this good work prominent places should be occupied by the names of the President and the Treasurer of the Imperial Federation League.

THERE is one contributor, however, who sends more pictures—not indeed oil-paintings, but works of art of a different though sometimes scarcely inferior order—than all the others put together, and that is our great social satirist "MR. PUNCH." Probably "MR. PUNCH'S" collection, which is composed of over 400 engravings, gathered together into twenty-five large frames, will vie in popularity with the more sedate productions of his rivals. And from our point of view they will be perhaps of even greater interest. For of all the obstacles to Imperial unity there is none so great as want of mutual understanding. If Australians and Britishers could all live side by side for a twelvemonth, we are persuaded that Imperial Federation would be brought about out of hand. But as this is impossible, the Colonists can at least see us as we really are in the pages of *Punch*. After a course of TENNIEL'S cartoons and HARRY FURNISS'S brilliant

sketches, English political life will be tenfold more real and more living to them; English books and the gossip of "Our own Correspondent" can have no better key than is furnished by the drawings of GEORGE DU MAURIER; while at the inexhaustible fountain of LEECH'S humour, they can refresh their memories of the friends and acquaintances, perhaps of the parents and kinsfolk whom they may have left behind in the Old Country in the days when all the world was young.

SIR ROBERT HERBERT, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, was among the speakers at the Canada Club's banquet to LORD STANLEY of PRESTON. It is not as a rule to the permanent Civil Service that the public look for novel theories and startling innovations. But certainly SIR ROBERT'S suggestions are both bold and far-reaching. For this is what he said:—"It is encouraging to find that a Minister of the position of LORD STANLEY should be ready to leave party associations, and accept a position of great responsibility in a distant part of the world. It almost makes one ask why it is necessary that a gentleman should cease to be a member of the Cabinet because he assumes the Viceroyalty of the Dominion of Canada. It has not been thought necessary in the case of Ireland, and perhaps the time will come when the Governor-General of Canada may continue to be a member of the British Cabinet." We are loth to argue with, and still more loth to differ from an authority so distinguished as SIR ROBERT HERBERT. But we must just say this. The consummation to which he looks forward can be reached in two ways, and in two ways only. Either the Governor-General of Canada would continue to be a party politician all the time he was charged to represent the dignity and impartiality of the Crown itself, or else the English Cabinet would have to cease to be the agent of one political party exclusively. The former solution would unquestionably be disastrous. The latter implies putting back the hands on the dial of English history about two centuries.

MR. LABOUCHERE is not only the colleague of MR. BRADLAUGH in the representation of Northampton in the Imperial Parliament, and the proprietor of a journal whose title at least to veracity is unimpeachable, but he is also the correspondent of a New York paper that is not unfrequently quoted on the other side of the frontier. Our Canadian fellow-countrymen might naturally therefore attach some little importance to his pronouncements. So perhaps it is worth while to give them an opportunity of judging of his accuracy in matters on which they have personal knowledge. On May 15, referring to the Canadian *voyageurs*, the value of whose services in Egypt LORD WOLSELEY so freely acknowledged, MR. LABOUCHERE stated in his place in Parliament that they were composed largely of boys who had emigrated from this country, and that they misconducted themselves at Malta. We have no need to repeat the flat contradiction that was immediately forthcoming from LORD CHARLES BERESFORD and COLONEL DUNCAN, both of whom spoke from personal knowledge.

WE desire to direct our readers' special attention to the letter from MR. WESTGARTH that appears in another column. Few men can speak with better title both from the Home and the Colonial standpoint. His two main points are that England must take the lead in promoting Federation, and not wait for the initiative of the Colonies, and that the method of operation should be by the admission of Colonial statesmen to the Cabinet. On the first point we would only say that though England should doubtless lead, it must lead and not drive. It must not ask the Colonies for anything to which they may not be expected freely to consent.



As to the second we have already, in commenting on SIR ROBERT HERBERT'S suggestion, expressed our doubt whether it is possible to admit to Cabinet councils, and the knowledge of Cabinet—that is, in many cases, party secrets—statesmen who are not members of the party organisation, who must even, in many cases, be opposed to its principles. MR. WESTGARTH is, we understand, on the eve of departure for Australia, so it will be impossible for him to resolve our doubts, but we shall be glad to hear the views of other Colonists on the first point more especially.

We are indebted to the Halifax correspondent of the *Canadian Gazette* for the following interesting item of intelligence. No doubt the fact that we have had to rely for our information on outside sources, however friendly to us, will be at the local offices of the League a valuable argument in support of the League's doctrine that the postal communications of the Empire are not yet properly organised for lack of Imperial Federation. ARCHBISHOP O'BRIEN is, we should say, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Nova Scotia:—

Considerable attention has been aroused by the speech of his Grace Archbishop O'Brien at the recent meeting of the Imperial Federation League here. He said his sympathies had been with the movement from the beginning, and he would do all in his power to forward it. He believed that when the scheme was ready for the people the people would enthusiastically share in its discussion and settlement.

WHEN LORD LANSDOWNE has finally laid down the high title of Excellency—a title which should secure him an immunity from criticism only less than that which HER MAJESTY herself enjoys—we shall be ready to argue with him as to the comparative value from a military point of view of a large number of soldiers who *may*, and a smaller number who *will*, come when they are required, and to remind him of the height to which the lad rose who blotted the word "impossible" out of his dictionary. Meanwhile we are content to chronicle that at one of his final appearances in Canada, which he leaves amid the universal regret of all parties, LORD LANSDOWNE declared that the general tone of public feeling between England and Canada was never sounder or more friendly, that he would sooner trust to Canada's spontaneously sending 50,000 men than bind her down by a hard and fast bargain to supply two regiments, and that he did not think that an Imperial *Zollverein* was possible.

THE *Cape Argus* has recently, we understand, reorganised its London office. The new arrangements cannot, however, have yet got into working order, as in its issue of April 20 we read the following: "Very little notice has been taken of the annual meeting and dinner of the Imperial Federation League . . . the League's work is as a spent bullet." The *Argus* continues, "A study of all the Australian papers would be a useful course of reading for many British politicians." Now we are far from asking that the *Argus* should study all the Canadian and all the English papers. But if it has succeeded in studying one English or Canadian paper for a single month without finding numerous references to Imperial Federation, all we can say is that that paper must have been selected with peculiar care. From the leading articles of English papers alone we published thirty-five distinct notices in our issue last month, and if we then forbore it was certainly not for want of further matter to quote from.

If we might offer a suggestion, it would be that the *Cape Argus* should forward a copy of its issue of April 20th to M. MERCIER. It might tend somewhat to lighten the feeling of dismay with which he contemplates the fact that

"the partisans of the Imperial Federation League are becoming more and more audacious." To the statement that the Empire holds together "because Great Britain is an indulgent Mother Country under whose flag most of the advantages of republican rule may be enjoyed without its drawbacks," our respect for our fellow-citizens, whether friends or foes of Imperial Federation, constrains us to enter a flat contradiction. No great nation ever yet established itself upon a policy of calculating selfishness and preconcerted ingratitude.

THE intelligence of the death of the HON. THOMAS WHITE, Minister of the Interior, which occurred at Ottawa on April 22, has been received with the most profound grief throughout the length and breadth of the Dominion. Newspapers of all shades of political opinion unite in lamenting the loss that Canada has suffered. SIR JOHN MACDONALD rose in the Dominion House of Commons to move the adjournment, as a tribute to the deceased statesman's memory, but failing to articulate one word, burst into tears and was forced to sit down, and leave the motion in the hands of SIR HECTOR LANGEVIN. It was seconded, in a feeling speech, by the Leader of the Opposition, MR. LAURIER. MR. WHITE was a keen politician, who yet, in the words of one of the most pronounced Opposition journals, "in serving his party with all the ardour of his convictions, knew how to conserve respect for his political opponents."

It needs no words of ours to persuade the readers of this Journal that anything that PROFESSOR SEELEY writes on the subject of the expansion of England is worth reading. We wish therefore to call their attention to the fact that in the June number of *Good Words* there is an important article from his pen bearing the title of the "Eighty-eights," which contrasts the actualities of attack in 1588 and 1688 with the possibilities of 1888. It is of course written from the point of view of the student of history rather than of the professed expert on details of military or naval defence. But, as might be expected from PROFESSOR SEELEY, every page of past history has a bearing on and lesson for the politics of to-day. If we may sum up very briefly his conclusions they are these. An invasion if it comes will threaten not Great but Greater Britain. The weakness of large empires consists in the disproportion between territory and population, and in the possession of a long, vulnerable frontier. Everything in naval warfare has become uncertain, incalculable. Then there is the question of the food supply. If we fail it will not be through the mental indolence and economic incapacity that ruined Spain, not for want of shrewdness and energy, but for want of bringing these qualities to bear with sufficient promptitude. But we are fast awakening to the serious nature of the question, our misgivings about the navy begin to grow unappeasable, our minds begin to admit the Colonies and the Empire among subjects of habitual and anxious thought. The Imperial Federation League—but we refuse to quote further; our object is to induce our readers to study the article for themselves.

IN view of the importance of the subject, we make no apology for giving, in addition to our Ottawa correspondent's description of the Inter-British Trade debate, our own summary of the speeches compiled from the Canadian *Hansard*. We only wish it had been possible for us to publish MR. MCCARTHY'S speech at length.

BRANCH SECRETARIES and others who have spare copies of the issue of May, 1886, No. 5, are requested to be kind enough to send them to the SECRETARY.



## TO EACH AND ALL.

WE are happy to announce that, by the generosity of certain members of the Council, the debt of the League, which appeared in the last balance sheet as amounting to £189, has been extinguished.

This debt, which had been reduced during 1887 from £464 to the above sum, was incurred during the early days of the League, and but for the liberality of the present donors would have disfigured the accounts of the League for at least another year.

There is much useful work that could be undertaken were more extensive funds available, and it is greatly to be desired that all members of the League will exert themselves to give what assistance they can. Every one can help. Many can follow the example now set, and, by special donations, set on foot a fund to provide lecturers for the provinces and the Colonies, or for the production of additional literature for distribution. Others, who cannot afford to increase their pecuniary support, can, by talking of the subject to their friends, induce them to join the League, and so not only add to its resources, but also to its numerical strength. If every member would make it his business to add *two* names to the roll of the League in each year, very substantial help would be given. For those who feel a difficulty in doing even this, we would say, send to the Secretary of the League from time to time the names of any whom you think likely to take interest in the objects of the League, and we will undertake, on his behalf, that every effort will be made to stimulate and increase that interest.

These are some of the ways in which membership of the League may be made useful and active, and not only ornamental.

Finally, we would say, "*Bis dat qui cito dat.*" The League has probably never had such opportunities for good as are opening up before us at the present moment.

THE DEBATE ON INTER-BRITISH  
TRADE RELATIONS.

[FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.]

OTTAWA, CANADA, 1st May, 1888.

LAST night's debate proved a most interesting sequel to that on Unrestricted Reciprocity. Little did the three agitators for Commercial Union with the United States dream that they were to be instrumental in starting a movement for preferential trade relations betwixt Great Britain and Canada. Yet so it has turned out, decided action having been taken by Messrs. Marshall and McCarthy in the Dominion House of Commons.

Mr. Marshall, the new member for the East Riding of Middlesex, Ontario, a purely agricultural county, did quite an unusual thing. He introduced a bold, original, and weighty proposition into a maiden speech. He asked that the Government should take action to obtain the preference in British markets for Colonial products over those of foreign nations. He was careful to say that neither he nor his resolution belonged to the Imperial Federation League, and that he did not propose to go hat in hand to the Mother Country to ask any favour without giving something in return. It was interesting to hear this plain man declaring that he spoke in the interest of the farmers, the very class that Mr. Wiman proposed to benefit by "looking to Washington."

Mr. McCarthy followed in a magnificent speech, well sustained and eloquent throughout, which excited the enthusiasm and cheers of members all round him. He occupies a place on the front benches, to the right of the Speaker, and close to the Ministers, nearly all of whom listened to the speech with marked interest. No wonder, for, next to Sir John Macdonald, Mr. McCarthy is probably the most influential statesmen in Ontario. He gave the House plainly to understand that his action was in fulfilment of the pledge given at the Imperial Federation meeting in Toronto, and he took his stand firmly and squarely on the platform of *British Commercial Union*. It is impossible in these notes to do justice to his arguments, which it is hoped may be placed before the readers of *IMPERIAL FEDERATION* in full.

The debate was continued by Messrs. Casey, Fisher, and

Mills on the Opposition side, and by Messrs. Tupper and Davin, Ministerialists. The Hon. David Mills is member for Bothwell, Ontario, and was Minister of the Interior in the last Liberal Administration. He is supposed to be an authority in political economy, and is sometimes styled "Philosopher" Mills. He complained of the silence of the Ministry on the subject, although the leader of the Government was not silent, but interjected a good many remarks during Mr. Mills's speech. The member for Bothwell had more to say about Imperial Federation than any other speaker, maintaining that the resolution had a good deal to do with that question. As consequences of the adoption of the resolution, he anticipated that "we would have our autonomy wiped out, and be absorbed into the Government of the United Kingdom." Mr. Mills was chiefly effective in provoking a very lively finish to the debate, by throwing across the House the taunt "flies on the wheel," and maintaining that the expression was first used by Sir John Macdonald.

To those ignorant of Canadian politics the significance of this phrase requires to be explained. When the Liberals were last in power a depression in trade was experienced greater than has ever been known before or since in Canada. Its cause was by many persons held to be the excessive importation of cheap goods from the United States, whose manufacturers flooded our markets with their surplus production, selling at or under cost—in fact, for any price it would bring. Representations to the then Government were unavailing. Sir Richard Cartwright, then Minister of Finance, was credited with declaring that the Administration could no more do anything to remedy a depression in trade than "flies on a wheel" could stop its revolutions. Then began Sir John Macdonald's advocacy of a "national policy." He "stumped the country," declaring that if Sir Richard was right, "then Canada paid very dearly for its flies," and proposed a higher tariff so as to defend and stimulate our own manufactures. The country accepted this policy in 1878, swept out the "flies," and has been prosperous ever since.

But, to return to the debate, Mr. Davin followed Mr. Mills, saying that he himself had heard Sir Richard say that "statesmen had as much influence in promoting prosperity as flies on the wheel." Mr. Davin, although member for Assiniboia in the Great North-West, is an Irishman, brimful of good-humour, and made the statement in the pleasantest way. Sir Richard was present, and deemed it wise to resent the imputation that he belonged to the political school of *laissez faire*. He bluntly denied the charge, and insinuated that Mr. Davin possessed "a very vinous and after-dinner memory." Sir Richard sits nearly opposite to Sir John, who at once came to the aid of his supporter in his hearty and vigorous way, and declared that Mr. Davin was perfectly right. Flat contradictions followed, which were not pleasant to listen to, but which seemed to excite more interest than the subject under debate. But Mr. Davin continued his effective speech, asking, "Can we not discriminate? Can we not put up a discriminating duty against other countries in favour of England? Is not that possible?" But he failed to obtain a reply from the Opposition.

The adjournment of the debate was then proposed, which Mr. Laurier, the Opposition Leader, supported, saying the Government were evidently not prepared to give an opinion on this important question. "I want to hear the Leader of the Opposition," said our "old Parliamentary hand," and so the debate closed, not likely to be resumed until next session.

Immediately to the left of Sir John sit three gentlemen whose opinions will have the weightiest influence on Imperial Federation, both commercial and political. These are Sir Hector Langevin, Minister of Public Works; Sir Adolphe Caron, Minister of Militia; and the Hon. J. A. Chapleau, Secretary of State. Sir Hector is recognised as one of the best administrators in the Government; Sir Adolphe is credited among those who know with having played a most effective part in the suppression of the North-West rebellion; Mr. Chapleau is noted for his eloquence, but especially for the fluency and brilliancy of his *English* speeches. All three of them deserve to be honoured for maintaining, against their own supporters, that Riel was guilty, and that



there should be in Canada only "one law for all," French-Canadians included. But it was chiefly Mr. Chapleau, brave and fearless, who confronted the mobs of his native province, and had the courage to tell the truth and shame the demon of incipient rebellion in the hearts of the excited men around him. These statesmen have not been laggards in their devotion to a united Empire in the past, and their influence must be great as regards future steps in the same direction.

Among the French-Canadians may be mentioned Messrs. Gigault, Dupont, and Amyot, whose speeches in their own language are frequently admired by their fellow-members in the Dominion House of Commons. It was most interesting to listen to some of the French members during the Unrestricted Reciprocity debate. Mr. Amyot especially attracted attention. Fancy a gentleman with dark hair and moustache, an excellent voice, and exuberant gesticulation, getting excited over Imperial Federation, protesting against the "annexation" of Canada to England, alluding sarcastically to "*cette belle mère patrie*," and declaring that, rather than have Canada federated with England, he would prefer to see it in the hands of the Americans! It is true that Mr. Amyot afterwards apologised; but his language, nevertheless, went out to his constituents, and no doubt had its effect.

All this shows that the subject of Imperial Federation must be approached with the greatest caution in Canada, and that it will require the greatest wisdom and circumspection on the part of the Executive Committee so to frame their future proposals for political federation, as to gain favour among the various sensitive races that are included within the bounds of the British Empire.

### A MACHIAVELLIAN DESIGN.

THE HON. M. HONORÉ MERCIER, Premier of the Provincial Government of Quebec, at a banquet given in his honour by the *Club National*, at Montreal, on April 10th, spoke as follows. We translate verbatim from his own organ, *La Patrie*.

"Here is another project of the Tories destined to destroy the autonomy of the Provinces, and to push us in an underhand fashion into a Legislative Union. I have no need to tell you that, in Canada, Sir John Macdonald is the heart and soul of this anti-provincial movement. As he sees that the Provinces are organising to resist the encroachments of the Federal authorities, he is endeavouring to frustrate their efforts by carrying the strife into other fields; and as he knows that the popular sentiment here is against him, he is seeking to crush it by associating influential English politicians with his project. For I beg you to observe that it is in England that the centre of action must be sought, and that thence issue the plans destined to rob us of the institutions that we so justly prize.

"The partisans of this Imperial Federation are becoming more and more audacious. They are beginning to assert themselves in a startling manner, and to introduce their dream into the domain of practical politics by the nomination of the new Governor-General, who is an avowed partisan of Imperial Federation. In fact, Lord Stanley has given it to be understood that he is coming to Canada with the fixed intention and firm determination to secure the triumph of this cause. That is to say, he comes here, like Lord Durham in 1839, to finish the work of national destruction commenced by the author of the famous report that all the world knows. And *La Minerve*, the organ of the French-speaking Tories, complacently reproduces these words of Lord Stanley in favour of Imperial Federation, and seems to welcome him all the more heartily for this very reason. The word of command, then, has been spoken, and all the Tories, French and English alike, are required to be in favour of Imperial Federation.

"The situation is serious. We are face to face with the most formidable danger that our political organisation has ever encountered. An attempt is being made to force us to enter upon a course of policy that for us can only have the most disastrous consequences. Hitherto we have lived a Colonial life; to-day it is attempted to force us to assume against our will the responsibilities and dangers of a sovereign State, which will not be ours; to expose us to the chances of peace or war between the great States of the world; to the stern necessities of military service as they are known in Europe. It is sought to impose upon us a *régime* which, by means of the conscription, might disperse our sons from the ice of the Pole to the burning sands of the Sahara—a hateful *régime*, which would condemn us to a forcible tribute of blood and gold; which would tear from our arms our sons, the hope of our country, and the consolation of our declining years, in order to drag them

into distant and bloody conflicts that we have no power either to prevent or to terminate. Liberals and National Conservatives alike, we are opposed decidedly, energetically, to this change, and the National party in the Province of Quebec will have none of it. We will fight with all our energies against the Machiavellian design, and if our opponents ever succeed in imposing it upon us, it will only be either by force or by fraud."

The late Right Hon. Joseph Henley once threatened, in opposition to a measure in the House of Commons, to lie on his back and cry "Fudge! fudge! fudge!" And if Premiers might be treated like meaner folk, we should feel tempted, as far at least as the attack on Imperial Federation is concerned, to confine ourselves to copying so excellent an example. But as we are anxious to show towards M. Mercier's high office all due respect, we will, ignoring all the talk about conscription, sons dragged from their fathers' arms, and so forth—which, though all very well after dinner, is not intended to be answered in cold blood next morning—point out very briefly the error into which he has fallen when he accuses the Imperial Federation League of supporting the encroachments of the Federal authorities. We will simply refer him to the Constitution of the League, which categorically declares: "No scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs." To that resolution, both in its letter and in its spirit, the League has consistently adhered throughout; and we challenge M. Mercier to adduce an instance to the contrary. It is true that, a few months back, we had occasion to differ sharply from him in reference to the subject of Commercial Union. But Commercial Union was a matter which was *ultra vires* of the Provincial Ministers. Had M. Mercier and his colleagues confined themselves to the local and Provincial matters which alone they were elected to control, we should never have thought of criticising their actions. If they think fit to invade the territory of Imperial politics, they, at least, should refrain from condemning as intruders those whom they found in occupation of the country.

Of M. Mercier's attack upon Lord Stanley of Preston we have, of course, nothing to say, except perhaps that it is somewhat remarkable to learn that his words were received with loud and repeated applause by an audience that a few moments before had risen to its feet to sing "God Save the Queen." But, as we should deeply regret that his Excellency, who honoured the League by accepting its hospitality on the eve of his departure on his high mission, should seem thereby to have in the slightest degree compromised his position of perfect impartiality, we think it well to reproduce the exact words which he used on that occasion. It is evident that only a garbled version can hitherto have reached M. Mercier:—

"I go forth in a short space of time to preside over a Colony as the representative of the Sovereign, and to be one of the links which I hope will connect the great Dominion and the Mother Country. I hope, *though I am not of your body*, that I have shown how deeply I feel the motives which actuate you, and how strongly I sympathise with you. I verily believe I shall meet on the other side of the Atlantic with those who entirely respond to the noble sentiments you have given utterance to. (Applause.) Gentlemen, I trust that (although the words have on some occasions been misapplied) on an occasion such as the present the words '*Imperium et Libertas*' are not out of place. (Hear, hear.) The individual liberty which we claim for all men is what we claim for ourselves; the purest, the most disinterested care of our Colonial affairs is perfectly compatible with the largest and truest interests of this country; and while, on the one hand, we toast the '*Libertas*' which is dear to us all, we shall, I hope, never forget the '*Imperium*' of which we are all members." (Applause.)

Since the report of M. Mercier's speech reached this country, Lord Stanley has again spoken in public, at the banquet of the Canada Club. And this is what he said:—

"I wish to express the regret with which I find my notice called to certain opinions which I am presumed to hold, and which it is already stated are likely to be the cause of offence to some members of the great community with which I am about to be associated. In dining the other night with the Imperial Federation League, with which I am not connected, I made certain remarks, indicative of my own opinions, speaking of the great and growing interests which are, I hope, daily increasing between the Mother Country, the Dominion, and other parts of the world, and with respect to which, as a politician of twenty years' standing, I have neither anything to take back nor to deny. I hold that any one who takes the position which I shall have the honour to hold in the not remote future



puts aside all partisanship; that he considers he is the servant of the State, and not of a party; and however he may retain his own political convictions, those are wholly subordinated to the constitutional position in which he finds himself placed. It is in that capacity alone I speak to you, and can venture to return thanks for the kindness of your welcome. When we consider it, my task is nothing less than an endeavour, however imperfect, to act as a link between the Mother Country and the great Dominion—that great Dominion which now stretches out its arm, whether in peace or war, as the connecting link between the two hemispheres—that great Dominion which connects this country with our Eastern dependencies by an unbroken chain, over which the British flag may float the whole way, and which, whether in peace or war, must give us a predominance over the civilised world which it is our duty to uphold and maintain. (Cheers.) Your kindness emboldens me to hope that if, at a future period of my life, you were good enough to ask me to meet you again in such a hospitable gathering as this, I may, with a still fuller heart, return to you once more my thanks for the cordiality offered me on the threshold of my career out of this country; and may I hope that the great Dominion, with which we are all associated, and with which I now am to be connected—that she and all that belongs to her may prosper; that when the time comes for me to lay down my trust, her future may be brightened, that these responsibilities may, God willing, have been fulfilled, and, gentlemen, that we may all unite once more in the hope that God may prosper the great Dominion and all her people." (Loud cheers.)

### "FAS EST ET AB HOSTE DOCERI."

IN the course of the graceful speech to which we have elsewhere alluded, Mr. Labouchere expressed the wish that "honourable gentlemen, instead of reading Jingo newspapers in this country, would take the trouble to read the organs that were best appreciated by the inhabitants of Australia." With the operative clause (as the lawyers would call it) of this proposition, we need hardly say that we find ourselves in entire and hearty agreement. Unfortunately we fear that an exhaustive study of the Australasian press is beyond the power of the ordinary M.P. There are in Australasia, so we learn from the admirable Centennial Supplement of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 546 newspapers, a considerable proportion of them dailies. Still we are so fully persuaded that the English public ought to listen not to what people here say about the Colonists, but primarily to what the Colonists have to say for themselves, that on our own subject of Imperial Federation we propose as far as space will allow to place our readers in the position in which Mr. Labouchere desires to see them.

Of New South Wales we need say little. The *Sydney Morning Herald*, unquestionably the ablest and most influential paper in New South Wales, if not in Australia, has always consistently taken our side. Last month we quoted the assertion of the *Sydney Mail* that "there is a growing feeling in favour of some form of federation. . . . the idea is increasingly fascinating, and there are many who think the work can be done and might advantageously be done." We quoted, too, at great length from the *Sydney Telegraph*, which has consistently and strongly opposed us. To these quotations we may however, perhaps, add that a reader of the paper wrote and protested against the line it was taking:—

Surely (he said) this is no time to check the enthusiasm which aims at a combination of power able and willing to compel the peace of the civilised world. Rather let us seize on every practical idea that may lead to that desirable consummation, and applaud those who, like Lord Carrington, can so clearly and so forcibly point out the strong reasons of self as well as of general interest why we should seek to make our present union with the Old Country even closer and more permanent than heretofore. Our sons may in this case look forward to a grander future for Australia, and a finer prospect for their ambition than the position of chief "chucker out" of refractory members of the Opposition in a local parliament. It may be theirs, rather, to occupy a proud position in "the parliament of nations—in the federation of the world."

This letter roused a second correspondent to inquire plainly, "why should he grudge the Australian cause the support of one great journal?" and to assert that "an Australian rock was of more value to Australian hearts than a Canadian Province or an Indian satrapy."

And now leaving the "Mistaken Patriot," for so he signs himself, to pine like Prometheus on his Australian rock, where we trust no vulture may disturb him, let us turn to Victoria. The Melbourne *Argus* is, according to the authority we have already quoted, "the most important paper in the southern capital, first published in 1846." In its issue of March 26th, in its first leader, the *Argus* spoke as follows:—

The Imperial Federation movement is unfortunately named, and the misnomer leads to the preposterously unnecessary fears of Imperialism and interference with local governments and military systems. What is desired is a federation of semi-independent commonwealths, all owing allegiance to each other, and to a common head. In the past the world has heard much of the pride of country

and the value of local independence. The tendency in the present day among the nations that have been most conspicuously successful in advancing their fortunes is towards union, and pride of race and language. Another step is thus taken in the development of humanity. It is not of the soil on which he was born that the far-seeing citizen alone boasts; but of the tongue which he speaks, of the institutions that he inherits, and of the history which he shares with others whose lot may be cast in a different part of the globe. The sympathy of race is the moving power in Russia, Germany, and Italy; and it should be no less strong among the numerous offshoots of the island power which has given laws to continents and Shakespeare to the world.

But it is said that among the rising generation of the Colonies England is a mere name, an unknown power. If this is the case, then our system of education is more at fault than has yet been alleged by its worst detractors. It is thoroughly misleading to speak as if the history of Australia were only beginning. She has behind her the history of a race that in war and politics, in literature and science, has stamped its impress deeply upon countries and generations. We inherit the same traditions, institutions, speech, and religion as the people who remain at home. Nothing is alien, nothing strange, nothing separates Englishmen in the different parts of the world, save the artificial barriers which are raised for petty political purposes.

This may be dubbed sentiment. It is the sort of sentiment which has not only given to Germany and Italy a vast political influence, but has made the people broader and larger-minded. English people can find many reasons for seeking a closer union with each other. They require, for instance, to defend widely scattered interests against the Governments which seek, without scruple for their neighbour's feelings, an outlet for their population and their commerce. They are bound also to maintain their position in the East, if they mean to hold their possessions, increase their commerce, and spread their civilisation. We have just been reminded by the despatch of the Chinese ambassador of the complications that might arise if the Empire were broken up, and that can easily be settled as long as the different parts remain firmly united. The union with the Mother Country may indeed require some sacrifice, though certainly it will never demand the sacrifice which is anticipated by some morbid observers. Some such sacrifice gives strength to a nation. Under any circumstances Australia would be rich and prosperous, but a people cannot live by the accumulation of wealth alone. Its moral fibre must be nourished by ideas.

Two days afterwards, apropos of Mr. Taylor's prize essay which had been published in the interval, the *Argus* again devoted its first leader to the same subject. And this is what it said:—

The essay on "The Advantages of Imperial Federation," which gained the prize recently given by the local League, has now been published. It is to be read on its own merits, and also because it contains a pointed answer to much nonsense that is talked—and written—on the subject. "Democracy," says the author, Mr. H. D. Taylor, "has based all its struggles and won all its victories on the one great principle of union." The dictum can hardly be challenged by any observant Victorian. Already in the rapid though eventful course of our history we have come to the point where enlightened self-interest and rational sentiment compel even members of Parliament to agitate for a closer union with our neighbours of the same kith and kin. To say nothing of our commercial relationships, and to take only the germ of international policy which will yet overshadow the Pacific, it is obvious that such a dispute as occurred in regard to the New Hebrides requires unanimity on the part of the Colonies, and sympathy between Australia and England. The same conditions are evidently desirable in dealing with the Chinese question, in providing for the general defence of commerce and property, and in maintaining our prestige in the East, in the trade of which Australia is beginning to share. In thus recognising the strength of union, we are following the trend of the world's thought, and listening to the "spirit of the age." The present is the epoch of the making of great states.

We would gladly have quoted the article in full, but that is impossible; perhaps we may be able to find space next month. Meanwhile, here are cuttings from two other Melbourne dailies, the first from the morning *Daily Telegraph*, the second from the evening journal, the *Herald*:—

Mr. Purves is by profession a talker, not a thinker; and when he attempts to deal with the great political bearings and the grand and far-reaching aims of the association he presides over (The Australian Natives' Association), he undertakes a task that is beyond him. As the years circle, Australia will grow, and she will grow not entirely from within, in spite of Mr. Purves's dictum of "Australia for the Australians." She will attract to herself, if she is fortunate, the world's best "brain and brawn," and the cream of humanity from all nations of the world may mingle its blood in building up a race which, while preserving its British basis, may present its highest qualities and attributes. Mr. Purves's views are narrow and insular, and tend to segregation. We want here a more cosmopolitan outlook, that aims at "the federation of all English-speaking people."

Rome, at the very height of her power, only ruled over 2,300,000 square miles; but the British flag waves over more than nine millions of the same mensuration. "Oh! my friends," said Cromwell, as he looked down on the Vale of Munster, "this is a country worth fighting for!" And surely the same may be said of such an Empire as is described above. More than this, the spirit of union is stronger than ever. There are not many people who talk of separation nowadays, and when they do it is when Colonial interests are openly neglected. "Thirty years ago," said Sir Henry Barkly recently, "when I was about to start for Victoria, officials of high standing in Downing Street made no secret of their expectation that I should probably prove the last Imperial Governor of that Colony. No one now thinks Sir Henry Loch is likely to be so." We should imagine not, unless, indeed, it be through a relapse of the above-mentioned



officials in Downing Street into their old wilfulness. That a closer relationship is desirable between the Mother Country and the Colonies few dispute. The question how to bring it about is a matter for discussion and consideration, and it is not too much to say that since 1884, when the Imperial Federation League was first formed, the subject of such federation has become one of the leading questions of the day.

After quoting at great length and with frequent expressions of approval from a lecture delivered by Mr. O. V. Morgan, M.P. for Battersea, before the Montreal branch of the League, the *Herald* concludes:—

Such views as these require, indeed, the gravest discussion, and they may not be carried out for years; but there is much to ponder over in the prophecy made by another writer on the same subject, and frequently noticed in the *Herald*, that, unless the tie between Great Britain and the Colonies is made even closer than it is now, the former runs great risk of sinking into a second-rate Power, and the latter of sharing the fate of the South American Republics, with every man's hand against his brother.

But perhaps all these editors are looking out for invitations to Government House. So let us conclude with an extract from an up-country journal that has reached us, the *Federal Standard*, published at Chiltern, Victoria:—

The tendency of public opinion has of late days set in towards a Federation of the British race, and such an union of the scattered portions of the British Empire as would make it all-powerful against the nationalities which are ever on the look-out for plunder and aggrandisement. The feeling, indeed, of Europe itself tends in the same direction. An United Germany is a case in point. In fact, it seems the necessity of the period that huge and powerful nationalities should take the place of the smaller states. "*Civis Romanus sum*" was the proud boast of the freeman of the scattered but all-absorbing Roman Empire. Paul, the Jew of Tarsus, was, under this ægis, as true a Roman as any born within the actual walls of the Imperial city. "I am a citizen of the British Empire" ought to be as potent a shibboleth throughout the area of this mundane sphere in warding off aggression, and protecting the interests of citizens. Imperial Federation, as it is called, is the only way to make it so, and to give us that sense of security impossible to be derived from separate nationality. It may be mentioned, incidentally, that Imperial Federation, as understood by Lord Rosebery and the Federation League, is that "no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of local parliaments as regards local affairs." With this declaration all the platitudes about "Australia for Australians," and a separate Federated Australian nationality, have little show—at least, not for the present, and until that happy time arrives when our petty pinchbeck Australian nationalities have fought out the battle of Free Trade *v.* Protection.

Mr. Labouchere has appealed to Cæsar. To Cæsar we have taken him, and we trust that Mr. Labouchere is satisfied with his judgment. If the journals we have quoted are not "the organs best appreciated by the inhabitants of Australia," we shall be glad to be corrected. Next month we hope to call witnesses from the other Colonies, whose depositions are already safely reposing in our drawer.

### THE FEDERATION QUESTION.

"Whatever may be said to the contrary at dinner-tables, nobody in the Colonies whose opinion is worth having believes Imperial Federation to be practicable, or even desirable."—THE STAR, May 16.

From *The Tasmanian*.

WE understand that Mr. R. J. Beadon, who is manifesting a keen interest in the subject of Imperial Federation, proposes to visit Launceston before long, with a view of promoting a public meeting here in support of the claims of the League. Imperial Federation is, to a great many people, little more than a vague-sounding name for what may be called an "unknown quantity," and we shall welcome any apostle of the movement who will strive to direct public attention to a matter which, although at first sight it may appear deficient in its bearing upon our interests, yet proves, on closer examination, to have a material concern for each and every one of us. Of many of the general aims of the Imperial Federation League we have already spoken, and we propose to-day to refer to some of the objections commonly raised against the idea to which Mr. Beadon is now foster-father, but which engaged attention here even before that gentleman settled in Tasmania. That Imperial Federation is a consummation everywhere wished for if only it be practicable, we are content just now to take as a postulate.

The greatest obstacle which the advocate of Imperial Federation has to get over is the want of a clear "plan of campaign"—a code of faith capable of being stated in so many propositions of mathematical lucidity. "How can I support a theory to which I can give no immediate practical application?" is the oft-raised query. Yet an answer sufficiently satisfactory to justify advocacy and support is not hard to find. All great movements require time to mature. A

project so vast, an aim so grand as that of Imperial Federation is a work, not of weeks or months, but of years. This proposal is, without doubt, the most extensive and far-reaching that has ever been laid before the world since the days of Alexander. Great as is the fact of German Imperial Confederacy, it pales in the light of an Imperial British Federation—a union of dominions comprising one-sixth of the area, and one-seventh of the population, of the earth. Yet how many years did the Prussian Government strive after the federation which hostile pressure at length forced into active and glorious being? How many plans for achieving the end were advocated and rejected? Why, then, should we look askance at Imperial Federation because it is a work of time—a great cause to be laboured for and striven after until it conquers? What grand result of human effort, what splendid victory of diplomacy, comes in an hour? When the aim is the welding together of semi-detached people into one Imperial nation, the time is to be counted, if need be, by decades instead of by months. And what though there be no cut-and-dried scheme of Imperial Federation to present to the public palate all finished and ready to be swallowed? Who can evolve a plan that shall at once meet all difficulties and secure universal acceptance? Is it not rather by the attrition of minds and the comparison of ideas, by the suggestions that spring from consideration and re-consideration, that the real unit of Federation is to be discovered? And if consideration be refused because of the absence of a present definite formula, how in reason can that formula ever come into existence? No: the League has no fixed platform, save that of the general good of Great Britain and her Colonies; and all that the supporters of Imperial Federation ask, as we understand it, is that its members should strive to promote that community of sentiment in favour of a great object, and to gain that impartial discussion of its merits, which can alone prepare the public mind at home and in the Colonies for the enthusiastic acceptance of a settled scheme when the time is ripe; and, indeed, thereby hasten that time.

Again, it is said that Imperial Federation is unnecessary; that the relations of England and her Colonies are satisfactory now, and can be left to adjust themselves as years go on. But is that so? We incline to the opinion expressed by the present leader of the House of Commons at the Conference of July, 1884—that the existing footing of England towards her Colonies must eventually end in either Federation or disintegration. We do not need the argument of Professor Goldwin Smith to support the proposition of ultimate disintegration unless the natural tendency of peoples having a certain number of separate interests to diverge more and more be counteracted. Continuing unaltered in the present position of semi-republics, which the Colonies unquestionably occupy, it is probably only a matter of time for us to elect our own governors from amongst ourselves, as Sir George Grey has often suggested in New Zealand, and to form our own commercial and political treaties with foreign nations, as Canada has in one instance done. Let these ideas become developed and put into practice, and is not the dismemberment of the Empire accomplished with a certainty that will intensify with every year until at length the last strands of the rope of union snap under some trifling pressure, and the breach, never to be walled up, is made? *A laissez faire* policy, then, will not do.

"But English interests and Colonial ones are not the same; they must clash, and in such an event are the Colonies to give way? Are we to be ruled from Downing Street?" By no means. But we may help to rule in Downing Street, and in return consent to be governed thence. In the first place, English and Colonial interests are the same in substance. It is England who has handed these territories to us with a regal generosity which common honesty, not to say gratitude, cannot disregard. It is English money that has provided Colonial railways, bridges, and harbours. The wealth and prosperity of the Colonies depend at present more upon English capital and confidence than upon our own energy. England on her part has the most direct concern in our industries, settlement, and progress. England is our commercial carrier, our banker, and our friend. Australian wealth is spent in England by Colonists in thousands whose home is there. Vast business



enterprises are carried on jointly in England and in the Colonies. Every throb of the commercial pulse of England sends the life-blood through the arteries. We are one in our interests, and those interests are peace and development. If dangers threaten England they threaten us; if English prosperity is assailed our Colonial well-being is endangered. The man who asks, "What have we to do with England?" might with infinitely greater force exclaim, "What has Tasmania to do with Victoria?" And yet such a questioner would hardly deny the policy and indeed necessity of intimate relations between Melbourne and ourselves on a thousand matters of common importance. The only real question is, how far are the interests of the Mother Country and the Colonies the same? To the extent that they are, so we want Federation; on the points as to which they are not, we need uninterrupted and strict self-government. The notion of the Colonies being dragged by England into a war that has no concern for us is one of those flash-in-the-pan objections that only requires reflection to expose its hollowness. True, Russia does not swoop down on the South American Republics. But is an argument to be drawn from that fact in favour of Russia or any other hostile Power leaving us alone because we choose some fine day to call ourselves republics? Is not the English interest paramount here? And can that fact be altered? Would Russia respect our perfidious separation from the Mother Land? or would she say, "Well, you have severed yourselves from England, but you are English by nature, and your interests are bound up with England, and we are obliged to you for getting rid for us of that English naval and military power which would otherwise have placed you beyond our reach"?

Space fails us to-day for entering upon the vexed questions of representation and taxation, or upon other of the multitudinous considerations which arise to the mind with the spontaneity of innate truth when the benefits of Imperial Federation are in the balance. We wish the movement success with an earnestness born of the conviction that in it alone is to be found a pledge for the future peace and progress of the glorious British Empire.

#### COLONIAL MISREPRESENTATIVES.

PROFESSOR FREEMAN once remarked, with not more wit than truth, that English people would never understand the history of Greece and Rome till they got out of their heads the notion that all the ancients lived at the same time. In somewhat similar fashion we might say that English people will never understand contemporary Colonial affairs till they realise that, because a man lives or has lived in Canada or Australia, his statements as to Canadian or Australian opinion are not therefore necessarily entitled to implicit credence. Persons who would be the first to admit that residents in London may misunderstand, may even wilfully misrepresent the drift and force of public opinion in England, are ready to receive open-mouthed the most ridiculous assertions of unknown or even anonymous correspondents, if only they arrive by submarine cable or with the guarantee of a Colonial stamp upon the envelope. Here is a recent case in point. A gentleman writes from Ontario to the *Newcastle Chronicle*, under the signature of "An Old Newcastle Resident," and this is what he tells the readers of that important journal:—"There is a tacit understanding that sooner or later the link must be broken that binds Canada to the Mother Land. . . . Federation is dimly imagined as a very fascinating but impracticable alternative to the two practicable and feasible ends"—of annexation, namely, to the States and independence. Now, we have no intention whatever of arguing on this matter. If "An Old Newcastle Resident" is referring only to his own tacit understanding, or to his own dim imagination, we have nothing to say. But if, as would naturally be supposed by any one reading his words, he is professing to express the general opinion of his fellow-Colonists, then we say deliberately that his statements are untrue. Of the two possible alternatives that he puts forward as practicable and feasible, annexation is scouted, independence is scarcely thought of. Federation—as yet, it may be, but dimly imagined—is looked forward to with eager expectation by many,

with complacency by most, with hostility by few. In these pages we shall never attempt to prophesy to our readers smooth things, or to buoy up their hopes with delusive appearances. Last month we warned them that in New South Wales there was a distinct party actively opposed to us. To-day we call their attention to Mr. Mercier's attack upon the League, and Lord Lansdowne's opinion that an Imperial *Zollverein* is unattainable. That Canada is ripe to-day for a complete scheme of Imperial Federation we have never asserted; but for all that we say without hesitation that, if there was presented to-morrow to the Canadian people the alternative of annexation, independence, or Federation, and they were constrained to make their choice forthwith, it would be neither for annexation nor independence that their vote would be cast.

We cannot profess to pierce the veil of anonymity behind which the "Old Newcastle Resident" conceals his identity; but for the sake of illustration we subjoin the credentials of two other gentlemen who have recently taken upon themselves to enlighten the British public upon Colonial affairs. Some months back a certain Mr. Charles Stewart, M.A., wrote from Winnipeg to inform the readers of the *Times* that three-fourths of the people of Canada, or we rather think the proportion was four-fifths, were thirsting for immediate annexation to the States. Here, according to the *Call*, the leading Winnipeg paper, is the record that entitles Mr. Stewart to speak on behalf of his fellow-citizens:—

"This Charles Stewart is the same crank who originated the Farmers' Union movement in 1883. It was he who had a hand in passing the infamous 'anti-immigration' resolution of that body, which resulted so disastrously to the progress of the North-West. He, too, was the mover of the 'secession' resolution at the Farmers' Convention which was sat upon. He also formed a secret society having for its object the propagation of secessionist doctrines. He was for a time squelched by being rotten-egged by the people of Winnipeg for his disloyal utterances, but he has since bobbed up serenely and blossomed out in a new rôle, viz., as the self-constituted mentor of the Lieutenant-Governor, and has taken upon himself, in company with Mr. Crank Lynn and the member for South Winnipeg, to instruct His Honour as to the way in which he should perform his gubernatorial duties. He evidently is not contented with the local notoriety he enjoys, and is desirous of obtaining an Imperial reputation as a crank of the first water. It is to be hoped that, having humbugged the *Times* into publishing his idiotic production, he will be satisfied, and refrain from further misrepresenting this country to the English journals. We get misrepresented enough in the old country without our own local cranks taking a hand in traducing us."

As for Mr. John Norton, who dragged the name of the Australian working man in the dirt through half the newspapers and on half the platforms in England, our readers can scarcely have forgotten him. But having posed before the English public as an Australian working man's delegate, and having claimed admission—unsuccessfully, we admit—to the Hull Trades Union Congress as an Australian trades unionist, it is somewhat startling that he should now appear in Australia as "a financial member of Pitman's Phonographic Association of Great Britain." The following extract is from a leading Australian journal:—

"Serious disputing and wrangling have occurred in the Trades and Labour Council in connection with a somewhat novel claim forwarded by Mr. John Norton. Two or three months ago Mr. Norton was appointed by the Western Miners' Society at Lithgow to represent them on the Trades and Labour Council, but his right to sit in the council was questioned on the ground that he was not a *bonâ fide* trades-unionist. Mr. Norton then claimed that he was fully qualified to act as a delegate on the ground that, as a shorthand writer, he was a financial member of the society which conserved the interests of those following that calling, namely, Pitman's Phonographic Association of Great Britain. A motion calling on Mr. Norton to withdraw from the council was, after a long and acrimonious discussion, rejected by a small majority, but the matter will not end here. A delegate of the Typographical Society stated that he would advise the withdrawal of his society from the council, and it is probable that similar steps will be taken by other delegates who look upon the appointment as involving an important principle."

THE revenue receipts of the Cape Colony for the nine months ending March last amount to £2,500,000, an increase of nearly £200,000 over the corresponding period of the previous year.



### THE EMIGRANTS' INFORMATION OFFICE.

WE have received the Annual Report (the first that refers to a complete twelvemonth) of the Emigrants' Information Office for the year ending March 31st last. The fact that the report for the year ending March 31st is published before the end of April would alone be sufficient to mark a very striking contrast between this latest addition to the Government departments and its older and more easy-going neighbours. But there is another contrast at least equally striking. Government departments are not usually supposed to be undermanned, but the total staff of the Emigrants' Information Office consists of a clerk, an editor of handbooks and circulars, and two or three boy copyists; and the total expense is £500 a year for salaries, and £150 a year for rent and office expenses. It should, however, in fairness be added that the cost of printing and postage, amounting to £1,300 more, is not charged against the Information Office, so that its revenue is really, in round numbers, £2,000 a year. But for this modest sum it answered 16,000 inquiries, made either personally or by letter, and despatched broadcast 21,000 quarterly circulars. Even if we assumed that the circulars were all wasted, it can hardly be but that the individual applicants received on the average half-a-crown's worth of advice or assistance apiece. Indeed, that the information circulated by the office is both valuable and valued is sufficiently proved by the fact that some 18,000 copies of the penny handbook were sold. While referring to the literature issued from the office, we must express our pleasure at learning that Mr. W. B. Paton has been appointed official editor. Years before the Government consented to establish this new department, Mr. Paton recognised that accurate information was urgently needed, and gave it to the utmost of his power in the Handy Guide to Emigration which he prepared as a labour of love, and issued from time to time on behalf of the Central Emigration Society. Now that he has the advantage of the fuller and more prompt information that will doubtless be accessible to a Government department, his handbooks may be expected to be even more valuable than they have been in the past.

As for the class of persons who make application, we are told that the experiment of keeping the office open on Saturday afternoons and till 8 p.m. on other days had no appreciable effect in increasing the number of personal inquiries, and has therefore been abandoned. "Nearly all the visitors come in the earlier part of the day, a large proportion being men who are out of work, who are therefore not tied as to time. Very few of those who applied were members of trade or benefit societies." In other respects, however, the class of applicants appear to have been satisfactory enough. Of those who inquired, in person and by letter respectively, 2·4 and 5·3 per cent. were farmers, 4·3 and 18·8 farm labourers, 27·7 and 21·7 mechanics, as against only 18·1 and 9 per cent. who described themselves as general labourers. 66·5 and 71·4 per cent., respectively, were under thirty years of age. A rather remarkable fact is that inquiries in reference to Australasia were much more numerous than those referring to Canada, the explanation, we presume, being to be found in the fact that Canada is so much nearer and more familiar, that intending emigrants thither are more ready to rely exclusively on their own private sources of advice. The Committee appeal to those who have lately travelled in the Colonies, and other persons having special opportunities of obtaining information, to give them the benefit of their experience. In particular, they complain of the difficulty of procuring information directly from members of the working classes in the Colonies. "They appear to be, on the whole, disinclined to help the work of the office, probably from a mistaken impression that its real object is not to procure information, but to give undue encouragement to emigration."

Still, in spite of difficulties and drawbacks, there can be no doubt that the establishment of the Information Office has been a distinct success, a success that is likely to be yet more marked when the Colonists have had time to realise that the Office is just as careful to advise unsuitable emigrants not to go at all as it is to direct suitable emigrants to the most promising locality. The question is now whether the time has yet come for enlarging its field of operations.

One thing, we think, is certain; a more suitable habitation should be found for it forthwith. When the portraits of the great men who have made England what it is have had to flee from the tumble-down sheds at South Kensington to seek temporary shelter in Bethnal Green, because the country is too poor to find them decent accommodation, we are far from asking that the Emigrants' Information Office should be housed in a palace. But if Tasmania can afford an office in Victoria Street, it is hardly seemly that the Imperial Government should sandwich a department that has to enter into intimate relations with all our Colonies in between a public-house and an old-clothes shop in a back street in Westminster. For more ambitious changes, for the development of the Emigrants' Information Office into an Emigration Department, the time is probably not yet ripe, though there are not wanting signs that it is ripening fast.

Meanwhile there is one piece of information that much needs publishing, either through the Information Office or by some other means, for the benefit both of would-be emigrants and of the public at large, and that is the character and conduct of the different emigration societies and agencies at present in existence. We are persuaded that if steps are not taken before long on this side to put a stop to the emigration of unsuitable persons, some at least of the Colonies, Canada for one, will rise up and pass laws so drastic that they will exclude many whom Canada would be as glad to receive as we should be to send them. Our readers will not have forgotten Mr. Francis Peek's advice: "Let each benevolent person take up one thriftless family as a charge and assist its emigration." And what Mr. Peek so frankly advised, benevolent persons are at this moment engaged in doing all over the country. Not unfrequently they commence operations by sending round their *protégés* to beg from door to door with a collecting card, in order, we suppose, to strengthen their independence and stimulate their thrift. Then, again, there are the *soi-disant* charitable societies, which exist for the sake of the commissions which they obtain from the shipowners. The more emigrants they can despatch, be they as unsuitable as the luckless Greek gipsies who ran the gauntlet of the outports a few months since, and be their destination as impossible as Martin Chuzzlewit's Valley of Eden, the better they are satisfied; the larger will be their commission on the fares, and the larger, too, will be the subscriptions of their confiding supporters. Add to these the professedly commercial emigration agent, whose business it is to sell passages as another man's business is to sell cotton or carpets, and we need not be surprised that the number of unsuitable emigrants sent abroad, though relatively very small, is yet by no means inconsiderable. Nor need we wonder when we read in Canadian papers: "The present system works cruel injustice, not only to the immigrants, but also to the Canadian labourers and taxpayers. In fact, it is an outrage on all, and should not be quietly borne." If we could solve our own social problem by shipping our social refuse to Canada at £4 a head, from a cynic's point of view there might be something to say for the proposal, but that is impossible. What we can do, and philanthropists and commission agents will do it for us if we are not careful, is to irritate Canada into closing the door entirely in the face of good, bad, and indifferent alike.

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PLANS for more than doubling the capacity of Montreal Harbour have been prepared, and are reported as likely to be adopted forthwith.

THE Germans are never above taking a hint. There is shortly to be opened in the Exhibition Building in Sydney a *Deutscher Jahrmakrt*, or Fancy Fair. A square in Berlin, with the streets opening upon it, is to be represented.

AUSTRALIA, with a population of three and a half millions, has a public debt of 750,000,000 dols., while Canada, with a population greater by one-half, has a public debt of only 220,000,000 dols.; but we hear no pessimistic growling from Australia.—*Halifax (N.S.) Critic*.

THE CANADIAN BUDGET.—The Canadian Budget showed that the estimated deficit of 300,000 dols. had been turned into a surplus of 97,000 dols. There is a falling off in Customs, and an increase in Excise, and the increase and expenditure would about balance each other. Thirty-six million nine hundred thousand dols. was the estimated revenue for the coming year, and the expenditure was about the same. The deposits in the Government Savings Banks had increased in a marked degree.



## NOTICES.

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# Imperial Federation.

JUNE 1, 1888.

## THE CHINESE QUESTION IN AUSTRALIA.

"THE subject is one that cannot be dealt with hastily. We are quite sensible of its importance, but to treat it in any off-hand manner would be absurd. A Chinese danger to Australia must be removed, and though the action taken by the Colonies might involve difficulties between Great Britain and China, those difficulties should be faced. But admitting this, such a course ought not to be adopted without careful consideration." These are no words of ours; they are not even the words of any English writer or statesman. They are taken from a leading article published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* no longer ago than March 29th of this very year. But we are unable to express our own sentiments on the subject better than in these temperate and statesman-like words of the leading New South Wales organ. That Australia can be allowed to become, can even be exposed to the risk of becoming, a country like India, in which a few white men are scattered here and there among countless millions of Orientals, this is, of course, impossible. At all hazards, and whatever the difficulties and inconveniences, this must be prevented. We go further, and say, and in so speaking we are persuaded that we express the almost universal sentiment of the people of England, that our fellow-countrymen on the spot are the best judges both of the extent of the risk and of the measures that are adequate to guard against it. If they are convinced that nothing short of the absolute exclusion of the Chinese from Australasia will meet the necessities of the case, the English Foreign Office will not only be bound but will be ready to undertake at once negotiations with the Chinese Government to effect this object. At the same time it would be affectation to deny that the difficulties and inconveniences are likely to be considerable. British trade with China amounts at the present moment to some £30,000,000 sterling per annum. The frontiers of China and of British India are coterminous for hundreds upon hundreds of miles. To say nothing of Russian complications that may at any time occur, a friendly attitude of China upon our Burmese frontier means the opening up of a source of profitable trade, whose measure no man can attempt to foretell. An unfriendly attitude may give us instead of trade an addition of a million or two to our Indian army estimates. A good understanding with China is, therefore, of the utmost

moment to the British Empire; and that the Chinese Government will receive with effusion the assurance that its subjects are unfit to live in the same country with Englishmen is more than can well be expected. Still, as we have said, the difficulty will probably have to be faced, and we must be content to make the best of it.

It is therefore precisely because we are anxious that the Imperial Government should, to the very utmost of its power, meet the wishes of the different Australian Colonies, that we deeply regret the precipitate action of Sir Henry Parkes's Government, which has in more or less degree been followed by other Colonial Governments. Let us see what are the actual circumstances of the case. According to the article of the *Sydney Morning Herald* from which we have already quoted, "there has been a very considerable influx of Chinese at Port Darwin, but in other parts of Australia immigration has not of late years been on a large scale. . . . While, during the last few years, there has been an increase in the actual arrivals of Chinese in New South Wales, the percentage to the actual population has decreased, and a large proportion of the arrivals have been British subjects." It is estimated that in all Australasia there are some 50,000 Chinamen, of whom the large proportion are in the tropical Northern districts of Queensland and South Australia. In the last six weeks, as far as we are aware, the situation has only altered to this extent, that two or three hundred Chinamen have arrived at Sydney almost simultaneously with the arrival of smaller batches at Melbourne and Adelaide. Many of these are, it appears, British subjects from Hong Kong, while of the rest a large proportion hold exemption papers—purport, that is, to have already been passed for admission into the Colony on a previous voyage. One and all they have been refused permission to land. This refusal has been unanimously held by the Sydney judges to be illegal. Further, Sir Henry has introduced a Bill which imposes such restrictions on Chinese immigration as practically to amount to exclusion, and this Bill, which he introduced, we are told, in an impassioned speech, is to be retrospective in its action, and to indemnify the Government for past acts. It has been passed in one sitting (the standing orders being suspended) through the Legislative Assembly, and will, it is reported, without doubt be passed by the Legislative Council. As we write, however, the latest news is that Sir Henry Parkes has withdrawn to a considerable extent from the position he so hastily took up, that the decision of the court has been respected, and that all the Chinese who are either British subjects, or can produce exemption papers, or else pay the £10 poll tax have been permitted to land in peace, and even that there is talk of compensation. We learn also (though on this point we are not quite so sure of the accuracy of the telegram) that "the newspapers generally condemn the action of Sir Henry Parkes as amounting practically to a defiance of the powers of the Imperial Government." We much hope, therefore, that the question will not become as acute as it seemed likely to do a few days since.

As we have already shown, it would be nothing short of disastrous to the Empire if any portion of it were to act on the principles of Sir Henry Parkes's memorandum, which declares not only "that there can be no sympathy," but that "in future, it is to be apprehended, there will be no peace between the races." A war between the British Empire and China to-day would be something very different from the petty affairs of a generation back. When Sir Henry Parkes continues that in default of Imperial protection the Australian Parliament must devise measures to defend the Colonies, we wonder if he has realised the full force of what he is saying. Does he really suppose—we will not say that New South Wales—but that all Australia could match itself unaided against the Chinese Empire? The Australian ports are, as he tells us, "within easy sail of the ports of China." China possesses—we quote from the 1888 edition of the "Statesman's Year-Book"—"a considerable navy; the ships are many of them of an advanced type." The army, which is provided with a liberal supply of Krupp field guns and Mauser rifles, is, we are told, kept down in time of peace to a mere 320,000. That it knows how to fight, the French in Tonquin have learnt to their cost. The Colonists, who number some 3,500,000, all told, men



women, and children, might perhaps defend their chief ports against the attack of European troops, but, to defend their continent against the invasion of the swarms thrown off by a nation of four hundred millions, backed by an adequate military force, they would be as helpless as before the advent of a plague of locusts. But we need not waste time discussing how many larks we shall catch when the sky falls, or what might happen to New South Wales if, after flouting the Imperial protection, she were mad enough to provoke a quarrel with China. One point, however, in conclusion, we can scarcely pass unnoticed. What have the politicians who think that Australia has no concern beyond the limits of its own island to say to the whole question? Is it not evident that, whether she will or not, Australia must have a foreign policy? And he would be a bold man who would take upon himself to declare that the present system by which Australia's foreign policy is managed by one unaided Englishman 16,000 miles off is the most satisfactory arrangement possible, even though all Colonial Secretaries were as able and as sympathetic as the present holder of that office. If the upshot of the present difficulty is to force into prominence the imperative need for some representation of Australia in the Imperial Government, for some method less primitive than the present one of minatory telegrams to the Colonial Office by which Australian wishes can be put before the democracy of the Empire, the difficulty, serious though we fear it is likely to be, can hardly be so great but what we shall be glad to have encountered it.

#### THE IMPERIAL DEFENCES BILL.

"THE Bill was passed through all its stages at one sitting, and it was decided that the official record should bear the fact that the Bill had been passed unanimously. In the Legislative Council when the Bill was passed the whole House cheered loudly." Such was the report that we had the pleasure to make last February in reference to the passage of the Australasian Naval Forces Bill through the Victorian Parliament. We could have wished that we might have reported the story of the Imperial Defence resolutions, which give effect to the English side of the bargain, and their passage through the Parliament at Westminster in similar terms. But, alas!—to quote again, this time from the words in which the *Sydney Morning Herald* described the passage, by a more than four to one majority, of an identical Bill through the New South Wales Legislature—"it would have been folly to expect that a measure characterised as this is by patriotism, loyalty, and practical common-sense, would be carried by a unanimous vote." Still, it is satisfactory to be able to record that the resolution, which provides for the immediate construction and the joint Australian and British maintenance of an Imperial fleet, has been formally passed by the House of Commons. That the spirit of it commends itself to the approval of the overwhelming majority of the people of this country is a point on which no doubt whatever is reasonably possible. It would be tedious and superfluous to quote evidence in support of this assertion. Let one quotation suffice, and the *Standard* give expression to the general feeling. "The sum which is to be contributed by the British Parliament towards the creation of a Colonial navy is no adequate measure of the significance of the understanding in virtue of which it is paid. . . . The partnership which is now happily established marks the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the Empire. . . . We are a long way off as yet from the realisation of Imperial Federation, with a common Imperial army and navy perhaps as an incident of the bond. But at the very least the germ of world-wide co-operation may be held to exist in the present compact. . . . The agreement symbolises a spirit of brotherhood and solidarity which will grow all the stronger for the recognition accorded to it in practice."

"But," we can imagine some Victorian member of Parliament saying, with the recollection of the enthusiastic unanimity of his own Assembly last December still tingling in his veins, "if this be the feeling in England, how comes it that the resolution was passed in a thin House by a mere

two to one majority?" In answer we should point out that the resolutions were taken when the House was in Committee, and in the dinner-hour, a time when, according to the accepted usage, only enough members remain to secure that Government business can be carried on. For our own part we could have wished that, in consideration of the importance of an event that must some day become historical, a division had been challenged when the House was sitting. That the majority would then have been many times larger goes without saying. On the other hand, the minority would probably have been even smaller. The pinchbeck Voltairianism of Mr. Labouchere would still no doubt have led him to sneer at "ridiculous expeditions to Suakim," and "colonial contingents" that "misconducted themselves." The amiable puzzle-headedness of Mr. Cremer, that would refuse a householder the use of a revolver for fear the sight of it should stir the evil passions of a burglariously-minded neighbour, would still have roused him to moan that the Government were tempting the Colonies "to involve themselves in difficulties, which they had hitherto been saved from, because they had not the means of involving themselves in them." But most of the objections that were made, and so no doubt too of the votes that were recorded, were directed only against an administrative detail, namely the Government proposal to spread the cost of the Australian squadron over a series of years, instead of inserting the whole charge in this year's estimates; and there would have been no place for this opposition in the case of a resolution dealing merely with the principle of the measure. However, the Leader of the House is the best judge as to the conduct of business, and in an assembly that delights to expatiate upon the conduct of some policeman at Little Peddington, or the postal facilities of the inhabitants of John o' Groat's House, it may well be that Imperial—which are still, let us be thankful to know, non-party—matters, should be disposed of in the quietest and least obtrusive manner possible.

There is another element of satisfaction in the case; that the Government has gone beyond the letter of its bargain, and that the Colonists appreciate the spirit in which it has acted. The five vessels of the *Archer* class, originally accepted at the Conference, were to have been 225 feet in length, and 1,770 tons displacement, with a speed of 17 knots. What Australia is actually to get, though the cost to this country has been raised thereby from £700,000 to £850,000, is five ships 265 feet long, of 2,500 tons displacement, with the very satisfactory speed of 19 knots, and a corresponding improvement in their armament. And a similar development has occurred in respect of the torpedo boats. We learn from the *Melbourne Argus* that the Victorian Minister of Defence, Sir James Lorimer, has spoken in public of the "generosity" of the Admiralty, and stated that "there is no doubt the Government is going beyond the agreement that it entered into with the Colonies." One word more. In the Melbourne report from which we have already quoted we read that "his Excellency the Governor came down to Parliament, and, amid all the accessories of a State ceremonial, gave the Royal assent to the Bill." Is it too much to hope that, when the time comes, Her Majesty may be willing to do as much? That the Queen has seldom even opened Parliament of late years, and that a generation has passed since the Royal assent was given to a Bill otherwise than by Commission, we are well aware. We know, too, that State ceremonials become increasingly irksome to Her Majesty as the years roll on. But the occasion is one that has no precedent, and can hardly itself become one. Even to Queen Victoria, in all the fifty years of her glorious reign, the opportunity has not yet been offered of laying the foundation stone of an empire.

WHICH WANTS IT MOST?—The *New York World* says that what Manitoba wants worse than anything else is a new climate. New climate yourself! Manitoba will be ploughing before Dakota, Montana, or Minnesota find out where they left their fences last fall.—*Toronto Globe*.

NO ANNEXATIONIST CAN WIN AN ELECTION.—"There is no party in Canada in favour of annexation to the United States. There may be a few individuals here and there, but no person has ever been elected to the House of Commons who declared himself previously in favour of the measure."—*Sir Charles Tupper*.



### A DOMINION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

ENGLISHMEN as a rule are not much given to be superstitious. And yet it is difficult for an Englishman to read history without coming to believe in the luck of his own race. From the days when Queen Elizabeth, with a thrift worthy of a modern ruler of the Queen's Navée, sent her ships to sea to fight the Spaniards on half rations and with the scantiest supplies of powder, and then recorded on her medals "*Flavit Deus et dissipantur*," down to our own times, we have again and again escaped the seemingly inevitable consequences of our own supineness. If there was one portion of the world where, only a few years since, it might have been thought that we had failed, hopelessly and irrevocably, it was South Africa. On the East coast the burghers of the Transvaal had learnt not only to hate us, but, what has been fortunately rarer in our history, to despise us. On the West, Germany (with an eye to ulterior developments, it can scarcely be questioned) had established itself in a district hitherto supposed to be within the sphere (as it is termed) of English influence, and had treated our feeble and half-hearted remonstrances with a brusque disregard, that Monaco and Montenegro might have resented as humiliating. The Cape Colony itself was suffering from the most severe depression, and believed to be deeply disaffected to our rule. At home it was openly discussed whether it would not be well to abandon South Africa to its fate, that is to say, to anarchy, retaining only Cape Town as a second Gibraltar.

And to-day the whole situation seems changed as if by magic. It is not merely that in the interval we have annexed new territory larger than the whole area of Great Britain and Ireland. That is an event in our history so much a matter of course as scarcely to call for any special notice. But the difficulties that it seemed so hopeless to encounter have mostly disappeared as we came nearer and faced them. The hostility of the Transvaal has calmed down, and even if it remained as intense as ever, it is likely ere long to be neutralised by the fact that in a year or two the Boers will be in the minority in their own country. It is scarcely to be feared that 100,000 Englishmen would allow half that number of Dutch farmers to make their country a base of operations against the English power in South Africa. As for the Cape itself, prosperity is fast returning to it. We are assured on the best authority that the Dutch population are as loyal to the British connection as their English fellow-Colonists; and the Colonial and the Home Government are actively co-operating in constructing and arming the fortifications of Cape Town. The expected complications with Germany have not arisen, while the road to the interior that seemed likely to be closed against us is now safely in our hands, and the native tribes as far north as the Zambesi are only too anxious to come under the protection of Great Britain.

The moral, as we have said, is that England is a wonderfully fortunate country. The discovery of the rich deposits of gold, which has even now done much and may yet do for South Africa all that gold has done for California and for Victoria, is a thing that no one could have calculated upon. There is another moral, which was drawn in statesmanlike language by Mr. Chamberlain a week or two since at the London Chamber of Commerce; a moral that was expressed long ago in a homely rhyme telling of the proper way to grasp a nettle. Says Mr. Chamberlain, "The policy of shirking has been a most conspicuous failure. . . . There is only one alternative, that we should frankly accept our obligations and responsibilities; and if we are once for all to recognise our obligations in regard to this great continent, we must do so in pursuance of an Imperial policy." The Cape has been called the half-way house to India. It is a half-way house, not only in a geographical but in a political sense. Instead of communities of purely British blood, as in Australia, or even of purely European blood, as in Canada, we have Europeans living among natives who, even in the Orange Free State, where they are least numerous, outnumber the whites, and who on the whole outnumber them sevenfold. Side by side we have, therefore, all forms of government, from the self-governing Cape Colony, and Natal with its representative institutions, down to the paternal despotism of British Bechuanaland. Besides these, there are the Free State and the Transvaal, which,

though not nominally in the position of Scindia and the Nizam, can yet not shake themselves free from the overshadowing influence of England. In this state of affairs our duty is obvious; we must recognise our obligations as an Imperial power, and we must administer the affairs of the whole Dominion of South Africa "in pursuance of an Imperial policy and not of a Colonial policy, if that in any respect differs from ours." Once we have definitely accepted the position that for better for worse we have got to rule over Africa south of the Zambesi, and that it is impossible for us to wash our hands of responsibility and hand over the control of some three millions of natives, in a country as large as Europe, to the few hundred thousand Europeans of the Cape Colony, the task will not be too great for the nation that maintains the *pax Britannica* in India. But one of our first actions, we fear, will be once more to enlarge our borders, and frankly to consent to take the whole of Khame's territories under our protection. It would be well to let it be publickly known that henceforward in South Africa one stitch will be taken in time, and not nine, or ninety-nine, when it is all but too late.

### A RECKLESS MISSTATEMENT.

As will be seen from our report in another column, M. Mercier, Provincial Premier of Quebec, has thought proper at a large public meeting to describe Imperial Federation as a Tory project, and the Imperial Federation League as a Tory conspiracy. The charge is so ridiculous that we had fully intended to let it pass unnoticed. We had fancied that, even among the gentlemen who cheered a personal attack upon the representative of Her Majesty for words that he never uttered, there would be few who would not regret the fatuity of describing a society, of which Lord Rosebery is President and a member of the Conservative Cabinet Vice-President, as a party organisation. But the matter is, we find, more serious than we had supposed. We take the following from the *Empire*:—

We could not quite understand why M. Mercier went out of his way to misrepresent the Imperial Federation League, or why he called the league a "Tory" organisation when he knew that men at its head are and have been Liberals. Now, however, the motive is made clear by the explanation of a Grit journal, that in the Provincial bye-elections, of which M. Mercier has just won two out of three, the Grits circulated profusely and with marked effect campaign sheets attacking the Imperial Federation League as a Conservative organisation. The falsification was intended to delude those electors who could not be alienated from the Conservatives by truthful criticism of their policy.

We trust the *Empire* is wrongly informed. But in any case, M. Mercier has only himself to thank if the worst construction is put upon his action. Reckless and wanton disregard of truth is the same thing, not only legally, but also morally, as deliberate malice.

Now we have no intention whatever of allowing M. Mercier to mix up the League with the local politics of Quebec. Nor if every Liberal in Canada attacked us with the same weapons that M. Mercier has condescended to employ, should we allow that to move us one hair's breadth from our position of absolute impartiality between political parties, or to force us unreservedly into the hands of our Conservative supporters. So we will assume that there are people in Quebec who know nothing of the position of the parent League, and see how far in Canada itself the assertion that Imperial Federation is a Tory project is founded on fact. M. Mercier has, we presume, heard of the Hon. Edward Blake, who was leader of the Liberal party in the Dominion Parliament till his health broke down a short time back, and who, so we hear from Canada, "is expected again to occupy that position when he returns from Europe with health restored." Here is what Mr. Blake said in Montreal itself in 1881:—

It may be we can find a mutual ground; one would be the question of common defence, and if it were, I would say you might rely upon it that Englishmen of every shade on this side of the water would join in the idea of a banded Empire, having its local affairs managed by local Parliaments, but banded together inseparably, always and for ever, for the common defence. I believe that such a confederation would be a good omen for the future, would be a good omen for the preservation of the Empire, upon the reasonable grounds of giving



satisfaction to all its subjects, and a good omen of peace and progress and prosperity for the world at large.

At least, we may take it for granted that M. Mercier knows Sir Richard Cartwright, as he not only is at least as prominent at Ottawa on the Liberal benches as the Opposition Leader himself, but he also was actually present at the banquet. It must have been a strain on Sir Richard's sense of what was due from host to guest to sit still and listen to the statements of M. Mercier. For in 1884 Sir Richard spoke as follows to the Reformers of Toronto:—

There is another possible cause which has also been considerably discussed, which deserves consideration at your hands—that is, the question whether it is not possible for us to confederate the whole British Empire. (This statement, according to the *Globe's* report, was received with loud cheers by the assembled Liberals.) In a short time, continued Sir Richard, we will be stretching out our hands from the other side of the Continent to our brethren in New Zealand and Australia—(more loud cheers)—and there is no doubt whatever that much may be said for the project for the confederation of the British Empire. At the same time you must remember that our Colonies are very widely scattered; you must also remember that the British people themselves, who in this matter, I think, should give some certain sign or indication of their desire if the change is to be advocated for, have as yet bestowed but little attention upon this matter. Though I say the thing desires discussion, though it is a thing which there is no reason whatever why we should not seriously consider, I admit, in this case, there are serious difficulties in the way.

Was Sir Richard at this time, we may ask, art and part in a Tory cabal? We have no intention of dragging into this discussion the names of the many prominent Liberals who are supporting our cause in Canada to-day. We have, we conceive, said enough. All we need say further is that when M. Mercier thinks fit to apologise, our columns are open to him.

### STRAWS TO SHOW THE WAY THE WIND BLOWS IN CANADA.

We regard the advocacy of Imperial Federation at this time as fruitless, a disturbance of the public mind as to the future of this country, and as presenting an alternative not to be embraced except in the last extremity.—*Montreal Gazette*.

The *Hamilton Spectator* insists that Canada "wants no voice in the British Parliament so long as she has a hand in the negotiation of her treaties." The *Spectator* is surely not stating the sentiments of the great majority in Canada. The feeling is spreading that either one of two things must occur, (1) Canada must get (and the sooner the better) such a measure of independence as will permit it to negotiate its own treaties; or (2), as the *World* suggests, a "voice in the parliament that negotiates them." The *Spectator* is too conservative by half; it does not represent the spirit of the more progressive members of its own party.—*The British Whig* (Kingston).

[The *British Whig* is an Opposition journal and a supporter of Commercial Union.—ED. IMP. FED.]

The most practicable scheme that we know of, in the direction of Imperial Federation, was that presented a good many years ago by the late Hugh B. Willson, who thought that Canada could well afford to admit British goods free of duty, if Britain would admit Canadian products free and charge 10 per cent. on the products of other countries. Then, supposing Canada charged 5 per cent. on United States wheat, whose ultimate market was Great Britain, United States shippers would be forced to use the Canadian route, and in return they would bring British goods *via* Canada. In time Canadian production would be so stimulated, that Britain could get her food supplies without resort to the United States at all.—*Hamilton Times*.

On that small but significant word "trade" the whole question hangs. The Colonies do not ask "Will federation further military schemes, will it assist territorial aggrandisement, will it help emigration? but they ask, will it assist trade? And until it can be shown that it will assist trade—assist it so largely that nothing further in that direction can be desired—the Imperial Federation idea is a meaningless one to Colonists, and especially to Canadians.—*Toronto News*.

All very fine, Mr. Bright, but where would this great liberty-loving and English-speaking community of yours have been to-day, only for the foresight of British statesmen, and the patriotism and prowess of British seamen and soldiers in the old days, ere yet there were "cranks" who dared to call it a crime for a man to fight and die for his country? But where Mr. Bright goes wrong most seriously is yielding himself up to the old Tory delusion of building his argument on a basis of facts—not those of the time present, however, but those of a time long gone by. Apparently unobservant of the immense changes which time has wrought in this respect, he talks as if we were still living in the last century, or in the earlier part of the present. He warns Canadians against something which did exist in time past, but which certainly does not exist now. It is not statesmanship, but something else to blind ones eyes to the vast changes which *present time* has to show.—*Toronto World*.

The new attraction, Imperial Federation, has so overshadowed that of last week, the new party, that the latter is held in no higher estimation than a side-show freak. Next.—*Toronto News*.

### A FRANK ACCEPTANCE OF RESPONSIBILITY.

"SHUT up in these two petty islands, like a snail in its shell, we should starve in a fortnight. It may have been foolhardiness for their inhabitants to overrun the habitable globe, but they have done it and must take the consequences. Retreat for us, as for Danton and his friends, must be vain. *De l'audace, de l'audace, et toujours de l'audace*, must still be our motto."

So we wrote in these pages nine months since, and to that declaration we have not a word to add to-day, nor have we a word to retract. But when from time to time the burden of Empire laid upon us seems more than we can bear, we are glad to strengthen our position by calling great names to our support. At the meeting of the London Chamber of Commerce on May 14th, Mr. Chamberlain spoke as follows, in reference to our South African policy:—

The policy of successive Governments for a long period of time has been the policy of shirking. (Cheers.) There is no doubt about that. It has been the avowed policy, and, considering the difficulties that we have had to encounter, and the small profit that we have ever derived, it is not, perhaps, wonderful that there should have been an attempt to get rid of responsibilities and burdensome obligations, and everything that we have done has been directed to this end. The concession of self-government to the Cape Colony, the premature and ill-advised attempt to secure confederation, the war with the Transvaal and the subsequent retirement from that country, the transfer of the Basuto people to the Cape Colony, the indifference to the recent acquisitions on the West Coast by Germany, every one of those things, and many other parts of our policy to which I might refer, are all dictated by the same desire on the part of successive Ministries and successive Governments to wash their hands of the whole business. (Cheers.) Well, I think it must be apparent that this policy of shirking has not been consistently and logically carried out, and it will also be admitted that it has been a most conspicuous failure. (Cheers.) We have tried to avoid complications and native wars, and in the short period which has elapsed since full self-government was conferred upon the Cape Colony, we have been engaged in no less than six serious struggles, which have involved not only a deplorable loss of human life, but a loss to the British taxpayer of something between £7,000,000 and £8,000,000 sterling. (Hear, hear.) What has happened in every case has been this: When difficulties—difficulties that might, perhaps, have been foreseen, and might, perhaps, have been prevented—have come upon us, we have endeavoured to put them off from us as long and as far as we could, and then, when at last they culminated in open disturbance, we have reluctantly undertaken the duty of settling matters, and we have settled them with more or less discredit, and then we have hastened to shake ourselves free from the whole and to retire into fancied security until we have once more been roughly awakened. (Cheers.) Well, if this policy of shirking is to be continued, do let us understand what it means, and do let us carry it out to the end. If the British public have made up their minds that they have no interest in South Africa beyond the interest in maintaining a naval station at the Cape, if they think that they can honourably throw off all the obligations which they have contracted to the great populations that have trusted to us, if they think they can afford to give up the large trade that we enjoy and the prospect of larger trade in the future, then let us squarely face the issue. Let us say to all the world that we intend to retire; that we intend to leave Boers and British and natives to fight out their quarrels as best they may, and that whatever happens, whatever bloodshed and turmoil may be the result, that we will not move a British soldier nor spend one farthing of British money in order to put things straight. That, at all events, would be a consistent policy. It would not be a very noble policy. (Cheers.) It might, however, find defenders, although I confess that I should be very sorry to argue for it myself. What would happen in such an event? The Cape Colony, flourishing as it undoubtedly is, enterprising and ambitious as its statesmen have shown its Government to be, would be altogether unable to step into our vacant places. It would be quite impossible that 180,000 Dutchmen who, being in the majority, would control the Government of the Colony, would be able, according to their principles, to deal satisfactorily with the affairs of something like, roughly speaking, 3,000,000 of natives, and, sooner or later, with the sympathy and, perhaps, at the suggestion, of the Dutch in the Transvaal, and of the Orange Free State, they would stretch out their hands to the kindred nation which is already established on the West Coast of Africa, and I venture to say that Prince Bismarck and the German Empire would not shrink from a responsibility which would give them a Colony better than anything they have hitherto dreamt of possessing, and would give them access to those vast auriferous and fertile regions which stretch almost into the very heart of the African continent. (Cheers.) Speaking for myself personally, I say reject a policy which will lead to such results. (Renewed cheers.) Now, what is the alternative? There is only one alternative, and that is that we should frankly accept our obligations and responsibilities. (Cheers.) We should maintain firmly and resolutely our hold over the territories that we have already acquired, and we should offer freely our protectorate to those friendly chiefs and people that are stretching out their hands towards us and seeking our protection and our interference. (Cheers.) I have no doubt that a policy of this kind would enable us with much less risk than has attended the policy we have hitherto pursued to prescribe the conditions under which in the future this necessary work of colonisation and civilisation shall go forward. I believe that by such a policy alone can we secure the interests of the great majority of the population, and can we justify our position as a nation. If it be adopted, it will raise, no doubt, one or two questions for discussion. . . . One thing I do say, that if we are once for all to recognise our obligations in regard to this great continent, we must do so in pursuance of an Imperial policy and not of a Colonial policy, if in any respect that differs from ours. (Cheers.) It is only upon



those terms that the people of this country can be asked to take the risk, can be asked to make the possible sacrifices which will be called for from them, and it is only in that way that we can justify the additional liabilities that we assume. I have endeavoured to state very briefly and succinctly the conditions of the problem, the facts of the case, and the alternative policy which we have to choose from. Undoubtedly the question for our decision is one of the very greatest importance. We also have suffered much in this country from depression of trade. We know how many of our fellow-subjects are even at this moment unemployed. Is there any man in his senses who believes that the crowded population of these islands would exist for a single day if we were to cut adrift from the great dependencies which now look to us for protection and assistance? (Cheers.) The area of the United Kingdom is only 120,000 miles; the area of the British Empire is over 9,000,000 square miles, of which nearly 500,000 are to be found in the portion of Africa with which we have been dealing. If to-morrow it were possible, as some people apparently desire, to reduce by a stroke of the pen the British Empire to the dimensions of the United Kingdom, half at least of our population would be starved (cheers), and at a time when a policy of disintegration is openly preached by high authorities (renewed cheers) it is well to look the consequences squarely in the face. No doubt the burden of this great Empire is tremendous, and the responsibilities and the obligations which fall upon us are greater than those which have weighed upon any other nation in the history of the world. It is true, as was so well said by the poet whose loss we are all deploring, that "the weary Titan staggers under the too vast orb of his fate." But if we face our obligations, if we perform our duties well and faithfully, the honour and the credit will be proportioned to the sacrifices that we may make, and nothing is to be gained by an abandonment of those duties which will be as fatal to our material prosperity as they will be discredit and derogatory to our national character and our national honour. (Cheers.)

Commenting on these words, which even by themselves are emphatic enough, the *Times* writes:—

We are not concerned to deal in detail with Mr. Mackenzie's criticisms on our policy in South Africa, or even with those proposals to which Mr. Chamberlain gives his approval. The main point to be noted is that a democratic statesman like Mr. Chamberlain can no longer ignore the necessity of adopting an Imperial policy. Nothing, in truth, is more hopelessly impracticable than a democratic policy conducted on the old insular lines. The problems which confront us at the present day are not such as our fathers had to face, when the doctrines of *laissez faire* furnished the key to every difficulty. We have at home a vast and rapidly-increasing population, mainly dependent on manufacturing industries; we have no longer a practical monopoly of the trade with distant parts of the world; we are absolutely excluded from many markets, and in all the rest we have energetic and aggressive competitors. Upon the whole, doubtless, we are able to hold our own, but an Englishman must be very sanguine who can suppose that we should continue to do so if we were to abandon our Colonies and our Empire, wholesale or piecemeal. Mr. Chamberlain, like most clear-sighted statesmen, Conservative or Liberal, perceives that the day of a merely insular policy has gone by, and that we have given too many hostages to fortune to withdraw from the struggle in which we have won so much that can only be held by continuous effort. The very existence of our trade and industry, and of the millions dependent upon them, is bound up with our Imperial system, with the command of the seas, and with the control of the Colonial markets. Those who refuse to recognise these facts are out of touch with practical politics, and Mr. Chamberlain shows once more the practical character of his mind by pronouncing in favour of a policy that is now the only one which can be called truly national.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### THE UNITY OF THE EMPIRE.

To the EDITOR OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—Let me remark, by way of preface, that I still linger over the above title, under which the question was first seriously started above twenty years ago in the Royal Colonial Institute, by a very small body of its members. Under its wonderful subsequent growth, more especially since the Imperial Federation League came into being, we have been used to speak of the *Federation* of the Empire as alike describing the object aimed at, and the means of attaining it. We aim at political unity, so as to give to the Empire the greatest power possible to its circumstances; and that, to most of us, seems best attained under some form of Federation. If a still more complete unity than that which we associate with the idea of Federation were possible, we ought of course to adopt it.

Two of our prominent statesmen, Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain, have lately alluded to this subject, and I now offer some comments, both upon what they have said, and upon the position of the question generally. Mr. Bright, in his well-known pessimistic view about Colonies, pronounces "the whole scheme and project to be impossible, and no better than a dream." For this he gives two reasons; first, the discordant tariffs of all, and protectionist bearings of most Colonies; and second, the Imperial or international wars which we still seem addicted to, and in which the Colonies, wholly unconcerned as they must see themselves, will never join us. Mr. Chamberlain, on the other hand, speaks with most hearty loyalty towards our aim; so much so that I am all the more anxious to point out a sort of half-halting course in his view of the subject, which I am sure will in this question never accomplish anything.

He falls into the view which has been so long practically that of the Colonial Office, and which constitutes the semi-somnolence we have so much complained of on this question in that high quarter, namely, that of doing nothing ourselves, but waiting Colonial proposals, and showing how amicably disposed and liberal we at Home are by agreeing to everything asked for as far as possible. "All we can do," says Mr. Chamberlain, "is to wait until proposals are made to us, to consider those proposals when they come with fairness and impartiality," and so on. I can only add that if the cause of the Unity of the Empire is to be conducted in this half-hearted and one-sided way, it will surely come to nothing. Bismarck did not unite Germany in this apathetic fashion. The Mother must not thus efface herself in so grand a family movement. She must show that she is in earnest by even herself taking the lead. And we hail, as quite a new era in that respect, the Colonial Conference of last year, summoned by the late, and presided over by the present, Colonial Secretary.

Indeed, we on the Home side cannot in this grave question be either too earnest or too prompt, for a separatist tendency is inevitable under the kind of practical self-drift which has characterised the Colonial administration ever since the introduction of the constitutional self-government system. Two things are wanted to give us the United Empire which, whether under the name Federation or any other, is our object. First, that all the forces, military and naval, throughout the Empire be under one central executive; and, second, that the Colonies, each duly contributing to that force, be duly represented in that executive.

There is simply but one question—How shall we have this representation? Let us approach the subject negatively, by first clearing from the ground modes which are, as I think, impracticable. We cannot hope to institute any legislative body which is to dominate formally the present so-called Imperial Parliament. We shall never get to such a step, because we do not—now, at least—move politically in such a revolutionary way. We must keep within "constitutional" lines, and work upon existing bodies and institutions, instead of trying to create new ones. That means that we are to deal with our present Parliament, by making it Imperial in fact as well as in law, by means of the due Colonial representation.

And how is that to be given? Certainly not by trying to thrust in some hundreds of additional members for the due Colonial proportion. The Colonists neither would nor could go to the trouble and cost of such a mission; while our present Parliament would be, perhaps, quite as little disposed to receive such a motley and disturbing group. It has long appeared to me that the Cabinet is the convenient and practicable body to be operated on. The Cabinet is itself an outcome of our political needs, and may be easily adapted under their further pressure. This would involve an addition of only six or eight members to our Parliament—a very small representation, truly, amongst the other 670. But, then, these few are all in the seat of power; while the Cabinet, thus reconstituted, would not be slow to realise its position as the constitutional executive of the Empire.

But simple as all this seems, there are some grave preliminaries, because the Colonial section can sit in such power only by consent and representative selection of the Colonies. How are we to bring this about? A "Council of Advice" has been repeatedly suggested as a first step towards unity. Lord Salisbury hinted lately that last year's Colonial Conference might eventuate in the desired Federation. I venture to suggest a Council of Advice which will form a most effective first step of action, and one that, I think, is sure to be followed by all the other stages. Suppose the Queen, by advice of Her Government, to nominate the Colonial proportion to the Cabinet, to be, in the meantime, an advisory body until the definitive electoral mode was arranged. This selection would, of course, be made "advisedly," so as to be practically representative. A step so significant as this would arouse the Colonies at once, because they would understand from it both that their Mother was at length in earnest, and that the Imperial unity which they have all been dreaming about was already, by this very act, practically half attained.

Of course there are difficulties in the way, and Mr. Bright has touched two of them. There is a third which is perhaps practically greater than either of Mr. Bright's, and that is the natural fear of Colonists that Imperial unity means the preliminary surrender of their cherished local self-government. All these difficulties are greatly, even absurdly over-estimated. In the first place, the Colonies have shown satisfactorily, and are now showing, in defence arrangements, that they are not scared by the Empire's liability to war. In any case, the unifying of the Empire's power is surely best. Again, tariff diversity is not necessarily antagonistic to defensive unity. And, lastly, the Colonies may come together, simply as they now stand. I would not delay even for the preliminary federation of the Colonial groups, as has been so happily effected by Canada, and is more or less in contemplation as to Australasia and the Cape. This, although an undoubted facility to Imperial unity, may yet take some time, while the separatist tendencies in the Colonies strengthen with



each generation. Perhaps New South Wales's unreadiness, compared with Victoria and the other sisters, is simply due to two more generations born upon her soil. Let the Colonies, I repeat, unite simply as they are. As they move along under union, they can, by mutual consent, gradually reconstitute as seems advantageous to all.

It is often asked on this side, would the Colonies contribute their fair share of Imperial expenses? In answering this natural and reasonable question, we must bear in mind that Colonies have their Government expenses, public debts, and so on, much as we have, so that the question is only as to maintaining their due share of military and naval force. The Colonies have already shown, I think, that they are not disposed to fall behind in this duty.—Faithfully yours, W. WESTGARTH.

8, Finch Lane, E.C., May 14th, 1888.

#### JOHN BRIGHT *VERSUS* IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

*"Imperial Federation is a grand scheme of out-door relief for the British aristocracy. Once give us Imperial Federation and all the Noodles, and Fitznoodles, of Britain will be 'provided for' by Colonial exchequers."*—MONTREAL TRUE WITNESS.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—I should deem it a favour if you would publish these few lines on behalf of myself as well as others who are deeply interested in the cause which your able paper so well supports. The reason which causes me to now address you is this, on the publication of the *Melbourne Argus* of March 31st, I as well as others who I write on behalf of, read a telegram dated from London March 29th, in which it is stated, that at a public banquet given at Birmingham to Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in honour of his return from America, that Mr. John Bright who was present on that occasion made a speech in the course of which he declared, that Imperial Federation was a dream and an absurdity, now Sir with all due respect to Mr. Bright, and giving him full credit for what he has done in the past, I must certainly contradict him on this great question. If Mr. Bright only traveled outside England and visited that Greater England beyond the seas, his views would no doubt be entirely changed, it also states in the telegram that he Mr. Bright says the colonies would never, become responsible for any warlike policy that might be decided upon by Great Britain. Why where on earth could Mr. Bright have been, when the noble assistance of the Australian colonies where offered to England in the late Soudan affair, surley Mr. Bright must have heard of theses noble offers. I should have liked Mr. Bright to have been in the colonies at the time the contingent from Sydney was being fitted out to help Old England in her Eastern troubles if he had he would have been converted to the noble cause of Imperial Federation, we colonists are not going to be talked over to that small old fashioned school of the past whose crie is, Cut the painter, the grand idea of Imperial Federation will be for the mutual interests for the Old and the New Englands in every way. Sir this is not the first time I have written on behalf of the cause, but will do so again to any newspaper that will offer me its support, thanking you in anticipation. I remain yours, F. S. B. SKINNER.

Coffee Palace Smith street Fitzroy Melbourne  
Australia April 10th 1888.

[We print our correspondent's letter exactly as we receive it. We trust he will not be suspected of endeavouring to obtain a C.M.G. by saying what is agreeable to the authorities at home. We shall be glad to hear from him again.—ED. IMP. FED.]

#### THE IMPERIAL RECIPROCITY MOVEMENT IN CANADA.

THE DEBATE AT OTTAWA.

IN our last month's issue we called our readers' attention to the good that in Canada was growing out of evil, and showed how the abortive agitation for Commercial Union had led not only members of the League, but others who were not members, to consider whether an Imperial Reciprocity could not be substituted for a commercial vassalage to the United States. We quoted the resolutions that had been placed on the order paper at Ottawa by Mr. McCarthy on behalf of the League, and also independently by Mr. Marshall, the member for East Middlesex. On April 30th the subject came before the Dominion House of Commons, when MR. MARSHALL moved:

That the establishment of mutually favourable trade relations between Great Britain and her Colonies would benefit the agricultural, mining, lumbering, and other industries of the latter, and would strengthen the Empire by building up its dependencies, and that the Government should ask the other Colonial Governments to join in approaching the Imperial Government with a view to obtaining such an agreement.

After claiming from the House, as a new member, an indulgence of which his speech stood in no need, and declaring that

he was not a member of the Imperial Federation League, he went on to say that Great Britain and Canada and all the other Colonies should be more closely connected. To those who said that England would never return to protection, he replied that England's relation to the Colonies had radically altered since Free Trade was adopted. Canada was then almost unknown to England except as a country of forest and snow. To-day the North-West and Manitoba were known to be capable of supplying all the wheat that Great Britain required. He concluded by saying that he did not intend to let the question rest till a successful issue had been attained.

MR. MCCARTHY then rose and explained that he accepted Mr. Marshall's resolution in lieu of his own, and considered that in supporting it he was fulfilling the pledge which he gave to the great meeting at Toronto to bring the matter before the Dominion Parliament. For our own part we are free to confess that we like Mr. Marshall's resolution better than the official resolution of the League; and for this reason—Mr. McCarthy's resolution touched only on the trade between Great Britain and Canada. Mr. Marshall proposes to include "the other Colonial Governments." The actual difference, as far at least as Canada is concerned, is no doubt at the present moment small; but the principle of regarding the Empire as a whole, that "moves together if it move at all," cannot be too strongly or too often insisted upon. Mr. McCarthy did not expect, he said, that the House would come to a decision this session, but the subject ought to be considered, though he refused absolutely to admit that there was anything special in the circumstances of Canada calling for exceptional measures of relief. He believed that the condition of the Canadian people would compare favourably with the condition of any other people with whom they were brought in contact. Coming to the question of reciprocity he insisted on the fact that England was the natural market for Canadian produce; that the United States were not consumers but rival producers. "Perhaps in the past," he said, "we have been looking too much to Washington. Certainly we have been expecting more than we have ever obtained from them." He went on to point out, and the fact is of undoubted importance, that Halifax and Montreal can only hold their own with New York because a vessel from Liverpool to Canada can get a cargo both ways. Gratitude, if there was such a thing in politics, demanded that England should be better treated than the country which had denied Canada free trade and built itself up by protection. He thought that the policy of reciprocity must commend itself to the English people in the near future, and he wished the House to place it on record that the Canadian people were ready to move in the same direction. He believed that the Canadian manufacturer, if protected against foreign competition, would be well able to afford England certain differential preferences.

MR. CASEY, as one who had already voted this session in favour of reciprocity with the United States, was ready to entertain favourably the proposal for reciprocity with any country, more especially that from which Canada claimed political descent. It was, however, too important a question to be voted upon offhand, though at the same time he was glad it had been brought forward, and he hoped to see it fully and freely discussed.

MR. FISHER also was glad it had been brought forward. Mr. McCarthy's speech had certainly been lengthy, "but not at all too lengthy, considering the importance of the subject and the prominent position he holds in the House and the country." He was, however, convinced that it was hopeless to dream of England abandoning Free Trade. The *Times*, "generally considered to be the most perfect exponent of public opinion in England," had set its face against any concessions. He went on in these words, "I yield to no one in my patriotism. I hold, as everyone in this country holds, that the Queen is the head of our country, and of our Government, just as much as she is of the English people, the Irish people, and the Australian people. But I do not acknowledge any allegiance whatever to the Parliament of England. We in this country are a portion of the British Empire, having free institutions, ruling ourselves in a Parliament that is supreme in this country. . . . I trust that we shall long remain a portion of the British Empire . . . but the patriotism I glory in is the patriotism which leads me to do what I consider best in the interests of Canada." He concluded by expressing a hope that the motion would not be persisted in.

MR. TUPPER then spoke from the Government side of the House. He called attention to the fact that the debate was wandering into questions of Imperial Federation, of which the last speaker had expressed his disapproval at length, though it was in no way before the House. He wished to see Imperial trade reserved for those inside the Empire. At present, the United States exported to other portions of the Empire—to the West Indies, to Africa, and to Australia—large quantities of Canadian produce. A very small concession would give an immense impetus to the Canadian trade in, for example, butter, cheese, and tinned fruits and fish.

MR. MILLS complained that, in spite of the important, he might almost say revolutionary, nature of the proposal, no member of the Government had taken part in the debate. He



went on to allude disparagingly to Imperial Federation, which brought up GENERAL LAURIE to say that Imperial Federation had nothing to do with the question, but that it was perfectly true that "there was a strong feeling in Canada in favour of taking part in England's wars when she was in danger."

MR. DAVIN "ventured to say that there was not a man on either side of the House would dare to controvert the statement that if they could get England to discriminate in their favour it would be of the greatest advantage to them." The debate would be of great use in order to rouse English attention to Colonial matters. He thought England had recently made great progress in understanding the Colonies, and that the fetish of Free Trade no longer held dominion over their minds.

MR. MCNEILL moved the adjournment of the debate on the ground that the subject was of immense importance and that the Opposition members had only discussed side issues.

M. LAURIER, the leader of the Opposition, seconded—giving, however a different reason, namely, that he hoped to be favoured with the guidance of the Government, and at midnight the motion was agreed to and the debate stood adjourned.

#### LEAGUE MEMORIALS AND DEPUTATION.

Not content with the debate in Parliament, the League has been approaching the Government on the subject, a memorial drawn up in identical terms having been circulated for that purpose among the different branches. The Halifax and Ottawa branches had already, at the date of our latest news, sent in a petition to the Governor. The Toronto branch seized the opportunity of Lord Lansdowne's farewell visit to their city, to present their memorial to his Excellency in person. The deputation which attended at Government House consisted of the following gentlemen:—Lieutenant-Colonel Denison, Messrs. W. H. Merritt, James Bain, sen., Thomas Bickerstaff, Alfred Howell, George Stafford, C. E. Ryerson, F. F. Payne, James Lobb, and Arthur Blackmore.

Their memorial was in these words:

*To his Excellency the Right Honourable the Marquis of Lansdowne, K.C.M.G., Governor-General of Canada in Council:*

The memorial of the Toronto Branch of the Imperial Federation League respectfully sheweth:

That the people of Canada and Australasia have no social or commercial relations with one another; that they are practically without intercourse and have little knowledge of each other. That until recently, owing to geographical circumstances, no intimate relations were possible; but the consummation of the union of British Columbia with old Canada, by the construction of the National Railway, has completely changed the conditions and opened up the way for great possibilities in trade and commerce between the Dominion and the sister Colonies in the South Pacific.

That it is of great importance to establish trade and friendly intimacy between these two great divisions of the British Empire.

Your memorialists believe that the attainment of these objects would be greatly facilitated by a conference of delegates representing the Canadian and Australasian Governments. Wherefore they desire respectfully to express the hope that your Excellency will be pleased to invite the Australasian Government and the Government of New Zealand to join your Excellency's Government in constituting a conference to devise means for the development of reciprocal trade and commerce.

HIS EXCELLENCY replied, that speaking, if he might be allowed to do so, as one of the general public, the agitation of the question of Imperial Federation had been the means of attracting public attention to a great group of questions which had been too long neglected. The specific suggestion contained in the memorial was one of the most moderate and reasonable. It was not sought to set up a common system of tariffs for the whole Empire, but to point out the desirability of establishing trade and friendly intimacy between the Canadian Dominion and the Australasian Colonies. A more innocent proposition or one less open to objection than this could not be conceived. As to the steps to be taken to give effect to it, it would be necessary, as the memorial was addressed to the Governor-General-in-Council, to submit it to that body. His Excellency concluded by saying that it would give him great pleasure to ascertain the views of his advisers on the subject, and that his own opinion was that the question had been approached in the memorial in a spirit of excellent caution and moderation.

Members of the League in this country will, we are persuaded, be impressed not only with the spirit of excellent caution and moderation, but also with the energy and *élan* which the Canadian branches are displaying. They have, if we mistake not, set a ball a-rolling that will be found ere long to be too big to be described in the half-dozen lines of print that is all the great English newspapers have so far seen fit to devote to the subject.

#### THE BITER BIT.

Perhaps, however, the greatest triumph for our cause is to be found in the proceedings of the Legislature of Prince Edward's Island:—

In the House of Assembly, on the 25th of April, Mr. Farquharson submitted the following resolution, speaking for an hour in its favour:—"That in the opinion of this House a free interchange between Canada and the United States of their natural products and manufactures (except articles subject to internal revenue) as also the admission to registry in, and the coasting trade of, either country, of vessels built or owned in the other, would tend to greatly increase the prosperity of

the Province." Mr. John McLean moved in amendment:—"That this House would regard with approval the establishment of reciprocal trade relations between Canada and the United States of America on the broadest basis consistent with the fiscal requirements of Canada and its independence as a part of the British Empire, and would hail with satisfaction the adoption of measures tending to secure between all portions of the Empire more intimate and advantageous commercial intercourse than at present." Mr. McLean supported his amendment in a forcible speech, being seconded by Hon. P. Gordon, and on a division it was carried by a vote of 16 to 10.

This, in a Province in which we were assured a few months back every man would support annexation to the States outright unless Commercial Union was instantly conceded is pretty well. We agree with the *Empire* that the amendment expresses most satisfactorily the desire of all who favour British and Canadian interests in preference to all other interests.

#### A SATISFACTORY TESTIMONIAL.

(From the *Montreal Gazette*.)

THE Imperial Federation Convention at Toronto appears to have been a remarkable success, not only as regards the number of those who were present to show their favour of the idea, but also from their standing in the country's public life. Men prominent in both parties, members of Parliament and of Provincial Governments, business men and professional men whose names are common as household words, gave it their adhesion: and though the claim that it has now been brought within the range of practical politics may hardly be admitted, it is beyond question that a large and growing number of earnest men thoroughly believe in it. This is true of Canada as of all the Colonies, and of the Mother Land as well. Good has unquestionably come out of this movement, or the feelings which animated it, and much of the improved regard with which the Imperial Government now treats questions and interests purely Colonial is no doubt to be ascribed to its influence. Much that was premature and some things that were foolish have been urged by Imperial Federationists in the past. But there will be less of this in the future if the resolution of the central organisation in London is adhered to, constitution-making is left alone, and the efforts of the leagues are put forth to advance common interests, make common requirements better understood, and common ties more powerful. The idea which the Imperial Federationists have espoused is a grand one, that may well attract enthusiasm, and whatever its ultimate result, it will in the meantime benefit both those who take it up and the Empire to which they belong.

#### NEW BRANCHES OF THE LEAGUE IN CANADA.

OUR Canadian friends will at least not be able to complain that these columns contain scant notice of their history. Since our last issue we have to chronicle the formation of no less than four branches in the Dominion, all in Ontario. This brings up the total to the goodly number of eleven. We could wish to have given a fuller notice of their proceedings, but conditions of space are inexorable. Nor dare we postpone our record till next month. The Hon. Secretary of the League in Canada threatens us that there are more to follow, and that now members are, by the prorogation of the Dominion Parliament, released from attendance at Ottawa, they will be able to devote their attention to the propagation of our principles and the constitution of branches in their respective constituencies.

BRANTFORD, ONTARIO, April 2nd.—A meeting was held in the Opera House, when 200 citizens attended. Dr. Beattie took the chair. He thought that Canada was in a state of transition, and that Annexation, Independence, or Imperial Federation must come before long. In spite of his friendly feeling for the States he considered that Canada was worthy of a higher national development than that implied under Commercial Union or Annexation, and he believed that the country could best attain that end under an Imperial Federation. Mr. J. T. Gilkison then reported the result of the visit of a delegation to Toronto, and Dr. McIntyre next read a paper tracing the historical development of the idea. He concluded in these words:—"When the Federal British Empire has become a fact and when the voice of the Canadian is heard in the Pan-Britannic House of Deputies we can join the prayer of Milton, the blind Puritan poet, who saw into the future. 'May He who hath built up this Britannic Empire to a glorious and enviable height, with all her daughter lands about her, stay us in this felicity.'"

Mr. J. K. Osborne next pointed out that he was a Liberal in his political views, but the subject of Imperial Federation was founded on a much higher platform than that of party politics, and embraced among its members men of widely-divergent political belief, such as Sir John Macdonald and Sir Charles Tupper on the one hand, and Hon. Edward Blake and Hon. G. Mowat on the other. The United States furnished an illustration of the fact that one section of the English-speaking race had overcome all initial difficulties, and been welded into one harmonious whole; and Imperial Federation was of a similar character, only grander in its conception, as it dealt with Kingdoms instead of States. After detailing the objections to Commercial Union, he said it was not the part of Imperial Federation to advocate the free admission of the manufactured products of Great Britain. Each portion of the Empire would retain her rights in this respect, as the exigencies of the case demanded;



but if discriminating advantages could be secured from the Mother Land in favour of the Colonies, the same discriminating advantages would be given by the Colonies in favour of the Mother Land. He concluded by protesting against the fashion of representing Canada as on the verge of ruin.

Mr. W. F. Cockshutt, referring to the recent utterances of John Bright, pointed out that the gentleman in question had always held the Colonies in very cheap estimation, and that his opinion in this regard could not in any sense be taken as indicative of the general feeling in England towards the Greater Britain beyond the seas. Canada had fully earned the right to exercise a voice in the government of the Empire. When would Imperial Federation come? When the Mother Land recognises the true value of her sons, and the sons show the honour due the mother. When the various members of the Empire utilise to the full the advantages that Providence and civilisation have placed within their grasp, and when joined in the common bonds of intertrade, unity of sentiment, and universal brotherhood, we present to the whole world the united front of peace, progress, and liberty.

The following are the officers of the new branch:—Chairman, Dr. T. M. MacIntyre; first vice-chairman, W. F. Cockshutt; second vice-chairman, J. K. Osborne; treasurer, J. T. Gilkison; joint secretaries, W. S. Brewster, G. Muirhead. Executive Committee, Rev. Dr. Beattie, Dr. Griffin, T. H. Jones, Dr. Harris, B. G. Tisdale, A. Watts.

**ORILLIA.**—In spite of the wet night the meeting called for May 4th for the organisation of a branch of the Imperial Federation League was a success. A fair attendance of representative members of both political parties was present, and amongst others were Mr. James Quinn, Rev. Mr. Galbraith, Dr. McLeod, Messrs. A. Black, G. H. Hale, John Gray (Coldwater), W. H. Crocker, J. P. Henderson, and several others. Mr. Jas. Quinn, President of the Conservative Association, was called to the chair. Mr. John Gray, of Coldwater, stated the objects and principles of the Association. Mr. Gray pointed out that Canada was already part of the Empire, and liable to attack in case of Britain having an enemy who could place an army on our shores, which would be somewhat difficult for any European country while our fleet was mistress of the sea. The Rev. W. Galbraith pointed to the extent of our possessions and commerce, and held that with unity among ourselves the Empire had nothing to fear from outsiders. The League would serve to counteract any agitation for annexation, to which the great bulk of the Canadian people were opposed. The feeling of loyalty in Canada was as strong as in any other part of the Empire. It would serve to overcome the sectionalism and party bitterness which had kept Canadians too much apart, making a common ground upon which our people could meet without regard to social, religious, or political divisions.

Dr. McLean, President of the East Simcoe Reform Association, who had come out on an unfavourable evening, notwithstanding ill-health, for the purpose of manifesting his interest in the movement, said he had for years looked forward to some scheme of federation as necessary. He proposed the following resolution:—"That the movement being carried forward under the auspices of the Imperial Federation League, is one which deserves the warmest support of every loyal Canadian; that this meeting fully sympathises with this movement as being likely to promote not only the closer unity of the Empire in general, but to advance the material interests of the Dominion of Canada by the freer commercial intercourse with our sister Colonies, which would be thereby brought into existence. This was seconded by the Rev. Mr. Galbraith, and carried.

It was moved by Mr. C. L. Stephens, seconded by Mr. A. Black, and resolved:—"That, sympathising as we do with the objects of the Imperial Federation League, we do hereby form ourselves into a branch league, to be called the Orillia Branch of the Imperial Federation League of Canada."

A committee was then appointed to draft a constitution and take other necessary measures to complete the organisation of the branch, and to report at a general meeting to be held on Friday, May 18th, in the Town hall.

**PORT ARTHUR.**—The branch here has now been formally affiliated with Rev. C. J. Machin as chairman, Lieut.-Col. S. W. Ray, and Jas. Dickenson as vice-chairmen, D. A. Radcliffe as treasurer, and R. H. King as secretary. Further particulars we regret that we are unable to give, as the papers that were sent have not come to hand.

**ST. THOMAS.**—A large and enthusiastic meeting of citizens interested in Imperial Federation, was held on April 16th in the Grand Central hotel, and a branch to be known as the St. Thomas, Ontario, Branch of the Imperial Federation League in Canada, was organised. Some 75 members were enrolled, and the following officers were elected:—Mr. A. Gilbert, president of the Board of Trade, chairman; first vice-chairman, Robt. McKay; second vice-chairman, Alex. Campbell; third vice-chairman, Jabel Robinson, Ex-Grand Master Dominion Grange; treasurer, Ald. Saunders; corresponding secretary, T. W. Morton; recording secretary, J. G. Nunn; committee, C. O. Ermatinger, Q.C., F. W. Crothers, Jno. King, Ald. Wright, Joseph Lea, and W. McCully.

It was decided that the annual meeting be held on the Monday preceding the Queen's birthday in each year. The greatest interest was manifested throughout, and the society starts under the most favourable auspices. The branch met again on May 1st, Vice-president Campbell in the chair. Considerable discussion took place as to extending to Lord Rosebery an invitation to address a public meeting in this city while in the country. The meeting adjourned for a fortnight, when the matter will be decided upon.

A COMMISSION, comprising representatives of Great Britain, Portugal, the Transvaal, and Swaziland, has been appointed to mark out the Swaziland boundary abutting on Portuguese and Transvaal territory.

## LEAGUE MEETING AT OTTAWA.

A MEETING was held in the Opera-house on April 22, under the auspices of the Ottawa branch of the League. The chair was occupied by Mr. J. O. Featherston, and with him on the platform were General Laurie, M.P., Alex. McNeill, M.P., Lieut.-Col. Denison, M.P., Lieut.-Col. Tyrwhitt, M.P., Lieut.-Col. O'Brien, M.P., Dr. Weldon, M.P. (Albert), Mr. Freeman, M.P., Josiah Wood, M.P. (Westmoreland), Thos. Macfarlane, and others.

An important communication was received from MR. SANDFORD FLEMING, C.M.G., the chairman of the branch. He said:

I am thoroughly in favour of aiming at something practical, and am therefore glad that the resolutions proposed to be submitted partake of this character. What could be more practical than an effort to establish trade and the best relations with the three or four millions of our fellow-subjects across the Pacific? Then we have to consider the great object the Imperial Federation League has in view, and how our own branch can best assist. The fundamental principle of the League is union of the British Empire. But to make union possible we must have something to cement the parts. The two most important parts of the Empire outside the British Islands are undoubtedly Canada and the great Australian Colonies. These two parts are at this moment at opposite poles of the Colonial system; their geographical separation is not a serious matter—steam and electricity can overcome that—but they are practically unknown to each other and without intercourse. What is wanted is to unite them by trade and commerce and the freest communication; to give birth to common interests; to develop affinity and friendship and awaken common aspirations. What better calculated to lead to such results than the conference suggested in the fourth resolution? It seems to me that a Canadian-Australian Conference is a corollary to the Imperial Conference of last year; that it necessarily results from the major proposition. If the Imperial Conference of 1887 be regarded as due to the efforts of the parental League in England, what more proper than that the League in Canada should endeavour to secure the Colonial Conference named in the resolution?

It is only step by step that Imperial Federation can be accomplished. Let us take the step which lies nearest us, and make the first advance towards our sister colonies in the South Pacific by inviting them to join us in considering matters which concern us both. If this resolution be earnestly followed up I am satisfied it will be fruitful of the happiest results, and I venture to remark that if the Ottawa branch should do nothing more than initiate a conference between the Canadian Dominion and Australasia it will not have been established in vain.

I deeply regret my absence from the meeting. I trust and believe it will in every respect be a success.

After a few introductory remarks from the chairman, MR. MCNEILL, M.P., said: The principle underlying the Federation movement was rooted deep in the hearts of the Canadian people. It was not a party movement, as members of both political parties were in favour of it. True, a discordant note had recently come from the leader of one political party in Quebec. Mr. Mercier's views on Imperial Federation were so monstrously at variance with the true objects of the League, that he (MR. MCNEILL) could not believe Mr. Mercier had made himself acquainted with the subject he had attempted to discuss. Referring to the trade aspect of the movement, he said the League desired a change in the tariff relations of the Empire, the proposal being that the Mother Country should discriminate in favour of Colonial products, while the Colonies would lower the duties upon the manufactures of England. He concluded by moving a resolution expressing the satisfaction of the meeting at the recent formation of a branch of the League in the capital, and further, that in the opinion of the meeting—

The agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial interests of the Colonies and the Mother Country would be greatly promoted by such modifications in the various fiscal policies adopted within the Empire as would give to each of its members advantages in the several markets withheld from foreign countries; and the meeting respectfully suggests that Parliament should in its wisdom consider the advisability of entering into negotiations with the Imperial authorities for carrying out such a policy. (Loud cheers.)

MR. WOOD, M.P., had pleasure in seconding the resolution, which was adopted unanimously.

COL. O'BRIEN, M.P., moved that the members of the League were not called upon to lay down any written constitution, or to define the objects by which they proposed to carry the project into effect. He said it was an encouraging sign of the times that the old idea of the Mother Country getting rid of the Colonies was about as extinct as the dodo, the only two prominent men favouring it being Mr. Bright in England, and Mr. Goldwin Smith in Canada. Looking at the character of the leading men connected with the movement, it would be obvious at once that Imperial Federation was not a mere delusion or a dream. The advantages Canada derived from her connection with Great Britain were apparent on every hand. Time and again the Colonies had been told if assistance were required in time of trouble they should have it. In the future, the Colonies might be asked to contribute their fair share towards maintaining the defence of the Empire, and he thought when that time came Canada would be willing to do her duty. (Cheers.)

GENERAL LAURIE, M.P., said it appeared the only real objection was that the Colonies would be called upon to defend the Mother Country. A precisely similar argument was used in



Nova Scotia twenty-one years ago; when the battle of Confederation was being fought. The advocates of union with Canada in Nova Scotia were told that they would be drafted to fight against the Indians of the North West; and what were the facts? On the first occasion when the Indians had to be fought, so great was the desire of the men of Halifax to take part in that campaign, that instead of selecting any one battalion the military authorities chose the men from the three corps in the city. The general concluded with a stirring appeal to "Britons, hold your own." (Tremendous cheers.)

The resolution was carried unanimously.

On the motion of LIEUT.-COLONEL DENISON, M.P., seconded by LIEUT.-COLONEL TYRWHITT, M.P., a resolution was adopted urging upon the Government to take the initiative in proposing a conference with the Australasian Colonies on matters affecting them both. On the motion of MR. THOS. MACFARLANE, seconded by MR. M. J. GRIFFIN, a cordial vote of thanks was passed to the speakers, and the meeting concluded after singing "God Save the Queen."

MR. MCCARTHY, M.P., telegraphed his regret at being unable to attend the meeting, urgent private business calling him to Barrie.

### IMPERIAL FEDERATION AT THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

WESTMINSTER.—A lecture on "England and her Colonies" was delivered in the Great Schoolroom on the afternoon of Thursday, May 10th, by Mr. H. F. Wilson. The whole school and several of the masters attended, and the lecturer's remarks on the subject of Imperial Federation were received with applause. The chair was taken by the Head-Master, the Rev. W. Gunion Rutherford, who, in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Wilson for his address, spoke of the important part played in the consolidation of the British Empire by Warren Hastings and other representative Westminster men, both military and political. Mr. Speed, to whom the League owes its excellent lecturing diagrams, was present, and took a photograph of the room before the pictures were removed from the walls. A large quantity of literature was distributed.

### LEAGUE NOTICES FOR THE MONTH.

A LARGE outline Map of the World, specially designed for lecturing purposes, fifteen feet by twelve, with the British Empire coloured in red, the self-governing Colonies being distinguished by a deeper tint of that colour, can be obtained by members of the League for the purposes of lectures on application to the Secretary, subject to the conditions of prompt return and payment of carriage both ways. The member who borrows the map must make himself responsible for any damage which may be done to it during its absence from the office. Early application is recommended, as during the lecturing season the map is much in request.

A SERIES consisting of twelve large scene-pictures of the Empire, in black and white, each eight feet by four, strongly bound and mounted on rollers, is also ready. These pictures are now available for use by members of the League upon the same terms as the large map. They are packed in a wooden case, and travel as "Panoramic Views" at a special railway rate.

LECTURES.—Mr. W. Sebright Green, who has been lecturing on behalf of the League during the winter, will attend and give lectures where his services are requested. Mr. Green is provided with a duplicate of the large lecturing map described above, and with illustrations descriptive of the Colonies, diagrams, &c. Terms may be had on application to the Secretary, with whom all arrangements should be made.

ARRANGEMENTS have been made with a London firm of bookbinders for the uniform binding of the volume of IMPERIAL FEDERATION for the year 1887, at a charge of 2s. 6d. Members wishing to have their Journals bound should send them to the Secretary. Samples of the binding can be seen at the Offices of the League.

A FEW bound volumes of IMPERIAL FEDERATION for the year 1886, complete with Index, can be obtained, price 6s. 6d.

"A SYNOPSIS OF THE TARIFFS AND TRADE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE," prepared by Sir Rawson Rawson, K.C.M.G., C.B., is now ready, price 2s. 6d., post free 2s. 9d. In accordance with the terms of membership, the book has been sent free to all members who subscribe one guinea and upwards.

AUSTRALIAN IRRIGATION COLONIES.—Offices have been opened in London, at Cornwall Buildings, 35, Queen Victoria Street, E.C., for the Australian irrigation colonies, which are now being carried out on the River Murray, under special Acts of the Parliaments and regulation by the Governments of Victoria and South Australia, by Messrs. Chaffey Brothers, Limited, late of Ontario, Southern California.

### PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

*Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.*

ABERDEEN.—In connection with the Imperial Federation League steps are at present being taken for the purpose of organising a branch in Aberdeen. The Earl of Aberdeen has been appointed chairman, with the following vice-chairmen: The Earl of Fife, the Earl of Kintore, Sir John F. Clark, Bart., of Tillypronie; Principal Geddes, Sheriff Dove Wilson, and Sheriff Brown. A circular has just been issued calling attention to the fact that an Aberdeen branch is to be formed, and a meeting will be held shortly, at which Lord Aberdeen is expected to preside, for the purpose of inaugurating the branch.

CAMBRIDGE.—A most successful meeting in support of Imperial Federation was held on Monday, May 21st, in the Hall of Trinity College, Cambridge. The Master, Dr. Butler, presided. He was supported by the Bishop of Manchester, who was the chief speaker of the evening, Professor Seeley, Principal Bodington, of the Yorkshire College, Sir Thomas Wade, professor of Chinese, the Vice-Chancellor, the Rev. Professor Westcott, and many other leading members of the University. The Bishop of Manchester made a long and most effective speech. He spoke absolutely without notes, and with extraordinary fluency, force, and humour. He fell tooth and nail on Mr. Bright, and made mincemeat of his objections to Imperial Federation. In particular the Bishop treated with the happiest ridicule the notion that States with mutually aggressive tariffs cannot unite in opposition to a common foe. A profound and almost morbid suspicion of Russia and her designs of annexation was a prominent feature in the Bishop's speech. The senior part of the audience seemed a little amazed by the undisguised pugnacity and colonial frankness of this episcopal allocution, but the Bishop held his younger hearers spellbound, and sat down amid thunders of applause.

[We reprint the above notice *verbatim* from the London correspondence of the *Manchester Guardian*, but are compelled regretfully to hold over our report of the Bishop's speech.—ED. IMP. FED.]

DUBLIN.—A meeting of the Solicitors' Apprentice Debating Society was held in the Antient Concerts Rooms on the 23rd of April. A motion—"That a federation of the British Empire is desirable"—was brought forward, and supported by Messrs. O'Connell, Geoghegan, Hamilton, and Fetherstonhaugh (2): it was opposed by Messrs. Dudley and Spain. Mr. Fitzhenry, in an able speech, desired more information, and took neither side. When the question was put the "ayes" had it, and no division was called for.

HAMMERSMITH.—A meeting of this branch was held at the Hammersmith Constitutional Club, on Thursday, May 24th, at 8.30 p.m. Mr. C. Freeman Murray occupied the chair. Rules for the branch having been adopted, the following officers were elected:—President: Mr. C. Freeman Murray. Vice-Presidents: Sir Roper Lethbridge, C.I.E., M.P.; Mr. Frank Dethridge; Mr. John Barker. Hon. Treasurer: Mr. F. J. Manning. Hon. Secretaries: Messrs. James Graham Lemon, W. Hillman Mappin. Executive Committee: Messrs. T. Murphy, Alan Kerr, Knollys, P. L. Lemon, A. L. G. Distin, C. Teniswood, W. J. Bull.

HOBART.—A meeting of the Tasmanian branch of the Imperial Federation League was held on April 5th in the committee room of the Town Hall, the Hon. N. J. Brown in the chair. It was decided to extend the number of vice-chairmen to eight, and the Hon. W. Hart, Messrs. W. Ritchie, and W. H. D. Archer, were elected. The business done was mainly committee work. Four more members of the Executive Committee were elected, viz., Messrs. A. H. Davis, T. C. Just, W. Aldred, and Cecil Allport. It was left to the Executive Committee to provisionally appoint another vice-chairman and another member of the executive. Monday, 16th inst., was suggested as the date for the proposed public meeting, but the matter was left in the hands of the Executive Committee.

KENSINGTON.—We are compelled to hold over a notice of Mr. Stanley Little's lecture before this branch on the 17th ult.

LONDON, VICTORIA DOCKS.—A lecture on Emigration was delivered by Mr. S. B. Boulton, at the Boyd Working Men's Institute, on April 12th. In the course of his lecture he said: Depend upon it that this question of Imperial Federation—of joining together for mutual defence, and, if possible, making arrangement by which no hostile tariffs should shut out the products of British industry from any portion of the British Empire—was a question of much higher importance to this



country in general, and to the labouring classes in particular, than many, if not most, of the questions which party politicians quarrelled over at election times. Were this great object to be fully accomplished, the British Empire would be so strong that none would venture to attack it, so peaceful that we should have no desire to attack others, so extensive that there would be ample room within its borders for the happy and comfortable homes of all sorts and conditions of our people. Let us all, in our several stations, try to bring about such a consummation, so that we or our children may see this greater Britain spread before us with

"Universal Ocean softly washing all her war-less Isles."

The lecture was illustrated by the large map of the British Empire, lent by the Imperial Federation League, and by diagrams and tables of statistics drawn from the pamphlet published by the league called "Fifty Years' Progress."

MANCHESTER.—A meeting of the North Manchester Literary and Debating Society was held at the Milan Hotel, Queen's Park, Harpurhey, on Friday, April 27—Mr. J. E. Doyle, the president, in the chair—at which Mr. R. J. Lepp read a paper upon Imperial Federation. He said that in the year 1837 the population of the United Kingdom was 25,500,000, of the North American colonies 1,500,000, and of the Australian colonies 134,000; while in 1885 the population of the United Kingdom was 36,250,000, of the North American colonies 4,750,000, and of Australasia 3,250,000, or an increase of the population of the United Kingdom of 41 per cent., of the North American colonies 219 per cent., and of the Australasian colonies 2,345 per cent. during that period. In speaking of the value of trade of the United Kingdom, he said that, while the increase of trade, both export and import, with foreign countries between 1854 and 1882 had increased only 77 per cent., our trade with the colonies and possessions during that period had increased 170 per cent. After dealing with matters of commerce generally, and the benefits to be derived by Imperial Federation, the reader explained the anxiety shown by our colonies for unity with us by federation, and, after urging their claims, he suggested the formation of an Imperial Parliament, composed of representatives of the different colonies and of the mother country, to deal with affairs purely affecting the Empire, such as commerce, issues involved in peace and war, defence, &c., but apart from our Parliament as at present constituted. A discussion afterwards followed, and the meeting concluded with the usual votes of thanks.

RYDE.—A meeting of the Ryde Habitation of the Primrose League was recently held at the Foresters' Hall. The Ruling Councillor, Colonel Gordon Watson, presided, and there was a very large attendance. After the transaction of formal business, Mr. P. Greenham read an able paper on Imperial Federation. He remarked that, in the whole history of modern politics, no subject had so forced its way to the front and demanded such attention in so brief a period as that of Imperial Federation. It had been brought to the front by the untiring energy and unflagging zeal of its supporters, and must ere long be grappled with as a question for legislation, and this perhaps sooner than its most sanguine advocates dared hope a few years since, for a subject which had earned for itself special reference in a Queen's Speech could scarcely be regarded as existing altogether in the dim and distant future. Mr. Greenham asked how long such great states of British citizens as Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, and New Zealand would be content to remain, even in part, dependent on the mother country? The relation must end in political separation, or its natural antithesis, federation with the parent kingdom, and combination into one huge state. Let them, before it was too late, take the latter choice. No scheme of federation must be allowed to interfere with the self-government and local parliaments the colonies already possessed; and the hopes, feelings, and national ambition of the colonists must be at all times recognised. There were three plans or methods of effecting federation which maintained these necessary conditions: first, the admission into the House of Commons of members for the colonies, and additions to the House of Lords of colonial peers; secondly, the formation of a new and supreme representative Imperial assembly; and, lastly, a Federal Council to consist of members delegated by and meeting as agents of the different colonies, not only to represent their interests, and express their opinions, but also directly to convey their wishes. The speaker enumerated the objections to the two first-named plans, and expressed his approval of a Federal Council, deliberative, but not executive or decisive. By-and-by, when opinion was more matured, and the novelty worn off, the greater would follow the lesser, and the tentative Council be followed by a Federal Congress, where members would vote as well as speak, and before which the whole colonial and foreign policy of the Empire would pass, as before a final Court of Appeal. In the meantime, let them as a nation do their utmost to foster a spirit of kinship and unity with their brethren beyond the seas, the outcome of which would be that Great Britain, and yet Greater Britain, should become more firmly knit together by a three-fold cord of peace, progress, and prosperity. A discussion

followed, and hearty thanks were accorded Mr. Greenham for his interesting paper.

TORONTO, April 30th.—Association Hall was filled on the occasion of a debate between three members of the Young Men's Liberal Conservative Association, and three from the Young Men's Liberal Club. In the gallery were many ladies, and in the main body of the hall many young men, who take an active part in such questions as Imperial Federation, Home Rule, Labour Reform, Union of Ireland, Canadian politics, &c. Not a few of them were young lawyers, or students of the University.

The motion was, that, for Canada, political independence is preferable to Imperial Federation.

*Affirmative.*

Mr. H. H. Dewart.

Mr. B. Lynch.

Mr. W. D. Gregory.

*Negative.*

Mr. W. J. Nelson.

Mr. A. Monro Grier.

Mr. R. Johnston.

Mr. Charles Moss, Q.C., explained that he was there as chairman, Christopher Robinson, Q.C., having been called out of town. The learned Q.C. had been one of the debating lions of the town less than thirty years ago. One thing he could say of both sides, and that was that they were loyal to Canada. No vote or decision was taken.

## IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE IN CANADA.

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## IMPERIAL INTERESTS IN PARLIAMENT.

APRIL 22ND—MAY 21ST, 1888.

## COMMERCIAL FEDERATION OF THE EMPIRE.

April 23.—In the House of Commons, MR. HOWARD VINCENT asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if it was a fact that treaties were in force between the United Kingdom and some foreign nations precluding the exercise, even by self-governing Colonies, of the right, if so desired, to admit the productions of the Mother Country on more advantageous fiscal conditions than the goods of foreign nations; and in such case with what nations such treaties exist; and if Her Majesty's Government could take steps to terminate foreign engagements calculated to impede the Commercial Federation of the British Empire.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: There are such treaties, but it would exceed the due limits of a reply to recount them and explain the differences between them. If my hon. friend will move for a return of them, there will be no objection to lay it on the table, but inasmuch as commercial treaties relate to a variety of subjects, it would not be desirable to terminate any of them without carefully considering what effect that step would have upon British commercial interests generally.

## CONSTITUTION OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

April 26th.—In moving the second reading of the House of Lords Constitution Bill, which he afterwards consented to withdraw, LORD DUNRAVEN said, that as to Colonial representation, that was a matter of the utmost moment, but of extreme delicacy and difficulty. He had always held that the future welfare of these islands and of the Colonies was bound up with the unity of the Empire. In practical union for mutual assistance lay the best insurance for the Colonies against the possibility of aggressive tendencies that might be developed in foreign countries by continued pressure of population at home. The potential strength of this Empire, if it held together, would become so enormous as practically to insure immunity from attack. The commercial welfare of this country depended upon the development of the material resources of the Empire, and upon mutually amicable commercial relationships. Therefore, holding, as he did, that no object could be greater than that of endeavouring to consolidate the British Empire, he desired to do something towards securing some representation for our Colonies in Parliament. The sentiments of affection and acknowledgment of mutual advantages were strong between the Mother Country and the Colonies now; but every day the general drift must be either towards disintegration or towards a closer union. The Colonies and dependencies of the Crown ought to have some voice in deliberations affecting them vitally; but the difficulties in the way of adequate representation were great. No direct representation was possible in the House of Commons, where taxation and finance were dealt with. The same objection applied to a less extent to that House. It would be impossible for direct representatives of the Colonies to vote on other than Imperial matters. How were they to discriminate between Imperial and other subjects? They had it on the high authority of Mr. Gladstone to be beyond the "wit of man" to do so. Direct representation, therefore, he held to be impracticable—at any rate for the present. It might be brought about by the formation of a grand committee or council, to consist of Colonial delegates and members of both Houses of Parliament, and to which certain subjects might be referred at the will of both Houses of Parliament. But all that lay in the future. Difficulties also existed in the present condition of the Colonies themselves. Although population should not be considered in any scheme of Colonial representation, it would be somewhat out of proportion to give the same representation to Canada and to Newfoundland, or to the Federal Council of Australasia, and to any one of the Colonies not included in it. At first sight the immediate requirements of the case might appear to be satisfied by granting peerages and seats to the Agents-General during their term of office. That course commended itself to his noble friend opposite (Lord Rosebery), but he ventured to suggest to him and to the House that it would be attended with many complications and difficulties. It would revolutionise the conduct of business at the Colonial Office. He did not think that the informal and (for that reason) most useful interchange of ideas that now took place should be rendered impossible, as it would be if Secretaries of State and Agents-General were to be confronted with each other in that House in the full publicity of debate. He doubted also whether the Agents-General themselves would wish to have greatness thus thrust upon them, and he had still greater doubts whether the Colonies would approve of their undertaking these novel functions. He had therefore thought it, on the whole, best to leave this matter in a somewhat tentative stage.

## SAMOA.

May 3rd.—In the House of Commons, MR. W. M'ARTHUR asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the convention of 1881 between Great Britain, Germany, and the United States of America with regard to Samoa had ceased to exist; and whether the Government intended to recognise Tamasese as King of Samoa.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: There was no such convention contracted in 1881. A convention was concluded in 1879 between Great Britain and Samoa, to which Germany and the United States subsequently became parties, providing for good order in the district of Apia, and for the maintenance of neutrality in case of internal disturbances; and a further convention between the same Powers in 1883 continuing the last. The German Government have announced their withdrawal from that convention, and Her Majesty's Government have assented to the district of Apia being replaced under the control of the Samoan Government, subject to the rights of the Treaty Powers.

## CHINESE IN AUSTRALIA.

May 4th.—In the House of Commons, MR. HENNIKER HEATON asked the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether the following protest from the Chinese Ambassador in London had been forwarded

to the Australian Governments:—"Chinese Legation, December 12, 1887.—Lew-ta-Jen to Lord Salisbury.—My Lord,—The Chinese Commissioner, who recently visited the Australasian Colonies for the purpose of inquiring into the condition of Chinese subjects residing in these parts of Her Britannic Majesty's dominions, report that in each of the Colonies they visited a poll tax of £10 is imposed upon Chinese subjects, from which the subjects of other powers are exempt. I am also informed that at the present moment a Bill which passed the House of Assembly of Tasmania in September last is under the consideration of the Legislative Council of that Colony, having for its object the imposition of a similar tax on all Chinese subjects who may hereafter visit the island for the purpose of trade. . . . The Imperial Government hopes that, with a view to the elimination of any part of such laws which may be found to be at variance with treaty obligations and international usage, Her Majesty's Government will be pleased to institute an inquiry into their nature, and how far they are compatible with the increasing growth of the friendly relations which now happily exist between the two countries.—I have, &c., LEW; " and, if so, what steps the British Government intend to take in the matter?

SIR J. FERGUSSON: The passage quoted is a correct extract from a letter received from the Chinese Minister, dated the 12th of last December. The Governors of the Australian Colonies have been instructed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to furnish reports on the subject of any exceptional legislation affecting Chinese subjects which is in force in the Colonies under their Government. Her Majesty's Government are awaiting the replies from the Governors of those Colonies. They are fully aware that a strong indisposition has been shown in the Australasian Colonies to admit large numbers of foreigners who would not permanently reside there or contribute to the future stability of the community, and they will anxiously endeavour to procure an arrangement satisfactory to the Colonies, and acceptable to the Chinese Government, with whom Her Majesty's Government are in friendly relations.

## SAMOA.

May 7th.—In the House of Commons, MR. W. M'ARTHUR asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the agreements of 1879 and 1883 between Great Britain, Germany, the United States, and Samoa were all signed by Malietoa as King of Samoa; whether the Government had ever had any reason to complain of the non-fulfilment by Malietoa of any part of those agreements; whether the attention of the Government had been called to a proclamation issued to the Samoans on the 25th of August, 1887, and signed by the British Pro-Consul, Mr. H. Wilson, in which occurred these words:—"Now, therefore, we, the undersigned representatives of the United States of America and Great Britain, hereby give notice that we and our Governments do not and never have recognised Tamasese as King of Samoa, but continue as heretofore to recognise Malietoa;" whether the consent of the British and United States Governments was asked for by Germany prior to the seizure and deportation of Malietoa by a German ship of war; whether the Government proposed to acquiesce in the action of Germany; whether they knew that a large majority of the Samoan people were in favour of Malietoa as against Tamasese; whether Malietoa had repeatedly wished to take measures with regard to Tamasese, but had been restrained by the repeated assurances of the English Consul that if peace were kept in the island the influence of England should always be used to preserve Malietoa's right to the throne; whether the British Government had ceased to recognise Malietoa as King of Samoa; if so, when and why; and whether the Government regarded the convention as being still in force as between Great Britain, the United States, and Samoa.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: The first, second, and fourth questions of the hon. gentleman must be answered in the negative. Her Majesty's Government have seen no cause to take part on either side in the differences between King Malietoa and the Emperor of Germany. At present Tamasese is the King *de facto*, and will be recognised as such in practice by Her Majesty's Government, according to the ordinary rules. No change has taken place in the treaty relations between England, Germany, and the United States in regard to Samoa.

MR. W. M'ARTHUR: Do I understand the right hon. gentleman to say Her Majesty's Government have no information as to paragraph 4?

SIR J. FERGUSSON: Her Majesty's Government have not been consulted on the matter by the Government of Germany.

MR. W. M'ARTHUR: Does Her Majesty's Government propose to disavow the action of their agent? (Hear, hear.)

SIR J. FERGUSSON: Owing to the delay in the telegraph, our agent took action on his own responsibility, and without communication from us.

## AMERICAN ZOLLVEREIN.

May 8th.—In the House of Commons, MR. SCHWANN asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether his attention had been drawn to an Exchange Company's telegram of the 26th of April, dated Ottawa, April 26, to the following effect:—"That the Republics of Central and South America, Hayti, San Domingo, and the Brazilian Empire have decided to send delegates to Washington next April to attend a Convention having for its object the promotion of an American Zollverein, or Customs Union, to the exclusion of the goods of other countries;" and whether there was any truth in the statement; and, if so, whether Her Majesty's representatives in the Southern and Central American States had been requested to point out to the Governments to which they were accredited that in joining such a Customs Union, to the exclusion of the competition of other manufacturing countries other than the United States, they would act detrimentally to the interests of the trade of this country?

SIR J. FERGUSSON.—Her Majesty's Government were informed in 1886 that such a scheme was spoken of, and inquiries were made in America about it. It assumed no definite shape, and we have received



no recent information on the subject. Inquiries will now be made regarding it. I am afraid that if the scheme should be seriously contemplated the Governments concerned will consider their national interests rather than those of British commerce.

## SAMOA.

May 10th.—In the House of Commons MR. W. M'ARTHUR asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he would give the date on which the English Government agreed to sanction the abandonment by Germany of the convention respecting Samoa.

SIR J. FERGUSSON.—No formal agreement has been entered into for the abrogation of the Convention of 1879 respecting the Municipal Board of Apia, but as the continuance of that board had become impracticable, orders were, on the 24th of February, sent to the Acting British Consul to consider the Convention as suspended. The district has accordingly passed under the control of the *de facto* Samoan Government, as provided by Article 10 of the Convention in case of its termination.

In reply to further questions from Mr. W. M'Arthur,

SIR J. FERGUSSON said: In the reply which I gave on May 3rd the date which I mentioned refers to the present year. I then stated accurately that the German Government had informed Her Majesty's Government that it was their intention to demand reparation from Malietoa, which, of course, might involve further proceedings. The telegram informing the British Consul was delayed because no vessel was immediately available to forward it from New Zealand, and the Consul, in the absence of instructions, acted on his own responsibility.

## CHINESE IMMIGRANTS IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON asked whether any telegrams had been received from the Governor of New South Wales on the question of landing Chinese passengers, per the *Afghan*, in that Colony, and the consequent indignation existing throughout Australia; what steps the Home Government had taken in the matter; and at what port in China the *Afghan* embarked her passengers.

SIR J. GORST: A telegram was received on Tuesday last from the Lieutenant-Governor of New South Wales stating that the Ministers have decided to prevent any more Chinese immigrants landing in Sydney, and that those in the two ships now in harbour will be sent back to China. At the instance of the owners of the *Afghan*, Her Majesty's Government have requested the Government of New South Wales to give assistance to the commander of the vessel in the event of the Chinese on board resisting the order to return or attempting to force a landing. Her Majesty's Government have been informed of the strong feeling in Australia that the immigration of Chinese labourers should be restricted, and the whole subject of the relations between China and the Colonies is receiving careful consideration. The *Afghan* sailed from Hong Kong.

## THE ENGLISH SQUADRON IN THE PACIFIC.

May 11th.—In the House of Commons MR. SETON-KARR asked the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he had seen a statement in the *St. James's Gazette* of the 9th inst., headed "A Danger in the Pacific," in which attention was directed to the great disparity between the Russian and English squadrons in those waters; and what measures he proposed to take in order to raise the British squadron to a strength sufficient to restore public confidence in the commercial centres of Singapore and Hong Kong.

LORD G. HAMILTON: The article in question purports to give with great detail and authenticity the relative strength of the Russian and English squadrons in that part of the Pacific which is comprised in the China station, and it draws from the statement, so given, certain conclusions that are affirmed to be endorsed by the great commercial ports of Singapore and Hong Kong. Both these statements and conclusions are equally fictitious. The article asserts the Russian squadron to be at this moment composed of four ironclads and ten cruisers, and that it is about to be reinforced. The real strength of the squadron is one ironclad and five cruisers, and this squadron is far inferior both in numbers and strength to the British naval force on the China station alone. There are two other English squadrons in the Pacific, one at Esquimaux and another at Sydney, making a total of three squadrons. It is needless to add that these facts are well known, both at Singapore and Hong Kong. Sir Richard Veysey Hamilton, the late Commander-in-Chief on the China station, has recently returned to England, and he is satisfied with the adequacy of the force on that station. (Hear, hear.)

## THE ISLAND OF ASCENSION.

In answer to MR. CONYBEARE,

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said: Ascension is to be abandoned as a naval station and sanitarium, and this arrangement will be carried out as soon as the naval authorities at the Cape decide the stations to which the stores are to be transferred. The island will still remain a British possession. The present course of action has been strongly advocated by the Colonial Defence Committee, a Royal Commission, and many naval officers. If the hon. gentleman objects to the abandonment of this island, he has the opportunities available to private members of publicly protesting against it.

## SAMOA.

May 14.—In the House of Commons MR. W. M'ARTHUR asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, so long ago as 1886 or early in 1887, the British Government agreed with the German Government to give them practically a free hand in their dealings with Samoa; whether the United States Government, as one of the parties to the agreement between Great Britain, Germany, the United States, and Samoa, was consulted prior to the decision of the English Government being communicated to Germany; whether any attempt was made to ascertain the opinions of the Colonies of Australia and New Zealand before taking a step so important to their interests; whether any remonstrance had been addressed to the German Government as to their treatment of our faithful ally Malietoa, and whether any guarantee

had been asked for or given that he shall be well treated by the Germans at the Cameroons.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: I answer the first two questions in the negative. But the policy of Her Majesty's Government was stated at the Colonial Conference early in 1886. It will be found on page 167, vol. ii., of the proceedings—viz., Sir John Thurston, Her Majesty's High Commissioner for the Pacific, advised Her Majesty's Government that "the only satisfactory mode of preventing the peace of the islands from being disturbed by rival native claimants to the throne, and of securing the interests of the three civilised nations on an equal footing, would be found in an agreement between Great Britain, Germany, and the United States, that one of them should, as the mandatory of the other two, exercise for a limited term, to be renewed if it should be so determined at its expiration, supervision and control over native affairs in the islands;" and although, as was stated at the Colonial Conference, "Her Majesty's Government had arrived at the same opinion and were prepared to advocate at Washington an agreement of this nature," no "decision" could be taken by Her Majesty's Government before the conclusion of the Conference for the consideration of Western Pacific affairs. The Colonial representatives were so informed on the 23rd of April, 1887. On the meeting of the Conference at Washington, the proposal was laid before it. Until that Conference has been concluded, its proceedings and the instructions given to our representative cannot be made known. Her Majesty's Government have no doubt that Malietoa is treated in a proper manner.

## THE TRANSVAAL AND THE NEW REPUBLIC.

MR. O. V. MORGAN asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether it was the case that a treaty of union had been entered into between the South African (Transvaal) Republic and the New Republic; and whether, in accordance with treaty rights, the sanction of Her Majesty's Government was given to such union.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: Such a treaty has been entered into, and it will be found in the papers relating to Zululand lately presented to Parliament. The sanction of Her Majesty's Government has not yet been given.

## THE TRANSVAAL RAILWAY.

MR. O. V. MORGAN asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether it was a fact that a concession had been granted by the Transvaal Government to a Dutch-German Syndicate for a railway from the Portuguese border to Pretoria; whether one of the conditions of the concession was the right to take in goods free of customs duty; whether Her Majesty's Government considered that such a concession was consistent with the treaty rights secured to this country; and whether any correspondence had taken place between the two Governments regarding the matter; and, if so, when it would be laid upon the table.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: The answer to the first two paragraphs of the question is in the affirmative. Her Majesty's Government have under their consideration the question whether such a concession is consistent with the treaty rights secured to this country. Correspondence is in progress with the South African Republic on the subject, but no decision can be arrived at as to presenting it to Parliament until it is concluded.

## COMMERCIAL RECIPROCITY WITH THE COLONIES.

MR. O. V. MORGAN asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs when the Government would lay upon the table of the House the promised return of the treaties in force which stand in the way of reciprocal concessions in one another's favour by the Mother Country and the Colonies.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: The return is now in the printers' hands, and it is hoped that it may be ready to be distributed to hon. members in a week or ten days.

## INFLUX OF CHINESE INTO AUSTRALIA.

May 15.—In the House of Commons, MR. H. HEATON asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies a question of which he had given him private notice—whether he would lay on the table of the House a copy of the long and important protest respecting the landing of Chinese in Australia which was cabled by Lord Carrington, the Governor of New South Wales, at the instance of the Premier of his Government, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies; also copies of any treaties between England and China bearing on the important question at issue regarding the influx of Chinese into Australia? (Hear, hear.)

BARON H. DE WORMS: It would not be convenient to present to Parliament one part only of a correspondence in progress, and some little time must be allowed in order that a stage in the question permitting of presentation of papers may be reached.

THE death of Dr. Lynch, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Toronto, is reported by telegram. The cause is stated as congestion of the lungs.

INTERIOR NAVIGATION OF CANADA.—Canada having already expended 50,000,000 dollars in canal construction, now proposes to spend 12,000,000 dollars in securing 14 feet draught from Lake Superior to the sea.

THE New Zealand Parliament was opened on May 10th by the Governor, Sir William Jervois, who in his speech on the occasion dwelt upon the signs of improvement in various industries in the Colony, and particularly in mining. Efforts would be made, said the Governor, to reduce expenditure.

THE revenue of Victoria is exceptionally flourishing. For the first time in the history of the Colony the receipts for a quarter exceeded £2,000,000 in January, February, and March of this year. The total amount was £2,018,094, and for the nine months of the current financial year which have just ended £5,577,435 was received, or within £1,379,271 of the estimate for the whole twelve months.



# Imperial Federation League.

30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London, W.

## President.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ROSEBURY.

## Vice-President.

THE RIGHT HON. EDWARD STANHOPE, M.P.

## Son. Treasurers.

LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B.

THE HON. HAROLD FINCH-HATTON.

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SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G.  
(Vice-President Royal Colonial  
Institute).

## NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

AT a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

- That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."
- That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.
- That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.
- That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.
- That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.
- That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.
- That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.
- That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.



# Imperial Federation.

JULY 1, 1888.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

IN congratulating our President upon the degree conferred upon him by the University of Cambridge, we feel that at the same time we are congratulating ourselves. He was welcomed, we are told, by the Public Orator, and applauded by the undergraduates as one who had done good service in the cause of Imperial Federation. Nor must we fail to express our regret that MR. JOHN BRIGHT was prevented by serious illness from receiving the degree that had been offered to him. We should have rejoiced that his long and faithful services to the State had been so fitly recognised. We should have rejoiced still more at his having an opportunity of seeing that the flower of the rising generation do not yet despair of the republic.

LORD ROSEBERY received the Executive Committee at the offices of the League in Charles Street, Berkeley Square, on Tuesday evening, June 5. There were present, amongst others, Lord Knutsford, Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Earl of Aberdeen, the Bishop of South Australia, Sir Charles Tupper, Hon. J. B. Watt, M.C.L., Sydney, Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., Sir John Colomb, K.C.M.G., M.P., Sir Daniel Cooper, Bart., G.C.M.G., Sir Rawson Rawson, K.C.M.G., Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., Mr. William Mackinnon, Mr. Howard Vincent, C.B., M.P., Mr. James Rankin, M.P., Mr. C. Washington Eves, Sir Samuel Wilson, M.P., Mr. A. J. Staveley Hill, M.P., Mr. H. L. W. Lawson, M.P., Sir John Simon, M.P., Mr. S. Vaughan Morgan, Professor J. R. Seeley, Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster, Mr. E. A. Arnold, and Mr. A. H. Loring.

It will be observed from the report of the proceedings of the Executive Committee which is published elsewhere, that Reuter's Telegraph Company were addressed by the League some weeks back in reference to the objectionable manner in which Colonial information appeared in the daily papers, under the heading "Foreign News." MESSRS. REUTER replied, most courteously, that they were powerless in the matter, though their sympathies were with the League. The attention of the EDITOR of the *Times* was accordingly called to the point, and two days afterwards, we are glad to say, the objectionable heading was amended. While thanking the *Times* sincerely for its prompt compliance with our suggestion, we venture to use the facts as a proof to our Colonial fellow-countrymen—who, we know, are not unfrequently hurt at what they believe to be intentional slights from people at home—that the worst fault that can be laid to our charge here is thoughtlessness. They may depend upon it, when we know their wishes we shall always be anxious to comply with them.

THERE is little that is new to report on the Chinese Immigration question, though the very full telegram that was sent from Sydney, on June 14th, probably contains the gist of the news that the mail will bring home shortly. But the violence of the agitation is evidently subsiding. At the same time it appears unquestionable that the Australians are more than usually unanimous in their determination to enforce the practical exclusion of the Chinese from their territories. Still, we are glad to notice a recognition of the fact that the Imperial Government will have a difficult task on hand in securing that exclusion by friendly diplomacy, and

a desire to make the task as little difficult as possible. On the ability of the Colonies to take the bit between their teeth, and settle the matter out of hand for themselves, we have something to say elsewhere. The telegram promises immediate Colonial legislation on the question, and to such legislation, LORD KNUTSFORD tells us, the different Governors have been instructed not to withhold their assent. What the Law Courts may do, however, is not quite so clear. British Columbia, a year or two back, found that it was much easier to pass Exclusion Acts than to persuade the judges to recognise them as constitutional, and enforce them.

WE find, now that the full text has reached us, that we were scarcely accurate in stating last month that the different branches of the League in Canada forwarded to LORD LANSDOWNE an "identical" memorial. All the branches urged the importance of cultivating closer relationship between Canada and Australia. But some of them went further. The Halifax Branch in particular requested LORD LANSDOWNE "to take steps to invite delegates of the Governments of Newfoundland, the Australias, the British West India Islands and British South Africa, to meet delegates of the Government of Canada to join in constituting a conference to devise measures for the development of reciprocal trade between the several Colonies under their rule, and of all with the Mother Country, and to discuss such other proposals as may be made which will tend to consolidate the common interests of the Empire." But probably the Canadian Government, in the first instance at least, will not go beyond Australia and the West Indies, with which latter, as our readers are aware, negotiations have been more than once attempted already.

BEFORE he sailed from Sydney to resume here his office of Agent-General SIR SAUL SAMUEL was entertained at a picnic, at which all the leading inhabitants of the Colony were present. But the heartiness of the farewell that was wished him there cannot exceed the heartiness with which the League will welcome him here. On the eve of his departure for New South Wales we published SIR SAUL'S sentiments on the subject of Imperial Federation; and these same sentiments, we are glad to see, he does not hesitate to proclaim upon the housetops in what some would have us believe is the unsympathetic atmosphere of Sydney. He has rightly conceived his mission to be "to link the generations each to each," Daughter Land to Mother Land, and has been able to assure the Colonists of the anxiety of the Imperial Government to meet the wishes of New South Wales, and in every way to draw closer the bonds which unite the Colonies with the Mother Country. And no one can deny that SIR SAUL, who is, we believe, the *doyen* of the corps of Agents-General, has had ample opportunities of forming a trustworthy opinion on this point.

WE observe that the Scottish Home Rule Association has been circulating broadcast throughout the Empire the catechism of its political creed. It reached us on the same day from New South Wales, in the columns of the *Cootamundra Herald*, and from the West Indies, in the pages of the *Grenada Chronicle*. In it we read that "the restoration of a national Legislature and Executive [to Scotland] has become a necessity . . . Scotchmen first and Britons afterwards, we welcome the opportunity that would then be given to the Colonies and Dependencies of the Empire to send representatives to the Imperial Parliament, if it were relieved of the local legislation which at present retards the great plan of Imperial Federation." While thanking the Home Rule Association for its kindly reference to Imperial



Federation, we must point out, even though it be for the ninety-ninth time, that this is their platform, not ours. If the acceptance of Home Rule within the four seas of the Mother Country be an essential pre-requisite of Imperial Federation, then we of the League must stand aside, and leave to others the advocacy of our principles; for on the question of Home Rule we are, by the terms of our constitution—which restrains us from interfering with the existing rights of local Parliaments as regards local affairs—forbidden to touch. Whatever the private opinions of individual members, the League has just as much, or as little, to say to the relations existing between the different portions of the United Kingdom as it has to the dispute between the Provincial Governments and the "Tory" Ministry of the Dominion, into which M. MERCIER is good enough to desire to drag us.

IF proof were needed of the increasing importance of our Colonies, and the rapidly increasing interest in them that is being roused even in the minds of those who are absorbed, often only too completely, in the local and party conflicts of these small islands, it might be found in a reference to the columns in which we summarise from month to month the various discussions that take place in Parliament on matters of Imperial interest. This month, even after allotting to the proceedings of the two Houses space that we could ill spare from other subjects, we have been compelled only to give the briefest abstracts of one or two points that we would gladly have reported in full. If the interest and importance of these discussions continues to augment month by month, as at present it shows every sign of doing, we shall be forced ere long to confine ourselves to a mere selection. But in this our readers will have no cause for regret, as another equally certain result of this newly-awakened interest will be that the ordinary newspapers will report Colonial and Imperial matters in a somewhat less perfunctory manner than satisfies them at present. Worth notice, too, is the fact that the most interesting discussions take place in the House of Lords. Some may think that coming events are casting their shadows before, and that the Peers are preparing for the day when the gilded chamber may open its doors to receive the first deputies to a true Imperial Senate.

WE cut the following paragraph from the *Brantford* (Ontario) *Expositor*, which in its turn professes to quote from the *Beacon*. On what city or fair county the *Beacon* sheds its beams we are regretfully unaware. But it must be inhabited by a people whose eyes are keener to see a joke than ours, if they can find cause for merriment in MR. MCNEIL'S careful definition. Still, to our mind, as an ingeniously alliterative epigram, whose sound has yet been kept subordinate to sense, it deserves to be placed on record in our columns. "A good many people have had some difficulty in understanding exactly what is meant by 'Imperial Federation.' There need be no more difficulty on that point. MR. ALEXANDER MCNEIL, M.P., the great constitutional authority of Warton, defined it the other day. He said it was consultation, intercommunication, consolidation, and concerted action. That is just what some people thought it was."

A WRITER in the *St. James's Gazette*, who shows every sign of being conversant with the subject of which he treats, makes a bold proposal, namely, that the three existing Offices—Colonial, Foreign, and Indian Office—shall be reconstituted and merged into two. The Foreign Office should, he considers, correspond directly with the various Colonial, and with the Indian, Government on all matters which concern the relation of any part of the Empire with outside

Powers. That this would save time is obvious; and that time, as in the case of New Guinea, is often of the essence of the question, the Colonists know to their cost. This rearrangement would, the writer considers, save so much work that one office would be able to deal with all the remaining Colonial and Indian business. We cannot, however, admit that questions relating to the internal management of the different self-governing Colonies are only sent home for the sanction of the Crown as a mere formality. Nobody supposes nowadays that it is the business of the Colonial Office to dictate to or domineer over our great Colonies, but that is no reason why it should not give them the benefit of the experience and traditions that ought to find a home at Westminster. Had the Colonies been given a little more, and had received a little more intelligent guidance a generation back, we should not have had quite so many discrepancies of law and custom needing to be reconciled to-day. The whole proposal is so new, that we should like to hear counsel on the other side.

SIR GORDON SPRIGG proposes to expend some portion of the surplus of the Cape budget in a reduction of the rate of ocean postage from sixpence to fourpence. As our contemporary, the *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, expresses its gratitude to "the spirited journal of the Imperial Federation League" for its efforts in this direction, perhaps we may venture to think that to us belongs some portion of the credit of this result. In another direction, too, we observe with pleasure signs of progress in our Imperial postal communications. The Canadian Government has, it is reported, given notice to terminate its existing mail contract, on the avowed ground that the vessels performing it are not up to the standard of modern requirements.

UNDER the heading of "A New Route to Australasia," the *Times* publishes the following remarkable telegram from its correspondent in Philadelphia:—"The British steamer *Egeria* has been selected to serve in the survey for the best route for mail steamers, and also for a submarine cable between British Columbia and Australia, *viâ* the Fiji Islands and the northern coast of New Zealand. The route surveyed will be 200 miles wide." Now, this idea may be new—very likely is—to the citizens of Philadelphia. But to Englishmen, either here or in the Colonies, there is nothing very new about it. Nor will it seem to them, we fancy, so strange as to need special notice that a "British" vessel should be employed in the work or the survey. The *Egeria* is one of the vessels of the Australian squadron, and to her, therefore, the task falls naturally enough. But we should like an explanation on one point. How many years will it take one vessel to survey a route many thousands of miles long and 200 miles wide? Are the Government hoping to be able to silence inconvenient questions by saying that they cannot take any further steps till the survey is completed? Or are the correspondent's figures mistaken?

THERE seems every reason to hope that the depression in Australia is passing away. SIR HENRY LOCH'S speech in opening Parliament is positively rosy with hope. "At no time," so the telegram runs, "since the foundation of the Colony had the prosperity been so marked as at present. The national credit was higher than ever, the revenue was more elastic, and almost every industry was either successful or hopeful of success." Perhaps, however, the hopes of success on the part of certain industries are not unconnected with the prospect of a revision of the tariff, to which also his Excellency alluded. At Adelaide SIR WILLIAM ROBINSON has congratulated his Parliament on the improved condition of affairs and the prospect of the revenue balancing the expenditure. Even in New Zealand, where



matters have been worse than elsewhere, the budget for the ensuing year is only £45,000 short of equilibrium. Economies of a quarter of a million have been effected.

THE *Toronto Mail*, whose own pet project of Commercial Union has been so conspicuously defeated, may be forgiven for not discussing MR. DALTON MCCARTHY'S proposals in a sympathetic spirit. But when it goes so far as to say that England does not treat her own Colonies more favourably than foreign nations, because, forsooth, those foreign nations would retaliate upon her, it is really time for a word of protest. The United States, we are told, would probably "clap an export duty on raw cotton destined for England, thereby diverting the trade in cotton goods from Manchester to Manchester's rivals." The United States, we venture to think, would do nothing half so foolish. To read the arguments of the *Mail*, one would really suppose that the United States had hitherto supplied us with cotton purely for benevolent reasons, and that England alone had obtained advantage from this lavish generosity. There is presented to the prophetic eye of the *Mail* a vision of the confiding Yankee of the future, stung by the manner in which his altruistic efforts are received, clapping on export duties—regardless of the fact that they would ruin the cotton States—solely because they would be a just punishment for our black ingratitude. The *Mail* may take comfort. The United States Government in its dealings with England will be guided by no such motives. It will act from self-interest, and, what is more, it will only expect Britishers to do the same.

LAST year, says the *Colonies and India*, the proportion of the total trade of Great Britain which was done with our own Colonies was less than the year before. Inter-Imperial trade only increased some £1,600,000, while Great Britain's foreign trade increased very nearly £20,000,000. This year, as far as it has yet gone, seems likely to reverse this experience, and revert to that which has been the normal course of things latterly. Out of a total increase of seven millions for the first quarter of 1888, five and a half are to be credited to the Colonies and India, and only one and a half to the rest of the world. And with the exception of a small decrease in the exports to, and a still more trifling decrease in the imports from, Canada (both of which are doubtless attributable to the severe weather in March last), every portion of the Empire has the same gratifying story to tell.

As these pages are passing through the press, the bishops from every quarter of the globe will be assembling at Canterbury in the mother church of St. Augustine—which was also, as we are reminded by ARCHBISHOP O'BRIEN, the church of the statesman who won for Englishmen the foundation of their freedom, the Great Charter of KING JOHN. The Anglican as distinguished from the mere English Church is hardly more than a generation old, and yet already the bishops of England are but a handful beside the vast army of their brethren from beyond the sea. The Pan-Anglican Synod that was held, not without hesitation and not without objection, at Lambeth for the first time twenty years ago, has grown to-day into a recognised institution. To us, who look forward with hope to the time when our Conference of last year will be the parent of other yet more Imperial Conferences, the precedent is encouraging.

MR. G. DOWNES CARTER, M.P., President of the League in Victoria, has just landed in England, and is staying at the Inns of Court Hotel.

## IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

BY THE AUTHOR OF "AUSTRAL AFRICA: LOSING IT OR RULING IT."

VIEWED from the standpoint of the Imperial Federation League, the question of Imperial policy in South Africa is one of first-class importance. It is, of course, a South African question, having reference to its local affairs; and it is a British question, connected with British commerce, British colonisation, and British philanthropy. But it is also an Imperial question, of the deepest interest to English Colonies as well as to the Mother Country. This, of course, is owing to the vital importance of the Cape to the English Empire as a naval and commercial Power; not merely Table Bay and Simon's Bay, but these Imperial stations backed up by a loyal inland population.

The members of the Federation League entertain the hope that gradually the present happy union of sentiment existing between Britain and Greater Britain will be followed by a helpful and not irksome scheme of Imperial Federation. But the case of South Africa presents serious difficulties to the Imperial Federationist. The sentiment on which his hopes are elsewhere based has been sadly tarnished—indeed, well-nigh destroyed—in South Africa. Elsewhere that sentiment of attachment is based on confidence, respect, and enthusiastic admiration. Instead of these—or rather, I am glad to say, along with these—in South Africa we have the Afrikaner Bond, not only in the independent States, but also in the Cape Colony. Now, it is quite evident that the same confidence, respect, and admiration as in other Colonies must be evoked by the Imperial Government in South Africa, before a sentiment of attachment can be produced there, from which a future desire for Federation can spring.

Lord Rosebery lately drew attention to the importance of a sound policy in South Africa on the part of the Imperial Government. It was the only country of unsolved Colonial and administrative problems. Mr. Chamberlain more recently exposed the shallow and unsatisfactory course which Her Majesty's Governments—irrespective of parties—had hitherto pursued, and earnestly advocated an intelligent recognition of our responsibilities, and an honest steady policy to fulfil them. Earl Carnarvon, after visiting the Cape, has advised Her Majesty's Government to a development of Imperial administration northward; and Sir Charles Warren, writing with the clearness of intimate knowledge of his subject, has pointed out how this may best be done. The clear and straightforward way to produce this sentiment of attachment in South Africa is for the Imperial Government to discharge Imperial duties in that country so as to deserve it. The Imperial cause is not hopeless: its most distressing feature is the carelessness, the blindness, or the wrong-headedness of those who are responsible for recent Imperial policy and action in Trans-Colonial Territories. Let me endeavour to put this matter so as that not only the English but also the Colonial and Indian readers of IMPERIAL FEDERATION may understand, and take an interest in this very important Imperial question.

Within the Cape Colony we have a population of 1,100,000, including the well-populated native territories of the Transkei. Of these only 340,000 are whites; the rest are the vigorous and increasing natives of the country. Since 1872 the Cape Colony has enjoyed Responsible Government, qualified coloured people exercising the franchise along with the whites. In Natal there is a population of 420,000, of which only 32,000 are whites, while 388,000 are natives. Natal is a Crown Colony. In Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Zululand we have purely native territories, with an increasing and able-bodied population of between 150,000 and 200,000 in each territory. These are already under the Imperial Government. Further north we have, without crossing the Zambesi, a native population of say 1,000,000 friendly to the Imperial Government. Of these some have expressed their friendliness more clearly than the others, as the chiefs and people of Pondoland, Swaziland, Amatongaland, and Matabeleland. The Transvaal (white population, say 80,000) and the Free State (white population, 62,000) are independent Republics, the founders of which were permitted by the Imperial Government to swarm off from the Cape Colony, and have now a clear right to their local



self-government. Thus in South Africa there is assuredly diversity enough; but a little closer attention will show that the problem is capable of solution. The self-governing Free State and Transvaal are our friendly neighbours, with whom we desire to live on the best and most helpful terms. The Cape Colony is a large and important self-governing Colony. Within its own borders it has no complaint against the Imperial Government, and the Imperial Government has no special fault to find with the Cape Colony within these borders.

We come next to the native territories adjoining these Colonies and States. These are all under the Imperial Government. Basutoland is under an Imperial Resident Commissioner and a staff of magistrates; Zululand is also under a resident magistrate; part of Bechuanaland is a sort of Colony under an administrator and chief magistrate, an assistant commissioner, and a staff of magistrates; the remaining part of Bechuanaland is at present a protectorate of the most shadowy kind.

Under whom are these Imperial Commissioners acting in those native territories? It is here where confusion begins. Bechuanaland, which contains over 180,000 square miles, and is on the highway of our north-going commerce, is under the Governor of the Cape Colony as to its southern part; while its northern part is under the same officer in his capacity of High Commissioner. Basutoland is under the High Commissioner. Zululand is under the Governor of Natal, who is Special Commissioner of Zululand. Swaziland, Amatongaland, and Pondoland, although each the scene of disturbance and anarchy, are under no Imperial officer, except that the Governor of the Cape Colony is titular High Commissioner of South Africa. Thus, besides holding the office of Governor of the large and important Cape Colony, its present governor is High Commissioner of Basutoland and North Bechuanaland; as Governor of the Cape Colony he also holds the office of Governor of the Imperial Colony of South Bechuanaland, spending Imperial money with Colonial advice—a truly marvellous arrangement. Although he asked to be relieved of the charge of Zululand, he has recently conducted correspondence concerning more distant territories—Matebeleland, Amatongaland, and Swaziland—his views in connection with the disposition of the last native territory being such as to rouse the disapprobation and earnest protest of the British Colony of Natal.

I ask my English and my Colonial readers to go over the last paragraph again. This precious muddle is called in South Africa Imperial administration; while the weary dragging along of this insecure, haphazard, anyhow-will-do method, is called Imperial policy! Let us go back once more to where there is no muddle. We have seen that the State Governments and the Colonial Governments occupy clearly defined positions. The Imperial Commissioners in Trans-Colonial Territories also occupy easily appreciated, as well as highly necessary offices. The muddle consists in the want of a Supreme or Central Administration. Plainly enough, what is wanted is to have a Central Imperial Department for native territories, to which all Local Commissioners shall report. This Imperial High Commissioner would have under his charge to-day a territory much larger than the Cape Colony, and richer and more desirable than that Colony—so far as natural capabilities go. It is necessary thus specially to emphasize the great richness of the country to the north, because it has latterly been part of the entirely unaccountable policy of the present High Commissioner to depreciate the immense value of the native territories to the north of the Cape Colony, while in the north-east he went the length of proposing that Swaziland should be joined to the Transvaal!

I beg to state the strong opinion in which, I feel sure, I shall be upheld by readers of this Journal, at home and abroad, that we should uphold law and order in the native territories that are under our Protectorate, and gradually, but speedily, in other territories where our Protectorate is desired, as in Swaziland and Amatongaland and Pondoland. We should do this as the recognised supreme Power in South Africa, and as a self-respecting European Power; or, as the only honest alternative, we should leave South Africa entirely, and give place to other men who will not be so easily bullied, or baffled, or bored, as the Englishmen who

have lately had to do with South African affairs. This involves administering as far north as the Zambesi, to which river extend the territories of Khame, who is now under our protection.

It is not pretended that our Imperial work in South Africa is unattended with difficulty. What I have shown is that our utterly clumsy and incompetent methods tend to increase every natural difficulty, and, among other results, secure for the Imperial Government the contempt of the Colonists.

There is now a disturbance in Zululand, which has to be put down by Imperial troops. By weakly recognising the independence of the New Boer Republic, we have absolved that part of Zululand from bearing any share of the expense of keeping the peace in Zululand. Then our treaty with the Amatonga tribe is conceived in a blind, do-nothing spirit, out of which nothing but misunderstandings and future expense can arise—if we remain in the country as Supreme Power. And far more serious are our grotesque changes of Imperial attitude in North Bechuanaland since 1885. In that year Sir Charles Warren made provisional treaties with the three great chiefs of North Bechuanaland, in which large territories were handed over to Her Majesty's Government by these chiefs and their councils. Sir Charles also sketched out a scheme of government, in which the colonising of the unoccupied parts of the country was to be a recognised and prominent department. Already over a thousand applications for farms had been lodged with Sir Charles—many of them from Colonial and English volunteers, who had themselves seen the country and its capabilities. All this was set aside, and even the treaties were declined, by the Imperial Government. Now, it may be asked, what induced Her Majesty's Government to refuse its sanction to treaties of the above description? I am sorry and ashamed to say they were induced to do so by the hope held out to them by the present High Commissioner and Governor of the Cape Colony that, if they would only follow his advice, he would show them how to "get out of" Bechuanaland speedily, proposing to hand over a country as large as itself to the Cape Colony. At first the High Commissioner thought he could sweep back the wave of white men going northward, and he employed the Imperial police in doing so. Finding that a hopeless task, he seems latterly to have given a certain amount of sanction to mining prospectors in North Bechuanaland, who are busy getting "concessions" to private companies of large mining interests which ought to belong to the Imperial Government, which will have eventually to secure the peace of the country. I don't object to the enterprise of these men, but entirely disapprove of the supineness of the Imperial Government.

Thus, while her Majesty's Government declare in England that they are quite aware of their great responsibilities north of the Cape Colony, they are all the while, in South Africa, ignoring and scheming to get rid of those responsibilities. This unfortunate and most expensive backing-out attitude establishes in the mind of the ordinary Colonist the opinion that the Imperial Government cannot be relied on, while the native chiefs and people regard themselves as did the Basutos, who considered they were handed about from one Government to another as a bit of tobacco is handed from man to man.

I am sure the reader is ready to ask, Why should the Imperial Government shirk its great work in Bechuanaland, the highway into the interior of British commerce? Why should it hand over a country, as large as the Cape Colony itself, and far more valuable, to a Colony with a responsible Government—a Colony, too, which recently has not favoured, but disapproved of, further colonisation by fresh European blood? Some one rushes forward and says, "Don't speak against the Cape Colonists: they are all, Dutch and all, very loyal." I answer I am not speaking against the Cape Colonists; I am speaking for them—arguing that for years to come this self-government should be confined within the borders of their Colony, while the Imperial Government assists them, and South Africa generally, by administering the vast and largely unoccupied outlying territories. As to loyalty, that is not the present question. South Australia is loyal; but that is no reason why it should manage the affairs of Western Australia as well as its own. There can



be no good reason, as it seems to me, why a Power such as England should retreat from the great work of directly controlling the opening up and development of Trans-Colonial Austral Africa. As to local disturbances, they will no doubt occasionally arise in such a country, especially in districts too long left a prey to marauders and adventurers. But I say advisedly—and officers who have served in South Africa will agree with me—that there is no country more capable of keeping peace within its own borders, provided it once had a Central High Commissioner's Department under the Imperial Government, controlled by able and sympathetic men, in whom both Colonists and natives would place reliance.

Thus, whatever difficulties await us in the future in Austral Africa, they are not removed or mitigated, but are increased by our present unworthy, and in the end most costly, attitude. Indeed, it may be said in a word, that our chief South African difficulty lies in our reluctance to face our Imperial duties there as we have done in India, in the old-fashioned spirit of strong and righteous Englishmen.

JOHN MACKENZIE.

### THE COMMONS OF CANADA.

[FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.]

OTTAWA, May 18, 1888.

CANADIANS are proud of the "tower-crowned heights of Ottawa," and especially of the central group of buildings, where the Senate and Commons of Canada are housed. The Commons occupy its western half, the attractive point in which is the magnificent "chamber," with galleries surrounding it above, and lobbies below, wherein the representatives of the people deliberate. The good citizens of Ottawa often resort of an evening to the galleries, from beneath the Gothic arches of which they look down upon scenes sometimes "as good as a play." These are transacted in a rectangular hall, about a hundred feet by sixty, with walls and pillars largely made up of native Canadian marbles, and illuminated from above by incandescent electric lights. Its length is divided into two halves by a space in front of the Speaker's chair, where the clerks, the Hansard reporters, and the Sergeant-at-Arms are seated. On each side of this space are ranged the desks at which the members sit. Except along the walls, the desks are double, with chairs for two members, and furnish in their lids very potent instruments, sometimes used for rendering an unpopular orator inaudible. There are seven rows of such desks on each side, with sixteen places in each row, affording seats, in all, for 224 members. Each member has his own place, where he is generally found when in the House, and always when addressing it.

In the seats of the first and second rows to the right of the Speaker sit the ministers. Those nearest the Speaker are the Hon. John Costigan, Minister of Inland Revenue, and the Hon. John Carling, Minister of Agriculture, gentlemen of which the remark has been made that "it is impossible for any men to be as honest as they look." Next to them on the front row are Sir Adolphe Caron and Sir Hector Langevin. The next pair are Sir John Macdonald and Sir Charles Tupper, the pillars of the Government. Exactly opposite Sir John sits the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, the last Liberal Premier, now up in years and broken in health, —a relic of the old "reform" party—but still occupying the post of honour in the Opposition ranks. He seldom makes a speech, but often throws in a remark characterised by Scotch causticity. His partner at the double desk is Sir Richard Cartwright, the financial critic of the Finance Minister, Sir Charles Tupper, who sits exactly opposite. To the right of Sir Charles is the Hon. Mackenzie Bowell, Minister of Customs, whose business it is to superintend the collection of the Customs duties, which, as Sir R.W. Rawson tells us, amount to fifty-seven per cent. of our total revenue. Mr. Bowell is always brisk and busy, and his white hair and full white beard at once attract the observer. He is an Englishman by birth, but a Canadian of fifty-five years' residence, beginning as a printer's apprentice, and ending as a minister of the Crown. His name is a household word to the Orangemen of Canada, as he at one time reached the dignity of Worshipful Grand Master and Sovereign of the Orange Association of Canada. It is one of the best proofs of the wonderful influence over men which Sir John Macdonald

exerts to find among his colleagues, not only adherents of Ultramontanist and Gallicanism, but also representatives of Anglicanism, Presbyterianism, and Orangeism.

Behind Mr. Bowell is a vacant chair occupied only a few weeks ago by the Hon. Thomas White, then Minister of the Interior, whose loss is still deplored by his colleagues and his country. About the time of his death, Mr. White was stated to be a Federationist by one of the newspapers here; but I understand that his views regarding our movement were not very favourable. He was a Canadian born, and his speeches were full of patriotic references to "this Canada of ours." He was an ardent supporter of the "national policy," and not at all careful to qualify it as "incidental" Protection. He opposed anything like Free Trade for Canada, felt very keenly England's neglect of Canadian interests in former years, and seemed disinclined to believe that any improvement would be caused by Imperial Federation. Still, he was always a strenuous supporter of British connection, and may not have loved Britain less, but his own native Canada more.

It is estimated that about fifty members of the House are at the same time adherents of the Imperial Federation League. Most of them are to be found on the Ministerial side. Messrs. McCarthy and McNeil, respectively President and Vice-President of the League in Canada, both have seats on the front bench, Mr. McNeil's being furthest from the Speaker. Mr. McNeil is frequently heard in the House, and speaks with no uncertain sound on matters having reference to the Mother Land. Mr. Edgar, member for West Ontario, having spoken disparagingly of the medals issued by the Government to the Volunteers who served in the North-West against Riel, Mr. McNeil maintained, a few nights ago, that the medals were valued by the people of Canada. His remarks were most spirited and effective, and concluded as follows:—"For the native born Canadians of the North Riding of Bruce, whom I represent, I venture to say that if the hon. member for West Ontario came there, and from any public platform suggested that the people would refuse to wear the medals which Her Gracious Majesty—whom they so love and revere—had presented to them, although there is not a more orderly constituency in the Dominion of Canada, he would—well, he would very likely have cause to lament his temerity. I do not say that he would receive a baptism of fire; for that he would have to go south, where his affection is, but I think he would be likely to get a baptism in the nearest swamp."

This language may appear a little too vigorous, but among the Commons of Canada it seems necessary to "have as much of the devil in you as will keep the devil off."

### MEMORIAL OF THE RIGHT HON. W. E. FORSTER.

A MEMORIAL of our late but unforgotten President was unveiled on June 11th at Bradpole in Dorsetshire, the village in which he was born. Sir Frederick Young was called upon to deliver an address on the occasion, and in the course of it he spoke as follows:—He constantly aspired to promote the permanent unity of the British Empire. It is in this connection that I would refer to Imperial Federation, that great national cause of which I am myself such an ardent advocate, and which brought me into such frequent communication with Mr. Forster during the latter part of his life. It is with no little personal pride that I remember the words which he used some three or four years ago in accepting the presidency of the Imperial Federation League, when he said of me "he could not do without Mr. Young, who through evil report and good report, and what was worse no report at all, had stood by the cause of Imperial Federation for so many years." It may show, too, the deep feeling he had himself for it, if I mention that I have received a letter from his widow, in which, after remarking "that it would have greatly pleased her dear husband that his name should be preserved in his birthplace, and that his memoirs, shortly to be published, will show how faithful he was in his attachment to his early home," she says: "In one of the last letters I ever had from him he writes of Imperial Federation, 'this is my chief work.'" In 1865 he first took office as Under-Secretary for the Colonies (at the time of Lord Palmerston's death), under Earl Russell. In the admirable



obituary of him in the *Times* it is said that "it was to the large experience which he gained during his eight months of office, as Under-Secretary, that Mr. Forster used to attribute much of that deep interest in all Colonial questions which filled so large a portion of his life. His fondness for the Imperial idea in its widest sense, his desire that the England of the future should be, not one of many independent English-speaking communities, but the centre of a vast confederated Empire, had before this been half instinctive, but from the time of his service at the Colonial Office it became a matter of reasoned conviction." "I believe," said Mr. Forster, in his address to the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution in 1875 on our Colonial Empire, "that our union with the Colonies will not be severed, because I believe that we and they will more and more prize this union, and become convinced that it can only be preserved by looking forward to association on equal terms."

### LORD LANSDOWNE'S WORD OF EXPLANATION.

WE commented last month on the telegraphic summary of Lord Lansdowne's speech at the banquet at Ottawa. To those portions of it that seemed most unfavourable to our cause our kind friends, Messrs. Smith, Mercier, and Co., have doubtless given all necessary publicity. But, lest any of our readers should have missed his Excellency's second and best thoughts on this subject, we print below his reply to a deputation of the League that waited upon him two days afterwards. Lord Lansdowne is, we have been assured on all hands, strongly opposed to Imperial Federation. It is impossible for us not to feel comforted by the assurance. Happy the cause whose very opponents can say nothing worse against it than the following words:—

I understand, Mr. McNeill, your suggestion to be that I should take an opportunity, on my return to the Old Country, of inviting the attention of the Imperial Government to a proposal, which is likely to come before it, for summoning a Conference to consider the specific question of improved trade relations between the Dominion of Canada and the Australian Colonies. I might perhaps say that while I was at Toronto the other day I received an influential deputation which made a similar suggestion. They left with me a memorandum in writing, in which their views were detailed, and I promised that I would seek to obtain for those views the favourable consideration of Her Majesty's Government. I shall now be able to enforce my recommendation by the additional statement that a number of well-known members of the Federal Parliament have come here to me to-day, and have expressed their concurrence in the substance of that memorial. I shall do this with very great pleasure, and I join with you in thinking that if any attempt is to be made in this direction the present moment is an opportune one. I have no doubt that the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway has entirely altered the possibilities of commerce between this continent and Australia. Allow me to add, that a proposal of this kind seems to be a very good illustration of what I would venture to call the business-like and cautious way of dealing with a great question in which you are all interested.

I am glad to have the opportunity of saying how agreeable it would be to me to act with you upon these lines, because I am enabled to supplement by a word of explanation some remarks which I addressed to a larger audience a few evenings ago. I should be very sorry if these remarks were regarded by any of my friends in this room as calculated to throw cold water upon propositions such as these which were made to me to-day and at Toronto. What I wished to enforce was the danger of pressing these proposals too hard and too fast, and of outstripping—those were the words I think I used—public sentiment. Nobody feels more than I do how much the Empire owes to the action of the different branches of the Imperial Federation League, both here and in other Colonies. They have undoubtedly achieved this—even if we are to assume that up to the present they have not produced any change in the political system or in the laws of the Empire—they have brought public attention to bear upon a number of questions which had been too much neglected before—to the desirability, for instance, of improving communications between different parts of the Empire—a question as to the importance of which there can be no differences of opinion.

Then again, there is the subject of the defences of the Empire, concerning which I said enough, I trust, the other evening to convince those who were listening to me that I thought there was a good deal to be done, although we might stop short of more ambitious schemes which have been put forward in different quarters. The question of improved trade connections in which you are especially interested is obviously another subject which opens the widest field for the efforts of those who hold your views. But above all these, there is the great object of increasing sympathy and goodwill between the different parts of the Empire, and adding to the knowledge which each of these parts possesses of the rest. These are all points to which the Imperial Federation League has directed its attention, and it has in doing so rendered great services, the value of which I am the first to admit. I have, therefore, to thank you, not only for explaining the precise point to which you have addressed yourselves on the present occasion, but also for affording me an opportunity of expressing my friendly commendation of the general spirit by which the League has been animated, and my appreciation of the undoubted services which it has been able to render in directing attention to some of the most important matters which can engage the consideration of public men.

### LEAGUE NOTES FROM CANADA.

[FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT IN MONTREAL.]

May 29, 1888.

I HAVE been unable during the past two months to send a letter, but have known that your columns have been well supplied with Canadian news. Since my last there have been several most encouraging events in our history. Of the greatest of these, the Toronto public meeting, you have already been well informed. It afforded the clearest evidence of the trend of public opinion in our premier Province. The same spirit undoubtedly animates the people in all the English-speaking Provinces. Since that meeting there have been four new branches formed—at Brantford, St. Thomas, Port Arthur, and Orillia. At all of these members of both political parties have taken active part. And, though it is undoubtedly true that the leaders of the Liberal party have held back, it is not so with the rank and file, very many of our warmest supporters having been active members of that party, and not only the old, but the young men among them. And if the wire-pullers succeed in evoking opposition to us among those who control its policy, they will find speedily that they have lost the sympathy of their best men, and they will never succeed to power with the remainder.

Another event we have to chronicle is the introduction of Mr. Marshall's resolution on Imperial Reciprocity, and the speech in support of it by our President, Mr. McCarthy. This speech has been commended on all hands for its tone of moderation and good judgment, and it produced a marked effect upon the members. The French members, whom it has been sought to set against us, appear to have been favourably impressed, and it is known that many of them are thoughtfully considering our proposals, and we hope soon to count many of their best men among our number.

All of the branches of our League, beginning with Ottawa and followed by Toronto, Montreal, Halifax, Ingersoll, St. Thomas, Brantford, and Port Arthur, have adopted memorials calling upon the Governor-General in Council to take steps for calling a Conference of delegates from the Australasian Colonies to devise, conjointly with our Government, means for promoting mutual trade with them; now rendered possible by the completion of our national railway to Vancouver. These were favourably received by His Excellency, and it is hoped the Government may act upon the suggestion. Some of our branches wished the Conference also to embrace delegates from other Colonies, notably those of the British West Indies, on trade with which a discussion took place in the House last session on a resolution introduced by General Lawrie. The Government will, no doubt, consider whether it would be desirable to discuss trade relations with the two groups at a single Conference or not. But the promotion of trade with other Colonies will undoubtedly be one of the main objects of our statesmen from this time out.

Mr. McNeill's Paris speech is being reprinted, and will be issued in pamphlet form in a few days.

There are two circumstances that show we still have work to do—the one M. Mercier's attack, the other Lord Lansdowne's strictures upon a policy which he appears to believe is advocated by us. It may be expected, however, that the very violence of M. Mercier's hostility to our movement may drive into our ranks the solid, intelligent men of the French Canadian nationality. He may do for us among the French what the Wiman agitation has done for us in the English Provinces; for the better classes of the French Canadians have no confidence in M. Mercier. The great bulk of the French, I believe, will ultimately rally to the school founded by Sir George Cartier, who loyally accepted and identified themselves with the political aspirations of British Canadians. They recognise that the preservation of the just rights and liberties of their race is dependent now, as it was at the time of the American revolution, upon the spirit of British fair play and the safeguards of the British Constitution. These they have tried, and have not found wanting. There is one thing, however, that the French Canadians feel, in common with Colonists in other quarters of the globe, and that is, that trade within the Empire ought to be on a more favoured basis than trade with foreign countries. To use the words of a French Canadian member of Parliament with whom I had a conversation a short time ago, "if England would adopt a national policy, we would be perfectly ready to go in for federation." By national policy here is meant framing the tariff so as to promote national development. Such a war-cry would speedily make victory perch upon our banners.

On the occasion of his farewell address at the citizens' banquet at Ottawa, Lord Lansdowne took occasion to animadvert upon a somewhat grotesque caricature of the objects aimed at by our League, and the means by which we hoped to attain them. Starting out with the axiom, which our leaders have been the most careful to accentuate, that purely Canadian affairs must be managed by the Canadian Parliament, and that our people would not consent to removing that control to—say, Westminster, the retiring Governor-General proceeds to



comment on proposals that he must have conjured up from the depth of his own imagination. He cannot disapprove of the arrangement between the Mother Country and the Australasian Colonies respecting their naval defences, and thinks a good deal might be done in that way by agreement; but he then attempts to cast discredit upon the efforts of those who desire the establishment of some representative body in which the people of the different countries can make their views known, and see to it that such arrangements are arrived at and put into force. If the boasted loyalty of the Colonists is not a sham, they can surely have no objection to systematising the control of their rights and obligations, even if it involve the creation of an Imperial Chamber whose duty it will be to attend to these matters, which can bring to task the Imperial Government if they are not well administered. An attack upon the Imperial Government in a Colonial Parliament is most unsatisfactory. On the one hand, it can be alleged that it is unfair to attack a Government which is not represented there to justify its cause; on the other hand, the Imperial ministers may treat with indifference such hostile criticism, as it does not directly imperil their seats or their possession of power. The general result of the whole will be to bring the Imperial authorities into discredit with the people, who will accept the hostile attacks as the expression of their views, while they will not know the facts that would either demonstrate the wisdom of the course followed, or would force the Government to alter their policy or resign. An Imperial Government dealing with Canadian affairs, even foreign and Imperial affairs, and not responsible to an assembly in which Canada is represented, is an anomaly, a violation of the principles of responsible Government on which we have been accustomed to rely as the only sure safeguard of our national interests. It is not, therefore, a question of Canada being bound by a covenant to furnish a couple of regiments to go wherever the Imperial Government may send them. Except in the picture of M. Mercier, I never heard such an idea broached. It is a question of Canada's representatives being in a position constitutionally to call in question, and if necessary to impeach, the action of the Imperial Government when it is not in accord with the desires of the people. The necessity of a truly Imperial Parliament was illustrated in the attack made in the Canadian Parliament last session on the British Government for neglecting to defend our rights in the Behring Sea. It could very well have been retorted to these that we had no right to dictate such protection unless we share the expense. And this is a feature of the case that must be faced sooner or later.

Again, in his remarks on the trade and tariff relations of the countries of the Empire, Lord Lansdowne seems to have misinterpreted the proposals that have found favour among our supporters. A common tariff against the outside world, and free trade within the Empire, has not been proposed. A tariff to raise a fund for Imperial defence, or a system of tariff discrimination within the Empire, is something quite distinct from that. It proposes to leave the control of the tariff otherwise entirely in the hands of the local parliaments.

For the remarks of His Excellency on the blind worship of the people of Canada for the Parliament of Canada, I don't know where he found the evidences of it. The true position of affairs is this: those who are most devotedly loyal to the Parliament of Canada are also devotedly loyal to the Empire. The opponents of Imperial unity are not less active in their attacks on the authority of the Canadian Parliament. The Secessionists of Nova Scotia, the Nationalists of Quebec, the agitators against disallowance in Manitoba, have no more regard for the integrity of the Dominion than for the preservation of the Empire. The proposal agreed to by the Conference of Provincial Premiers was to take away from the Canadian Parliament the right to disallow Provincial legislation, the sole control it has, and to vest it in the Imperial Government. The fact is that those who defend the right of the Canadian Parliament to exercise control over Provincial acts, both for the protection of minorities and for safeguarding the general interests of Canada, are likewise those who, against the same adversaries, contend strenuously for the proper respect due to the Imperial authorities in matters of Imperial concern.

One word more on the attitude of Lord Lansdowne. He took occasion, a couple of days after the speech above criticised, to praise the work of our League, and to acknowledge its usefulness in trying to promote practical union among the people of the Empire. He expressly stated his object to be to correct the impression that he was opposed to the objects of the League, and this second speech was not mentioned in the despatches of the Associated Press, and did not appear in more than half of the Canadian newspapers, and was, no doubt, altogether ignored by the United States correspondents of the English press. It would, therefore, probably be well if English public men, speaking on this subject, would refrain from making an attack on the housetops upon an organisation which they find themselves obliged to acknowledge on other occasions as working wisely and intelligently for the promotion of the best interests of every part of the Empire.

MANU FORTI.

## THE ADVANTAGES OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

AN ESSAY, BY HENRY D'ESTERRE TAYLOR.

*Awarded the Premium of twenty-five guineas offered by the Victorian Branch of the Imperial Federation League.*

THE question of Imperial Federation has been formally before the public since July, 1884, when it received its public baptism by the formation of the Imperial Federation League. In that brief space we have seen its development from a theoretical idea to a problem of practical politics, which has already affected the current of our national life. It has stamped itself into British history, influenced the path taken at some crises in our national affairs, and promises further to play its part in the construction of the future of the world. Such remarkable events as the offer of South Australia to send a corps to the Cape in a few days, made immediately after the disasters in Zululand, the despatch of the New South Wales Contingent to the Soudan, the offers of military aid from the other Australian colonies and South Africa, together with the Canadian assistance, on the one side; and on the other the formation of the Imperial Federation League, the establishment of the Imperial Institute, and the summons to an Imperial Conference, show the deep impression this call on the national patriotism has effected. A chord of feeling has been touched, and as its music has swelled fuller and louder, filling the air with its vibrating tones, the peoples forming the nation have refused to wait for the lagging footsteps of parliamentary procedure, with its accompaniment of party opposition and professional hole-picking. As "man is never so irresistible as when he appeals to the imagination," it would be much easier (and, perhaps, more satisfactory in its immediate results) to appeal to the grandeur of the conception and to the emotions of our countrymen to arouse an enthusiasm which would brook no opposition, but achieve a nineteenth-century revolution, to be looked back upon in after years as the greatest Britain had ever accomplished. But while passion has its victories, reason wins its triumphs. The former are the result of violent or enthusiastic outbreaks of feeling, always exhaustive, often evanescent; the latter, slower in their fulfilment, have the advantage of being permanent and lasting. The truest gain is found in the combination of sound principle for the constructive portion of any scheme with the force of the emotions—the passions—for its achievement and success.

The stage at which Imperial Federation has now arrived, when it has taken visible hold on the feelings of the people, is a suitable one for its leaders to demonstrate the advantages which will accrue to them from its successful operation.

When rumours of wars fill the air, the advantages to be gained from mutual support and defence are naturally the first to come under observation. The opponents of Imperial Federation urge that if Britain's colonies were independent, they would be entirely free from any cares of this description, that no foreign Power would attempt to attack or occupy them—an optimistic view, of which history from the earliest times teaches the fallacy.

Mr. Taylor goes on to show from history both ancient and modern, that "neither distance, political morality, or any other plausible argument or sentiment, has saved a country from attack;" and that each of Britain's Colonies taken separately, offers a tempting prey to Powers of superior strength. Moreover, Russia, France, and Germany, have all of late years established themselves within striking distance. Russian domination in the Mediterranean, or a Russian conquest of India, would cut the connection of Australia with Europe and be a perpetual menace to her very existence. "We see how our interests in connection with the New Hebrides are treated *even now* while we are still a part of the British Empire. If 'Australia' was only a name for a number of petty states, she would have to put up with very much less consideration—probably with none at all." Nor could the Australian Colonies afford to maintain the fleets and armies that would be absolutely essential to secure their safety.

But these various communities, allied with and united to a Power which has maintained its position through long ages, would be free from such anxieties. They would not be called upon to face such burdens, such dangers, or such enemies. As independent States each would be compelled to undertake the whole of its defences against all comers. As a portion of a Federated Empire each will only have to contribute a small share towards the defence of the whole, and in the way she will least feel the contribution. Indeed, we are hardly asked for this, as Britain will be satisfied if each undertakes a portion only of its own defence. If we are independent when our quarrels come, they will be fought on our own shores. As part of a Federated Empire, whose chief strength, as now, would be on the seas, our perils would be faced almost before they threatened us, our battles fought far away from our homes, and principally by allies who had hurried from every quarter of the globe to assist in mutual protection against all such threatened dangers.

Supposing the European Powers to maintain their present rate of progression, this Federated Empire, from the immense population she could fall back on, could place armies in the field exceeding in numbers those of the four great military Powers of Europe combined. Her enormous wealth would enable her to maintain her naval armaments on a similar scale. No other nation has any prospect of attaining such a place in the world's affairs. They have nothing to federate with, no outside strength to add to their own, and, it may be added, no possibility of internal development which would enable them to aspire to it. Holding such a commanding position, her people would be for ever free from even the shadow of that enormous taxation for warlike purposes, which is such an overwhelming burden on other Powers, which is eating into the heart of their existence, and which even now



threatens to force wars on peoples who feel themselves unable to bear the strain much longer. No Powers could go to war with each other without at least securing her neutrality. Her mediation could always be secured in the interests of peace and the dream of the political millenniumist.—Peace for ever!—be brought within the bounds of realisation. Able to command such a large measure of peace, wielding such an influence in the world's affairs, we might also hope to find emerge from it, *in time*, that greater, nobler scheme of Race Federation in which all English-speaking peoples should form one great whole.

Mr. Taylor then turns to the commercial side of the question. He shows from the fact that the total trade of Victoria and New South Wales respectively, with the other parts of the Empire, is of almost precisely similar amount, that too much stress has been laid upon tariffs as an obstacle to unity. Further, to those who preach unrelenting free trade as the only way of salvation he answers, "Separation will not transform protective Colonies into free trade states; it will rather confirm them in their protectionist tendencies." He continues:—

The danger to Britain's commerce during war is so evident that any scheme which offers to protect it receives immediate consideration. It has been urged that "an independent Colonial flag" would save it from molestation by an enemy, and protect the interests of both Britain and the Colonies in this direction; in other words, that Colonial independence—and its flag—is to be only a thin disguise, a kind of political understanding to save Great Britain from attack in her most vulnerable points—her Colonies and her commerce, and to enable her to carry on this latter apart from the usual risks of war. There is only one thing wanted to make this little arrangement perfect, and that is—the consent of the enemy! But would they give it? Let us suppose they would not; but, prompted by an unholy desire to raid, capture, burn, and destroy, refused; and, to our astonishment, treated our new flag as a belligerent one with a promptitude as surprising as it was unpleasant. All its "advantages" would disappear in the smoke from the first cannon's mouth which announced this decision. We should either have to drop the trade incontinently, or become once more an ally of Britain, sharing in her wars and their consequences. The alternative as against Federation is Separation. As the main advantage of this latter (which has already been dealt with) is claimed to be that "the necessity for Colonial defence will cease altogether with the severance of the political connection," we should then find ourselves in this plight—that we had no means of resisting either the belligerent demands or attacks, except those which Britain could surround us with; but which would *not* then be those of a Federated Empire.

On the other hand, let us suppose that our neutrality was a genuine one, that our ties to the Motherland had become so faint that her enemies had no fear of our common parentage, recollections, or associations impelling us to her side. What would be the advantage of this "independent Colonial flag" to her? Any other neutral flag would do as well. Is it supposed that she would utilise it, support it from sentiment alone, when that sentiment was only strong enough on the Colonial side to cause it to endeavour to make money out of her difficulties. She might even turn and exclaim, "Go your ways, ungrateful children! If my possessions are to be taken from me, let them go to strangers who at least owe me nothing."

Enormous advantages accrue to Britain and her Colonies from the immense carrying trade they possess. To transfer this trade to any neutral or foreign Powers even for a time would involve a serious loss. As a Federated Empire, possessing the naval and military supremacy before described, she could keep the ocean highways free. Her commerce could pass to and fro with almost as great safety as during peace, and interests, on which her wealth and prosperity depend so largely, be maintained in their integrity by the power which would accrue to her from an Imperial Federation. So well are these advantages understood that, while theorists are airing their crotchets and "impracticabilities," Colonies are securing them without trouble or fuss. Australia is prepared to share the expense of a local fleet, and of fortifying certain strategic points. Canada, Hong Kong, and Singapore, have accepted the same principle, and in all probability Mauritius, Ceylon, and the Cape, will do the same.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Taylor then passes on to consider the more purely political aspect of the question. He declares that "the strain on the system of Government by party is becoming too severe. Imperial Federation is a practical protest against government by party alone. It belongs to no party. It works for the State. Leaders of all shades of opinion are enrolled in it.

This Federation movement is but an expression of the spirit of the age. "So far as one may judge of the spirit of modern times," writes McCarthy, "it would seem that the inclination is to the formation of great state systems." Lecky describes the three great works of the last half-century as the unification of Italy; the formation of the great Germanic Confederation; while the third, *the outcome of the courage and patriotism of a great democracy*, maintained the union of the United States throughout all the disasters, trials, and sacrifices of a civil war. Year by year the democratic forms of government are gaining ground, and year by year the power of the democracy has to be taken more and more into account. Democracy, and especially such a one as we know in Victoria, has based all its struggles, and won all its victories, on the one great principle of UNION. "Union is strength," is its firm, unchangeable, unalterable motto. Imperial Federation is built on the very same foundation. It appeals more strongly to the democratic imagination than any other movement of the day, because it is a deep-felt cry for the noblest, the most comprehensive union which the "courage and patriotism of a great democracy" has ever been called on to maintain—A united British people! A great co-partnership

between the dear motherland and the brilliant offspring who can never forget her, enabling us to proclaim that, as a truly democratic people, "United we stand," before the world for ever.

To preach the doctrine that strength is to be found in separation, division, and disunion to a democratic people, is to court disaster, to earn and receive their ridicule and contempt. Some of the opponents of Federation have, therefore, resorted to other and more insidious reasoning in their endeavours to catch the ears of the people. Misrepresentation has always been the commonest weapon to use in such attempts, and the Imperial Federation League is now experiencing the truth of the old adage, that a lie will travel half round the world before the truth gets a start. To catch the democratic support in the Colonies, it has been argued that Imperial Federation will place an overpowering control over Colonial politics in the hands of the Imperial Parliament—that, like Aaron's rod, this latter will swallow up all the others. In Victoria we have been told that, under Federation, free-trade and immigration policies will be forced upon us whether we like them or not. These statements are the results of sheer ignorance of the very foundations of the League's existence and aims; of an ignorance which seems to refuse to learn; which deliberately chooses darkness when the light is placed before it. The third plank in its platform—conspicuously printed on every issue of its journal, and on nearly every official paper issued by it—disposes of such statements in a sentence; for it reads, "*that no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of local parliaments as regards local affairs.*"

If the League ever discarded that declaration, thousands of its present supporters would leave, to oppose it with all their might, determination, and power.

But Imperial Federation is more in favour of local government than even its declaration would seem to imply. The parliament established to regulate the affairs of each portion of the Empire would have absolute sway in its own affairs; and, in addition, each such portion will be entitled to be represented in another and a larger one. Each colony which has special interests to conserve, special claims or demands to receive consideration, will have its own chosen representatives present to support and vote for its views. If we had had the advantage of such a representation during late years, it is safe to say that New Guinea would now be wholly Australian, and that the invasion of the New Hebrides would never have been undertaken. Under such a federation, an extension of the powers of self-government will become possible, which no other proposal has ever offered to secure.

Bound together within the strong bands of an Imperial Federation, the nation would present to the world a firmer front than ever, as solid as the living rock, as impenetrable as the British Square. With such advantages to offer, Imperial Federation may well claim our firm, steady, and continuous support. The Queen has shown her interest in it. It appeals with equal force to all her people. It will enable us to stand forth among the nations of the world an honourable, peace-loving people, wielding its great influence in the cause of liberty and freedom, for the promotion of civilisation, the welfare of humanity, and the advancement of all mankind. Can there be nobler aspirations? Nay, what is there to equal them? It is our proudest boast that we have always been ready to labour, to sacrifice, in order to secure them, and that we have always preferred them to any other methods of maintaining our foremost position, however brilliant or enticing these latter might appear to be.

#### SIR HENRY PARKES'S ULTIMA RATIO.

OUR correspondent, "Stay at Home," whose letter we print in another column, invites us to institute a comparison between the forces at the disposal of Australia and China respectively, on the supposition—which we agree with him in thinking too extravagant to be entertained—that the Australian Colonies had "cut the painter," and resolved to fight China with their own unaided strength. It is difficult to deal with the question adequately within the limits of an article, but we will do our best. And we will endeavour to let others as far as possible speak for us, lest our own inclination to support a position which we have already assumed should appear to lead us to overstate our case. The extract that follows is from the *St. James's Gazette* of a week or two back:—

According to the returns of the New South Wales Parliament in the July of last year, there were then in that Colony over 6,000 men trained to arms, both foot and horse, besides a naval force of nearly 600. There were 180 field-guns, including two 25-ton and six 18-ton guns. The Colony has, in addition, a small navy of its own. In Victoria there are nearly 5,000 volunteers; 600 naval volunteers; about 100 field-guns, including several of the newest breech-loading pattern, and fifteen Nordenfelts. The navy consists of twelve ships, of which the *Cerberus* is an armour-plated vessel of 3,480 tons, and 1,660 horse-power, containing four 18-ton guns; the others being gun-boats, torpedo-boats, and a modern frigate. In South Australia there is a force of nearly 3,000 men, and there are two forts at Adelaide, each containing four guns, while a new fort is to be built shortly. South Australia possesses only one gun-boat. Queensland arms upwards of 5,000 men, and possesses two batteries at the entrance to the Brisbane River, submarine mines, and batteries at Rockhampton and Townsville. The naval force comprises two gun-boats, torpedo-boats, and hopper barges armed for defence. In Tasmania, the smallest of the Colonies, are a force of 900 men, four batteries on the River Derwent, and one on the Tamar. The volunteers are, however, to be increased to 1,500, and another fort is in contemplation. This Colony also owns a torpedo-boat. In New Zealand there is a larger force than in any of the other Colonies, a fact partly to be explained by the greater distribution of the population and the long coast-lines to be defended. In all there are (including cadets) 10,000 volunteers. At Wellington there are three batteries,

<sup>1</sup> Speech of Earl Granville.



and there are batteries at all the principal ports, including field-guns and machine-guns. There are several torpedo-boats in various parts of the Colony, and the sums voted for purposes of defence have altogether amounted to £308,832. The whole male population capable of bearing arms amounted in 1881 to the following numbers respectively:—New South Wales, 131,805; Victoria, 114,142; New Zealand, 85,514; South Australia, 52,529; Queensland, 46,427; Tasmania, 15,929; Western Australia, 4,354. Since then the numbers have, no doubt, considerably increased; yet these figures, which come in the lump to 451,700, must not be taken as representative of the strength of the Colonial defence. In the first place, the great majority—all, in fact, save about 35,000 men who constitute the volunteer forces in the seven Colonies—are totally untrained; secondly, even if they were trained, they are unprovided with arms; lastly, even a large force, such as a couple of hundred thousand men would be if adequately equipped, would find itself handicapped by the distributive nature of the defence, and the long line of coast which it would be necessary to guard. The enormous areas that may need defence are scarcely realised by people in England. To prevent the landing of a foreign foe there is the naval force, to which reference has been made, a few scattered forts at the principal ports, a gun-boat or two, several torpedo-boats, and two or three antiquated men-of-war.

After alluding to General Schaw's report, of which more directly, and describing the new Imperial Australasian fleet—which, however, for this occasion only, we are required to assume to be ruled out of action—the writer concludes:—

With the aid of a powerful fleet of fast cruisers, the Australian land force may be able to hold its own, which it certainly could not do under present conditions. It remains to be seen, now that the Mother Country has done her share, what further steps will be taken in the Antipodes. It is rumoured that a proposal has been made to organise a volunteer conscription in New Zealand. Whether or no the report is correct, there is little doubt that in the future some such means of increasing the defences must be adopted.

Now for a few quotations from the *Australian Naval and Military Gazette*, which has lately re-christened itself by the title of *Young Australia*. On reading it perhaps "Stay at Home's" Queensland friend will reconsider his promise to put 25,000 men into line at a given point.

New Zealand and Tasmania are of course separated from the mainland by the ocean, and as a descent in force on any portion of Australia presupposes an enemy to be at least for a time in command of the sea, we will confine our attention on those Colonies the mobilisation of whose troops is possible. Indeed, it appears as if Western Australia must also play a lone hand until its capital is connected by rail with those of the sister Colonies.

Going on to point out that the intercolonial railways ought to do much to enable the different Colonies to come to the assistance of each other, the writer notices the difficulties that confront united action, and declares:—

The Government of each separate Colony has, of course, absolute control over its own troops; each force has at present its separate Discipline Act and organisation; the Government, at any rate in some cases, has no power to order the men to serve outside their own Colony, and the system of drill is not universally the same. There is, moreover, no provision for the command of the united forces. If the troops are ever to act together effectively it is evident that all this must be changed.

Even assuming that the Government had the power of ordering the men—volunteers for the most part, be it remembered—to serve beyond the limits of their own Colony, one does not need to be a professional soldier to see that the probability of their venturing to exercise this power would not be great. England is much more accustomed to militarism than Australia, and England is a country as yet only half democratic, but we much question whether in England, if war was imminent with Germany, the War Office would dare to order off every volunteer in Kent for the defence of Edinburgh or Aberdeen.

We cannot, of course, undertake to go into the details of the separate Colonial fortifications. Let us confine ourselves to noticing that General Schaw, who reports "that the existing organisation [of New South Wales] is defective is beyond a doubt," and that new arrangements for the rapid defence of Sydney by submarine mines "are vital to the safety of the city," summarises the essential reforms under ten heads. Here are one or two:—"The Appointment of a Secretary for Defence," "Reorganisation of the Submarine Mining Engineers," "Re-arming Sydney, Newcastle, and Botany Bay," "Reorganisation of the Naval Forces."

Commenting on all this the *Sydney Morning Herald* writes, no longer ago than last March (and if there has been any material change since, at least, we have not heard of it), as follows:—

"Have we any right to consider that we are fairly prepared to meet contingencies? We have not . . . There is little reason for the belief that we have . . . a defence organisation in which full confidence could be placed in the hour of need."

We may add that, though the defences of Sydney, for example, may not be all that is to be desired, at least they exist, and that there are a certain number of soldiers, fit doubtless though few, to man them. To Germany or to France this would be a serious obstacle. A European invasion, which would be made at worst by a few thousands or tens of thou-

sands of troops, could succeed only by obtaining possession of the capital, and so paralysing the resources of the Colony, and then holding it to ransom. It would profit Germany or France nothing to seize a single point on the coast, and hold it, while Australia was concentrating its strength and arming forces to sweep the invaders away into the sea. As against any European power, Australia must always have the advantage of numbers and of staying power in her favour. But with China all this is reversed. Suppose China to seize Port Darwin or Thursday Island, and Lord Brassey told us a few months back that, though easily capable of being made places of immense strength, they were "quite defenceless." China has no need to hurry. She can afford to wait. She has—and to Sir Henry Parkes it is the head and front of her offending—untold millions of men behind her within a few days' sail. Chinamen can live and flourish where Europeans would starve. She has only to treat Port Darwin as a *tête-du-pont* and then, concentrating her resources gradually, wait with Oriental patience till she is strong enough to advance further. The Australians have confessed themselves beaten by an advancing army of rabbits. Where the rabbits have succeeded, why should Chinamen fail? In the old rhyme one Englishman was understood to lick one Frenchman and two Portuguese, but to assert that one Briton was a match for twenty Chinese would be too much even for our national vain gloriousness. And China could spare twenty Chinamen for every able-bodied man at present in Australia, and never miss them from her teeming population of 400 millions.

Not that we are by any means so clear that China would need to wait. If she could not occupy Sydney or Newcastle, at least it must be more than questionable if she could not bombard them. Neglecting torpedo-boats, and the vessels that have been built in Chinese dockyards, here is a brief abstract of the Chinese fleet:—

- Twelve gun-boats built by Armstrongs, each carrying one gun, 26-ton, 35-ton, or 38-ton.
  - Two cruisers, 1,400 tons displacement, steaming 16 knots, and carrying each two 25-ton Armstrong guns.
  - Two others, 2,200 tons each, carrying two 8-inch Armstrongs.
  - One protected cruiser, 2,300 tons, carrying two 8-inch Krupps and one 6-inch.
  - Two battle-ships, 7,335 tons each, steaming 14½ knots, with steel-faced armour 14 inches thick, each carrying four 12-inch Krupps and two 6-inch.
  - Two heavily-armed corvettes, built at Stettin last year.
  - Two fast cruisers, built by Armstrongs, steaming nearly 19 knots, and carrying each two 6-inch Armstrongs and three 8-inch Krupps.
- These two ships, and the last-mentioned pair, were all taken out to China by Chinese crews last autumn.

But we have no need, we conceive, to say more, nor can we dwell with complacency on the comparison of this powerful marine with the puny defence force of 23 officers, 28 warrant and petty officers, and 582 men maintained by the New South Wales Government. Even "Stay at Home's" ingenious friend will, we think, admit that the "noisy instruments for the burning of stink balls" supplied by Krupp and Armstrong have about them little flavour of the Middle Ages. That China should use them against our fellow-countrymen in Australia, while we stand by as lookers-on, is to us unthinkable. But when Sir Henry Parkes tells us that he proposes to take his own course with or without the support of England, we feel constrained to ask him whether he is quite sure that he can do without it.

ADELAIDE EXHIBITION.—The awards at the late Exhibition at Adelaide were distributed among the different countries which were represented, as follows:—Austria-Hungary, 94; Belgium, 159; British North Borneo, 2; Denmark, 2; France, 19; Germany, 115; Holland, 2; Italy, 3; New South Wales, 427; Victoria, 516; South Australia, 1,015; Seychelles, 4; Sweden, 4; Switzerland, 1; United States, 90; Great Britain and Ireland, 995; Algiers, 1; Canada, 10; Fiji, 5; India, 3; Johore, 3; Manila, 1; New Zealand, 10; Queensland, 14; Tasmania, 13; Singapore, 1.

THE STATUS OF AGENTS-GENERAL.—The proposal to give the Agents-General seats in the House of Lords will not, we trust, be repeated. What would they do when they were there? If they were there we assume that they would have the right to speak and vote, and would thus become attached to one or the other of the great political parties. Now an Agent-General is not selected because of his political views, but because of his possession of business and social qualifications which fit him to represent his Colony, and it would be very embarrassing for him and for the Colony he represents for him to have a seat in the House of Lords. Nor do we see that the House of Lords would be a gainer by his presence. When the people of England ask for a reform of the House, they desire to have it brought more into sympathy with the country. The feeling is that that chamber is able to obstruct progress, and that on special occasions in order to do so peers are brought up to vote who scarcely ever enter the House at any other time. And those who demand a real reform of the House in the directions hinted at by Lord Rosebery will not be satisfied with any merely fancy additions to the Chamber. As regards the Colonies themselves we think we can say that they have no desire to see their Agents-General hold seats in the Upper House, and we are rather surprised that Lord Rosebery, who knows something of Colonial life and sentiment, should have made the suggestion.—*South Australian Register*.



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# Imperial Federation.

JULY 1, 1888.

## INTER-COLONIAL RECIPROCITY.

LAST month we reported that a return of the treaties in force precluding the exercise, even by self-governing Colonies, of the right to admit the productions of the Mother Country on more advantageous terms than the goods of foreign nations had been moved for by Mr. Howard Vincent, and would shortly be issued. Within the last few days the return has appeared, and a very remarkable document indeed it is. Mr. Vincent moved for, and, according to the title of the return, has received, a return of the treaties precluding, say, Victoria giving more favourable terms to England than to France or Germany. But what he has, in fact, got is a return of the treaties which preclude Victoria from giving exceptionally favourable treatment to New South Wales—a very different matter surely. England had, if she so pleased, a perfect right to barter away her own fiscal independence. Further, if she possessed entire freedom of action at the present moment, it can hardly be supposed that, in the present state of public opinion, she would exercise that freedom to impose differential duties in any direction. But the Colonies—rightly or wrongly, it matters not—are differently minded. Nothing Victoria would like better than to differentiate in favour of her neighbours; but, by a series of treaties, from which, directly, at least, she derives no benefit, she is forbidden to do so. We much question whether Colonial statesmen are commonly aware of these restrictions. Certainly, one of the best-informed papers in Canada discussed the forthcoming return a few weeks back, and declared that the subject had only an academic interest for Canadians, as, fortunately for them, they were unfettered by any such treaties. Let us see how far this belief is correct.

Article VII. of the Treaty of Commerce between Her Britannic Majesty and the *Zollverein*, now the German Empire, signed at Berlin, May 30, 1865, stipulates that in Her Majesty's "Colonies and possessions, the produce of the States of the *Zollverein* shall not be subject to any higher or other import duties than the produce of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or of any other country." Now it cannot reasonably be argued that New South Wales is a *tertium quid*, included neither under Great Britain, nor under the designation "any other country." Obviously, therefore, whatever New South Wales

does for Victoria, it must do for Germany. But this is not all. Germany is only in the place of the stick in the nursery tale that began to beat the pig, and so set the whole train of events in motion. Clauses in a long list of treaties with every nation under heaven, from Russia to Costa Rica, and from Salvador to the Sandwich Islands, secure for each of these countries what is known as most-favoured-nation treatment. So that whatever Victoria does for New South Wales it must do for Germany; and that which it does for Germany it must do for Costa Rica. We do not wish to make out the state of the case worse than it really is, so we hasten to add that, in some of the recent treaties, all or some of the self-governing Colonies have been at their own request omitted. Whatever special favours, therefore, Victorian statesmen may show to New South Wales, they have at least the satisfaction of knowing that neither Paraguay nor Montenegro has any title to protest.

If ever the *reductio ad absurdum* is a useful form of argument, it is surely so here. The Government at home have deliberately and rightly declared that neither the Imperial Cabinet nor the Imperial Parliament is competent to decide what is best for the Colonists. They are grown men, and must work out their own destinies for themselves. If they think proper to place prohibitive duties on English products, they must do so. But when it comes to dealing with Costa Rica, then the task is too serious for mere Colonial wisdom. To our thinking, attention cannot be called too loudly to the harmless-looking Commercial Return No. 8 (1888). The first consequence of its publication will probably be that the Colonies will desire to be permitted to withdraw from the obligations of the different treaties therein enumerated. That will be the first result, but it will be far the least important. The second will be that, realising, as we are persuaded they do, that it is not for their interest to negotiate as so many separate and feeble Governments, they will demand that the Foreign Minister of the future shall be a minister not merely of Great but of Greater Britain, and that in all his negotiations he shall have before his mind's eye not Great Britain only, but the entire Empire. And a minister in this position will tell foreign Powers who wish to negotiate, that what duties are paid in England on Australian wine, or in Australia on English manufactures, concern them no more than the abolition or continuance of the London coal dues.

## GOOD HOPE AT THE CAPE.

IF there are any two public men in Great Britain who have a better right than their neighbours to be heard in reference to South African affairs, they are Lord Carnarvon and Sir Charles Warren. And they both undertook, last month, to instruct the public upon this intricate subject, the former in the pages of the *Fortnightly Review*, the latter in *Murray's Magazine*. To them, therefore, we had hoped to be able to refer our readers for authoritative guidance. But, alas! The guides seem to desire to lead us in almost opposite directions. Let us listen first to Lord Carnarvon. "England, if well advised in her policy, may, I feel sure, look with confidence to the true and loyal supporters of the able and eminent leaders of Dutch opinion at the Cape." And, again: "Amid the flood of cross-currents and apparently conflicting purposes, there is, as it appears to me, one steady drift in the direction of British ascendancy which neither time nor circumstance can stay. There will be no disposition at the Cape to oppose this natural tendency of events; for the interests of the Cape and of England are inseparably interlaced—only may no indifference to Imperial objects or error of judgment at home mar the fair prospect of the future." In confirmation of Lord Carnarvon's belief in the growing—or should we say returning—loyalty of the Dutch speaking population, we may remind our readers that at the recent South African meeting of the London Chamber of Commerce, Sir Henry de Villiers, the Chief Justice of the Cape, himself of Dutch descent, made the same satisfactory assertion in language still more emphatic than that of Lord Carnarvon.

Here, on the other hand, is Sir Charles Warren's opinion as to the policy and "position of both parties of Cape politicians, influenced as they are by the Afrikaner Bond." It may, he says, be summarised thus:—"Africa for the (white)



Africans, with English men and money to support us, without the inconvenience of Imperial advice and control." And a page or two further on, he writes: "As matters are at present, the country is fast developing into a Republic hostile to Great Britain, the disaffected Dutch want to be free, while the loyal British and Dutch are being forced into discontent by our 'zigzag' policy." At the same time, he is convinced that there are "a large number of waverers who only side with the Afrikaner Bond because of their own interests, which they do not venture to trust in the hands of Great Britain, owing to their distrust of her sincerity." Between these two authorities we cannot attempt to decide. Perhaps, however, it would not be rash to express the opinion that, as no Englishman would come, except reluctantly, to the conclusion of Sir Charles Warren, it cannot be that he has formed them without good reasons, or published them without mature consideration.

Let us rather turn to points on which the two authors are in complete accord. Both lay stress upon the difficulty of the native question. Both are agreed that the only possible frontier for British South Africa is to be found in the Zambesi. In reference to this latter point, Sir Charles's geographical instinct stands him in good stead. In a few lines he makes it abundantly clear why, from the physical configuration of the country, the northern parts of Bechuanaland have almost, if not quite, as temperate a climate as the southern districts of the Cape Colony itself. Both authors lay stress on the enormous wealth—not only potential, but actual—of the native territories. And it is this, as well as the fact that by that route is the highway of Britain into the heart of Africa, that lends such importance even to the shadowy protection that we have assumed over Khamé's territories.

Of Sir Charles's advocacy of the separation of the Governorship of the Cape Colony from the High Commissionership we need say but little. Sir Charles avows himself in this matter to be only a disciple of Mr. Mackenzie, and in another column Mr. Mackenzie pleads his own cause in a manner that hardly shows him to need much assistance. But of Mr. Mackenzie's paper we must say one word. In the first place, we must express our satisfaction that in a matter of Imperial interest he appeals not merely to the public at home, but to citizens throughout the whole Empire who care for the dignity of the English name. As for what he has written, it would be an impertinence in us to give a testimonial to one who has been practically conversant with the question for a generation past, and has shown at all times that he cares at once for the honour of England and the security of the native tribes, and yet that he has no wish to lock up their country and prevent its development by white settlers. And if we allude to a statement that has appeared in more than one newspaper, to the effect that Mr. Mackenzie's utterances in reference to the High Commissionership have been dictated simply by personal hostility to the present holder of that office, it is only to express our conviction that no one who had so much as listened to Mr. Mackenzie speaking on a public platform would be likely to ascribe to him any such unworthy motive for his actions.

### A MENACE TO NATIONAL UNITY.

WE trust that none of our readers will have been deterred from reading Mr. Wise's article, under this title, in *Macmillan's Magazine* for last month, by the amusingly patronising manner in which that rising young barrister, speaking, as he is careful to inform us, on behalf of "those who are responsible for the direction of Colonial politics," proclaims, in his opening sentence, the anxiety that is caused him by "the persistent efforts of a few well-meaning Englishmen to excite public interest in what is called Imperial Federation." For it is no common or trifling message that has been entrusted to Mr. Wise for delivery to the inhabitants of the British Empire. *Humanum est errare*, or, as freely translated by the late Master of Trinity, "We are all liable to make mistakes—even the youngest of us," is a fine old maxim, whose truth we are all, in the abstract, only too ready to concede. But we of the League had hitherto ventured to believe that our Council, containing as it does six Colonial Premiers and ex-Premiers, to say nothing of

four Secretaries or ex-Secretaries of State for the Colonies, when speaking on the subject of Imperial Federation and Colonial sentiment, might, in some measure at least, be exempted from this frailty of our mortal nature. But alas! Mr. Wise has rudely undeceived us. "The Imperial Federationists," we are told, "however trifling is their influence in England, are doing a real damage to the cause of Union in Australia." Unwittingly, but none the less really, they are "emasculating the sentiment of loyalty and affection on which alone we must rely to bear the possible strain and suffering of unprovoked and undeserved hostilities." Now, sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander all the world over, and when Mr. Wise asks that "those who aspire to lead public opinion should take the first step towards knowledge, by recognising their own ignorance of the conditions of the Colonial problem," we are constrained to ask in reply whether he too would not do better to leave us at home to judge whether or no the influence of the League is insignificant in England. But let that pass. Appreciating to the full that "few things can be more difficult than for an Englishman to gauge the true sentiments of the Australian public," or, if we may put the point more broadly, for a citizen of any one portion of the Empire to gauge the true sentiments of his fellow-citizens elsewhere, we have always endeavoured to set before our readers not our own opinions, but the utterances of statesmen and representative journals in every part of the Empire. And acting on this principle we will endeavour to see whether Mr. Wise, as one of "those who are responsible for the direction of Colonial politics" can help us in our double object of learning what the people of Australia really do think, and deciding how our action ought to be modified or timed accordingly.

At the outset we will confess that the "personal equation" (if we may use the astronomer's phrase) of Mr. Wise himself puzzles us not a little. He describes himself as "a critic who is not unfriendly," and amongst "those who are most sensible of the duty and the benefits of uniting the British Empire," and yet he tells us that "it is no paradox to say that the first step towards union must be separation." Surely this peculiar mental attitude, this desire to climb down on both sides of the fence simultaneously, cannot be a sample of ordinary Australian opinion. We are comforted to find that we are not alone in our inability to follow the working of Mr. Wise's mind. In the debate on the Australasian Naval Force Bill in the Sydney Parliament last November, Mr. Wise, who was at that time in office as Attorney-General, spoke in favour of the Bill, but added:—"I cannot but feel that my sympathy is very largely with those who have spoken against the Bill. And the peculiarity of the position he took up led more than one member to make the suggestion—a suggestion which, however, Mr. Wise declared to be unfounded—that if he had been "free from the shackles of office," he would have voted in the minority. It is necessary to bear in mind these personal idiosyncracies in estimating the value of Mr. Wise's judgments. There are, he tells us, three parties in Australia. On the one hand "the nucleus of the party of disunion," on the other "a party of unreasoning Unionists, residing principally in Melbourne, who are Englishmen by birth and sentiment, and who would subordinate the interests of Australia to the fortunes of the Conservative party at Westminster. Whatever may be the case in England, the Melbourne Conservatives, who endeavour to promote the fortunes of the Tory party by supporting a League, whose President was Mr. Gladstone's Foreign Secretary, and whose Treasurer was his Secretary to the Admiralty, must surely deserve the historical designation of the Stupid Party. But midway between these extremes comes a third body of men whose aims will, we fear, to the unfortunate British public, "at the mercy of journalists who have little means of gaining information," seem at least equally self-contradictory. Mr. Wise describes them as "a strong and growing party of Australian nationality, composed of men who have no ties of sentiment with England, but who recognise their ties of interest, and whose imagination is fired by the idea of a union of the English-speaking races." Why any man should pant for the union of people that have no ties between them but those of interest it passes our power to conceive. Surely the party, whose imagination is fired by a vision of the economies to be effected by dispensing with a staff of



translators, must be the very quintessence of a nation of shopkeepers.

And now for the advice Mr. Wise has to give us. We might perhaps classify it under two heads, that which is true but not new, and that which is new but not true. Let us take the former class, as the more grateful, first. "The tie between England and her Australian Colonies is of such a light and almost imperceptible character that it ought not to be exposed to constant strain." "In the possibility of Imperial Federation becoming a catchword of English party politics there is a profound danger to the unity of the Empire." "Wait and watch. Inform the people about these Colonies. Teach them our resources. Educate them. Visit the Colonies if you would understand them." This latter is unfortunately a counsel of perfection to most of us, but still, though the idea is not original, it is easy for us to sympathise with the spirit that prompts it. Of the second class are the following:—"Do not, as you value union, talk about our political connection till you are ready with a practical suggestion for making it stronger." "Organic questions ought not to be lightly raised. They ought not to be discussed in the market-place till they are ripe for solution. Now, Imperial Federation is emphatically one of those questions that ought not to be dragged prematurely upon the public platform." Ignoring the question-begging "prematurely," which may mean anything or nothing, or else substituting for it the words "at the present time," we would ask, "Why not?" For a democrat of the democrats, Mr. Wise's sentiments are surprising. How is a question that has never been discussed at all ever to become ripe for solution? Are we to wait till some new Moses appears, and commands submission to an authoritative code? Who will warrant us that "the light and imperceptible" tie that at present unites us will not become yet more frail and attenuated by silent decay? Mr. Westgarth, who has perhaps as good a title as Mr. Wise to voice Colonial sentiment, urged last month that we had already waited too long, and advanced too slowly. If Mr. Wise merely intends to reprove those who would run before they have learnt to walk, who would construct out of hand a brand-new Parliament, and a brand-new Cabinet, he is only repeating what we have said from the beginning. For ourselves, we can claim that our effort has been, in Mr. Wise's own words, "to forge the connection quietly into a permanent tie." The Australasian Naval Defence Bill was, as Mr. Wise says, "a necessary and timely act." We have supported it to the utmost of our power. "Inform the people about the Colonies." We have pleaded in season and out of season for greater postal and telegraphic facilities, and for better Colonial news in our London journals. "Disregard the letters which the Anglo-Australian is fond of writing to the *Times*." And it was only in our last number that we once more exposed that distinguished Australian representative, Mr. John Norton.

Two words in conclusion. Mr. Wise tells us "England appears at present to the non-political observer to be occupied in Europe rather than in Asia. Her immediate diplomatic struggles, the controversies of her press, and her national antipathies, are all directed against Europeans, and arise out of circumstances in which Australians cannot be expected to take much interest." If Australians cannot be expected to take much interest in the fortunes of their fellow-citizens in Canada or South Africa, we are sorry to hear it. Perhaps, however, the knowledge of their own shortcomings may lead them not to judge Englishmen too hardly, if they in turn are somewhat dull in realising the importance of New Guinea or the New Hebrides to Australia. But we could wish that Mr. Wise had given an instance in which English foreign policy of late years has been seriously concerned with Great rather than Greater Britain. We have a difficulty in calling one to mind ourselves. The other point is this. Mr. Wise says, "Union with England we gladly believe will come, but it must be the union of an equal with an equal, and not the union of a superior with a subordinate." Has any human being ever advocated Imperial Federation on any other terms? Mr. Wise should know that the law reserves no special prerogatives for the senior partner.

### ROUSING MEETING AT HALIFAX.

THE above heading, which we borrow from the *Montreal Gazette*, accurately describes the splendid meeting held at Halifax (Nova Scotia), on June 4th. We condense our account from an admirable report of the *Halifax Morning Herald*. There was a large attendance of between 500 and 600 representative citizens and ladies. The platform was handsomely decorated with flags and bunting. Sir Adams Archibald, ex-Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, and President of the local branch of the League, presided, and among others on the platform were General Sir John Ross, Commander of the Forces in British North America, His Grace the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Halifax, Rev. E. F. Murphy, P.P., Rev. Canon Partridge, D.D., Mayor O'Mullin, Rev. Dr. Hole, W. C. Silver, President Chamber of Commerce, Rev. Robert Laing, ex-Mayor Mackintosh, General Laurie, M.P., Judge Motton, Senator Almon, M. B. Daly, ex-M.P., John F. Stairs, ex-M.P.

SIR ADAMS ARCHIBALD began by sketching the history of the League, and pointing out that it had always been kept completely free from party politics. No federation, he held, could ever take place that would interfere with the power of our Local Parliaments. The speaker referred to the vast possessions of Canada; the people of this country were beginning to feel that they wanted to be something more. There were Imperial matters in which they wished to have a share. They no longer desired to enjoy the benefits without taking a share in the burdens.

REV. D. M. GORDON said he did not know what particular object the committee had in procuring such a generous sprinkling of clerical speakers, unless it was that they, being so far removed from politics, were better able to look at the question of Imperial Federation with unbiassed vision. He suggested as a fitting motto for the League Unity, Liberty, and Charity. The Rev. Joseph Cook, the famous American lecturer, had said that the British subject who did not take hold of the matter of Imperial Federation with enthusiasm was a Philistine of the first magnitude. Something was wanted to weld more firmly together the British Empire. He took for granted that all wished to remain British subjects. There was a time in the history of the various portions of Canada when a desire to be joined to another country might have sprung up in the breasts of some, but that time had long gone by. To-day no Canadian statesman would dare stand up in Parliament and advocate separation from the Mother Country. Should such a question arise he knew not who would be the most loyal, Sir John Macdonald or Alex. Mackenzie. And in the matter of English connection no one was more loyal than Edward Blake. We want to continue under the old flag, but our present connection with the British Empire has not the elements for firmness. In the carrying on of internal affairs we have the utmost privilege, but in foreign affairs we are wholly dependent upon the Mother Country. We feel more like subjects. The desire is for a closer relation. He had great pleasure in moving—

That this meeting of citizens of Halifax desires to express and record its satisfaction at the rapid progress the idea of Imperial Federation has made alike in Canada and in the Mother Country; and its confident hope that by continued exertions on the part of the League public sentiment will become more and more pronounced in favour of the objects which the League was formed to promote.

THE REV. F. PARTRIDGE, D.D., seconded the resolution. He said:—

If I had taken alarm at the threats of a certain portion of the press of this city, I should not have had the honour of seconding this resolution to-night. But part of the reason why I was glad to be here is that I might proclaim my entire reprobation of the endeavour which has been made to stamp this magnificent cause with the seal of party. If there is one thing more than another which retards the progress of the Dominion to which we belong, it is the virulence, the narrow-mindedness, the scurrilousness, the determination to impute bad motives which characterises the party press. I came to this country, Mr. Chairman, twenty years ago, an Englishman, brought up in the strictest sect of conservatism. I am free to confess that since I have been in this country, I have learned many things undreamt of before. I have learned that Britain has Colonies. I have learned that British Colonies have produced statesmen of the highest order. I have learned that responsible government is safely to be entrusted to every portion of this vast Empire. I have learned that outside of Great Britain is a Greater Britain, the hearts of whose sons and daughters, if they are only allowed to do so, throb with love to their mother, and who regard the unity and stability of the Empire as the highest aim of statesmanship. Britain's Queen reigns over portions of all quarters of the habitable globe. There is no part of the earth over which the flag of the free does not fly. And the tendency of the age is to draw all the parts of her vast Empire together. The Empire is already federated in reality. It is too late to oppose Imperial Federation. The sound of it is in the air. The mighty proposal has been launched and will yet ride the surging seas. What the cause wants is a leader. Let him be raised up, and take the tide at the flood, and it shall bear him on to victory. Britain has now an Empire such as the world has never seen. For to the English-speaking race belongs the dominion and evangelisation of the world. Everything points to that. To that let the citizens of Halifax contribute their little part.



To that let the vast resources of the British Empire concentrate their power. To that great end, fraught with the blessings of civilisation and religion, let the high endeavours and the earnest prayers of her people and language ascend to the Almighty Arbiter of nations!

HIS GRACE ARCHBISHOP O'BRIEN.

The second resolution was as follows:—

That this meeting, while re-affirming, as a cardinal principle of Imperial Federation, that the control of Local Parliaments over local affairs shall remain wholly untouched and as unrestricted as it now is, nevertheless is of opinion that the time is at hand when a federation of the whole Empire must be formed in such a manner as to combine the resources of the whole for the maintenance of common interests, and an organised defence of common rights.

In moving it HIS GRACE said:

The resolution expresses a cardinal principle of the Federation League, and embodies its hopes and aspirations. For the grand aim and end of the Federation League is to unite in bonds of amity, under conditions which may be mutually advantageous, the various lands which now constitute so many disjointed members of the British Empire. These are now like the dry and scattered bones of the prophet's vision; but even as those bones came together and fell into place at the word of a superior power, even so do we hope to see each little Isle, each distant Province, each Colony and State of this Empire brought together and knitted into one grand whole, in which individuality will not be swallowed up in union, but unity secured and perfected by the guaranteed autonomy of each unit. This is our aim and end. In order to clear away the cloud of apprehension and suspicion that, consciously or unconsciously for party purposes, has been cast over this movement, permit me, sir, to make a few explanations. It is a first principle of the League, and is expressed in the resolution, that no encroachment is to be made on local governing power. No member of any branch in Canada or Australia would tolerate the suggestion that we should surrender by one jot or tittle our right of self-government. No, sir; what our fathers won we will sacredly defend. The old Colonial days have passed away for ever; their recall is as impossible as that of the years of our childhood. The League is not a survival of the past; its voice not the echo of hopelessly dead sentiments; its organisation and its fibre are of the freedom of to-day, and its words are the aspirations of the widening future. If we look back, it is only to learn a lesson on the value of freedom; but we look ahead for inspiration. Our work is for the future more than for the present. The League is eminently a progressive movement.

HIS GRACE went on to express a hope that Canada would "soon outgrow one of its remaining leading-strings, the getting a Governor-General from England. He added that he was, and had been from his childhood, an advocate of Home Rule for Ireland, but that the apprehensions of Home Rulers that Federation would retard Home Rule were groundless. He thought the observant student of Canadian history must be convinced that Canada had reached, or was just reaching, the point where she must choose between annexation, independence, and federation." As for annexation:—

If it is certain, as it is certain, that the Canadian farmer is fully as prosperous, as free, and more clear of debt than his brother in the United States, what inducement is there for him to sink his national aspiration, and become an insignificant factor of an uncongenial community? Surely there is none. There is another small section of Canadians in favour of annexation. Some are men of intellectual parts, and fired with aspirations of political greatness. They think they perceive a wider field for the successful employment of these talents in an annexed Canada. To these I would merely say, become one with us, help to lay broad and deep the foundations of a world-circling power. It will afford ample scope for all legitimate ambitions, and be a work worthy of the mightiest intellects. There are, however, others of this section less worthy of respect. They are men who have not courage to face great national problems, but think it wisdom to become the Cassandra of every noble undertaking. These men have for leader and mouthpiece Goldwin Smith, the peripatetic prophet of pessimism. Because, forsooth, his own life has been a dismal failure—because his overweening vanity was badly injured in its collision with Canadian common sense—because we would not take phrases void of sense for apothegms of wisdom, he, the fossilised enemy of local autonomy, and the last defender of worn-out bigotry, has put his feeble curse on Canadian nationality, and assumed the leadership of the gruesome crowd of Mrs. Gummages who see no future for Canada but vassalage to the United States. Let them, if it so pleases, wring their hands in cowardly despair. But are we, the descendants of mighty races, the inheritors of a vast patrimony, the heirs of noble traditions, so poor in resources, or so degenerate, as to know no form of action save the tears and hand-wringings of dismal forebodings? It is an insult, and should be resented as such, to be told that annexation is our destiny. The promoters of Imperial Federation are called dreamers. Well, their dream is, at least, an ennobling one—one that appeals to all the noble sentiments of manhood. But what are we to say to the dreary prophets of evil, the decliners of their country, the traitors of their magnificent inheritance? They are not dreamers; they are the dazed victims of a hideous nightmare—to be kindly reasoned with when sincere, to be remorselessly thrust aside when acting the demagogue. The principle of Canadian nationality has taken too firm a hold of our people to permit them to merge their distinct life in that of a nation whose institutions give no warrant of permanency, as they afford no guarantee of real individual and religious liberty.

THE ONLY POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE.

Independence, then, and annexation being both out of the question, there remains Imperial Federation. As we have shown it does not

intrench on local rights, but pre-supposes them, and ensures their continuance. We are taunted with not offering a detailed plan of Federation. Well, this taunt simply proves that we are not of the school of doctrinaire fools, who think that a constitution may be written out, somewhat after the manner of a geometrical demonstration, by reasoning from abstract principles and theoretical identities. The man of theory in mechanics will tell you that in such a system of pulleys a power of such a value will raise a weight of so many pounds; but the practical mechanic knows that it will not. Allowance must be made for friction, for the rigidity of cordage, and for other impediments. And so in the work of planning constitutions, the practical wisdom to be gained by experience, by interchange of views, and by a careful study of interests involved, is required; not the crude theories of abstract reasoners. When the barons of England, headed, I may remind you, by an archbishop, made a stand for constitutional freedom, they were satisfied to lay down a few general principles, leaving it to the experience of successive generations to develop and mould them into organic shape. So it is with us. We move now on broad lines. The resolution in hand indicates the general outline of the Federation idea, but only intelligent discussion, patient labour on the part of men in every portion of the Empire, and widening knowledge of our mutual commercial interests, can fill in the details. All this will come in good time; all this is fast approaching. The problem of Imperial Federation will soon be ripe for solution; then it will be solved. Nations can, if they will, rise to the height of their destinies. The seeming puzzles to-day will be the sport of schoolboys to-morrow. We Canadians, with our untold sources of wealth, and our unsurpassed facilities by sea and land, would be the veriest cravens that ever disgraced humanity, were we to fold our hands in helpless despondency, and shrink from facing the national problem that confronts us. Placed between the old time usages of Europe and the more flippant manners of the United States, we have learned what to avoid in the laws of each, and now stand forth as the model of liberty that is not license, and of order born of justice and nourished by a respect for mutual rights. With all these advantages we are fitted to be—and we will surely be—the prime factor in Imperial Federation. Let us realise the vastness of our resources, the advantages of our situation, and, as a consequence, our responsibility to the human race. The blessing which we enjoy we should seek to diffuse; this we can do by helping to build up a Federation of autonomous States, united, not for the purposes of aggression, but for the maintenance of mutual rights and the protection of common interests—a Federation of which justice and religion shall be the basis, and well-ordered liberty the result. This may be called a dream, even as all great undertakings have been so named in their initial stages; but it is what Longfellow calls—

"Insanity of noble minds,  
That never falters nor abates  
Till all that it foresees it finds,  
Or what it cannot find creates."

I have much pleasure in moving this resolution.

OTHER SPEAKERS.

The resolution was seconded by C. H. Cahan, and supported by Judge Motton. The third resolution was moved and seconded by W. C. Silver, president of the Chamber of Commerce, and John F. Stairs, ex-M.P., as follows:—

That this meeting, in view of the beneficial benefits which have followed from the Colonial Conference, which was convened at London last year, heartily approves the recent action of the Executive of the Halifax Branch of the League in memorialising His Excellency the Marquis of Lansdowne, on the eve of his departure from Canada, desiring him to invite the Governments of the several Colonies to join in constituting a Conference to devise measures for the development of reciprocal trade between the Colonies under their rule, and of all with the Mother Country, and to discuss such other proposals which may be made as will tend to consolidate the common interests of the Empire.

The resolutions were all carried unanimously. The meeting adjourned at about 10.30.

### LEAGUE MEETING IN TASMANIA.

THE PREMIER SUPPORTS IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

A PUBLIC meeting in connection with the Tasmanian Branch of the Imperial Federation League, which already numbers 250 members, was held in the Town Hall on April 24. It having been announced at Hobart that the Secretary, Mr. R. J. Beadon, would read a paper on "Imperial Federation," general discussion being invited afterwards, considerable interest was taken in the meeting, and there was a large attendance. The Hon. E. N. C. Braddon, the Minister of Lands, occupied the chair, and amongst those on the platform were the Hon. P. O. Fysh, the Premier, Mr. N. J. Brown, M.H.A., Messrs. R. J. Lucas, and W. Aldred. The Chairman briefly introduced Mr. Beadon, who read his paper, of which the following is an outline:—

Referring to the use of the word "Imperial," he pointed out that in the Colonies they were accustomed to associate the word almost exclusively with "Imperial Government," using the phrase itself for the Queen's Government in Downing Street, but that when one looked at things from a central or general point of view the word "Imperial" had a different significance, being used to indicate something connected with the Empire at large as contra-distinguished from things of local or partial concern. In this latter sense the word is used in the phrase "Imperial Federation," which means, not the drawing closer of the ties which bind Colonies to so-called Imperial Government



in Downing Street, the subordinate to the superior power, but the very opposite of this—namely, no more and no less than would be meant by National Federation. Proceeding, he said, his subject was “unity of the Empire,” or “national unity,” and the maintenance of national unity as opposed to disintegration of the Empire. There was a period not many years ago when politicians and writers in England spoke of Colonial connection as destined in the natural course of events to be soon severed. Now he believed the day of faint-hearted pessimism in Colonial policy had gone by, and desire for and belief in the permanent maintenance of national unity was all but universal among English statesmen and journalists, and equally so among those representing the best public opinion in the Colonies. No one who read the public prints, either in England or the Colonies, could doubt that at the present time there was an overpowering current of opinion setting strong in favour of continued unity of the Empire. Not a few persons, however, say there is at present as much union as is needful. Why, then, not leave well alone? The answer was that even if the various portions of the Empire were as united as would be useful or desirable at the present time, still they could not long remain so under existing conditions. Take, for example, the most prominent and most practical question of naval defence. At present the taxpayer of the Mother Country was called upon to bear the entire expense of defending the territories and commerce of the whole Empire. The Colonies were protected in their property and persons by the power of Great Britain and at the minimum of cost to themselves. Under this growing burden British taxpayers began to complain of one-sidedness of the arrangement. On the other hand, the Colonies were exposed to risks and losses of wars in which they had no interest. Political or national life, Mr. Beadon said, must be progressive, or it retrogrades. We must either come nearer together, or move further apart. The only alternative to closer union was ultimate separation, and in the choice between these alternatives the almost unanimous voice of opinion declared itself on the side of the union. The lecturer then took a retrospect of the historical position of England in relation to her Colonial Empire, quoting from Seeley’s “Expansion of England.” Mr. Beadon devoted the latter part of his able paper to the three following points:—1. The objects of Imperial Federation; 2. The means of attaining those objects; and 3. The objections that are urged thereto. There were people, no doubt, in Australia who thought they would have nothing to fear from foreign aggression if the protecting arm of England were withdrawn to-morrow. Others more capable of gauging relative strength of nations told us that a century must elapse before Australia would be in a position to defy unaided the attack of a first-class European Power. The wealthy cities and fertile lands of Australia would be too tempting a bait to the great military Powers of Europe, with their overflowing and hungry populations, to be passed by, and Australia was too large a territory to be defended by a handful of patriots, however heroic. How would isolated Australia defend her foreign commerce? She was not within a measurable time likely to be able to maintain a naval squadron in every sea. Referring to the subjects forming the material for federal action, Mr. Beadon said whatever form was to be given to the political machinery employed, all serious thinkers agreed that the federal authority must be charged with specific matters of Imperial concern only—war and peace, treaties, foreign policy generally, army and navy, and numerous subjects connected with law and trade, while the people of each component part of the Union must be left to manage their own local affairs, including fiscal arrangements, with as much independence as is present. An equitable system of pecuniary contribution for federal—that is, general or Imperial—purposes imposed by the representative of the contributing States was recognised as a necessary corollary, but this did not presuppose any interference (even by the representative Federal authority, much less by the Imperial Government) with the method of raising such contribution in each State. With these conditions a combination on an equitable basis for the maintenance of common interests and defence of common rights became a practical possibility—more than that sensible persons would not be likely to say. Only enthusiasts supposed the problem a simple one. The sentiment, said Mr. Beadon, that impelled us to remain one people was supported by, and bound up with, all that was truly highest in our social, moral, and material interests. History taught that a community of interests alone will not induce neighbouring and even consanguineous people to coalesce if there be no sentiment of nationality to bring them together. This was why he desired to see action taken now, while the sentiment of nationality is still alive and strong within us. Nevertheless, he was constrained to admit that the prospects of International Federation here did not look hopeful. The same jealousies and rivalry, the same narrowness and essentially provincial habits of thought that appear characteristic of some Colonial communities even now stand in the way of the slightest form of combination for the most simple objects. But he believed that as the existing Imperial connection served to keep these dangerous tendencies within bounds, so the best hope of

reconciliation of the neighbouring Colonies was to merge their minor differences in the higher interests of all, by incorporating them into a larger federation. It might turn out the whole would be less difficult to construct than the parts. The lecturer sat down amidst loud applause.

At the conclusion Mr. Beadon moved:—“That in the opinion of this meeting some form of Federation is desirable which, while not interfering with the existing rights of local Parliaments as regards local affairs, will give to all parts of the Empire a voice in matters affecting all, and combine the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests and defence of common rights.”

The hon. the Premier seconded the motion, and said Imperial Federation meant adding new life to the Empire with which they were connected. They demanded that wherever there was great and vital action to be taken by the Mother Country the Colonies should have a voice, and Federation would give them that voice. There need be no fear that their rulers would barter the privileges of the people, for the ballot-box controlled the rulers, and the voice of the people must decide.

Mr. E. H. Ivey moved as an amendment:—“That this meeting desires to protest against the inclusion of Australasia in any scheme of Imperial Federation, and to affirm that the aspirations of Australians for an Australian nationality under which to develop its institutions and work out its destinies untrammelled by Imperial complications are worthy of every encouragement.” (Applause.) He said the suggestion of the essayist raised an alternative destiny for Australia. One was that Australia shall grow on in peace, and by-and-by separate in strength and amity from the Mother Land; or else separate, as America did, in anger. The other was that she should continue to be involved with England in all her turmoils and complications. He objected to Australia being permanently united with England, for England was perpetually menaced with war. Another objection was that if Australia remained as a province of a confederacy instead of becoming a nation, then the tone of her literature and manners and morals would be provincial. Imperialism engendered aristocracy and class privilege, but aristocracy and privilege were not indigenous to Colonial soil. (Applause.)

Mr. Hugh Kirk seconded the amendment.

Mr. R. J. Lucas supported the motion, and Messrs. J. Hall and J. Richards opposed it.

Mr. G. P. Fitzgerald, M.H.A., made a powerful speech favouring Imperial Federation, and the Chairman added a few remarks in a similar strain.

The amendment was then put and declared lost on the voices, and the original motion was carried, but the majority in its favour was not very large. By this time, however, a considerable number of the audience had left the room, the hour being nearly eleven o’clock.

### A VISION OF EMPIRE.

A LECTURE under the above title was delivered by Mr. J. Stanley Little, before the Kensington Branch of the League, at the Town Hall, on May 17th. There was a large and influential meeting. Among those present were Sir Rawson W. Rawson, K.C.M.G., C.B., president (in the chair); Mr. J. Horne Payne, Q.C., vice-president; Mr. H. Rider Haggard, Colonel P. R. Innes (hon. treasurer), Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., General E. C. Leggatt, and Messrs. Charles Warren, E. A. Arnold, Mortimer Menpes, Richmond Henty (Victoria), and C. Freeman Murray (secretary).

SIR RAWSON RAWSON introduced the lecturer as one who for many years had interested himself in the cause of Imperial unity, and had a personal knowledge of several of the Colonies.

MR. STANLEY LITTLE said: Looking a little into futurity, it requires no prophet to foresee that with or without England, the history of the English race is to be mainly played out beyond the seas. The power and the wealth of England lie there. England will need the support of that power and wealth. Russia means to make a bold stroke for the first place among the nations. It is unnecessary to point out what must happen when the line from Vladivostock to Moscow is completed, as completed it will be. Other things being equal, Russia will then be able to tap the Pacific trade, to the utter discomfiture of the American transcontinental lines. Were Imperial Federation an accomplished fact, it is needless to say that by the imposition of tariffs we could checkmate Russia in this matter, and in those other designs the nature of which we know so well, although, like the unhappy ostrich, we bury our heads in the sand, and imagine that not seeing our fate will avert it. Again, we are told by all the competent authorities, that the services are not in a state which the most ordinary prudence would dictate, that our coaling stations urgently require to be improved and to be further defended; and yet these vital matters—commonplace matters of insurance, and nothing more—have had to take their chance with things of no importance at all, and unhappily excite no permanent interest in the public mind. Under a system of



Federal Imperial Government this state of things would no longer be. There could be no more mistakes like those which have disgraced our administration in South Africa and Australasia, while to a dozen burning questions of the utmost importance such a council could turn its attention with every hope of arriving at a solution. For example, the population question: 75,000 more persons are born every year in the Provinces than can find employment there, while it is idle to suppose that room could not be found for them in those Colonies which possess natural resources so great, and where the population is often not more than one person to the square mile. I ask you to throw your weight into the scale, and do your utmost to forward this great end; for in the success of the policy of this League, in the institution of a Federal Imperial Government, the main hope lies, not only for the well-being of Englishmen and English subjects, but for the peace, happiness, and prosperity of the world.

MR. J. HORNE PAYNE, Q.C., having paid a warm tribute to the excellence of the lecture, proposed that a hearty vote of thanks be accorded to Mr. Stanley Little. (Cheers.)

MR. H. RIDER HAGGARD, who was received with much enthusiasm, trusted that Imperial Federation would prevent the dangers of which they had just heard from being realised in fact. While the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain was delivering his admirable speech on the occasion of his taking the chair at a lecture delivered on the 14th inst. by Mr. John Mackenzie at the Cannon Street Hotel, he (Mr. Haggard) could not avoid the thought that Mr. Chamberlain would hardly have delivered himself of such noble sentiments ten years ago. (Hear, hear.) At last he hoped the Government were taking the matter seriously in hand. If we show that we are ready to defend any points of the Empire, it will go a great length towards that Federation which we all desire. He had much pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to the lecturer. (Prolonged cheers.)

SIR FREDERICK YOUNG rose to support the vote, and pointed out that as we were asking and obtaining from the Colonies large sums of money to be laid out by our Government in defensive measures, it followed as a natural result that the Colonies would require a voice in their management, and when this was granted Imperial Federation would be a fact. He appealed to the Kensington public to support the League.

The vote having been put and carried by acclamation, COL. P. R. INNES proposed a vote of thanks to Sir Rawson Rawson. MR. STANLEY LITTLE seconded this vote, and it having been accorded unanimously, the meeting broke up.

## THE CHINESE QUESTION IN AUSTRALIA.

DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON, in moving on June 8 for copies or extracts of correspondence between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Governors of the Australasian Colonies on the subject of the admission of Chinese immigrants to such Colonies, said that the agitation on this question had spread far and wide. New Zealand had prevented the Chinese from landing, and had placed the ships which brought them in quarantine, while Victoria and South Australia had decided to meet the difficulty by means of a Conference. The general tradition of the Chinese Government had never been to force immigrants on foreign countries, but, on the contrary, to keep them at home. Twenty-five or thirty years ago, however, we compelled the Chinese, at the mouth of the cannon, to receive our traders, and it did, at first sight, therefore appear inconsistent to refuse to admit theirs. The real difficulty was the excessive population of China and its proximity to Australasia. How was this great difficulty to be met? There were but two alternatives open; either Colonial legislation of the type already enacted, which seemed to him inadequate, or for the Colonial Secretary to seek a complete and clear understanding as to the wishes of the Colonies and the claims and requirements of the Chinese Government with a view to a treaty. The United States had taken that course, and a treaty had been agreed to. He hoped that the Secretary of State would not allow the Conference to be held without sending over some one to attend it who was in the confidence of Her Majesty's Government. This was precisely one of the questions which showed the new order of things between ourselves and the great Colonies, in which the interests of both were closely interlaced, and in which the Colonies were ready to meet us in the most friendly spirit, and we must meet them with great forbearance and consideration.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN moved to add to the motion the words, "and for a return of all Acts passed by Colonial Legislatures affecting Chinese immigration."

LORD KNUTSFORD, in reply, said that the papers asked for would be produced at the earliest opportunity. It was known that on June 12th a Conference would be held in Australia, at which all these matters would be most fully discussed, and, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, the papers asked for should be presented after they knew the result of that discussion. Her Majesty's Government were unable, with Lord Carnarvon, to agree as to the advantage of having an Imperial delegate at the Conference. There was still considerable jealousy of Downing Street interference entertained in the Colonies. They thought that the Colonial Governments should work out their own views upon these important matters, free altogether from the presence of an Imperial agent. Her Majesty's Government were fully alive to the importance of the subject, and also of the strong feeling which had

sprung up in the Colonies, and the Government were as anxious as any Colonial Government to secure that proper checks should be put upon Chinese immigration, and that proper precautions should be taken to prevent the Colonies being swamped with undue immigration. On the subject of the alleged apathy of the Home Government Lord Knutsford was very outspoken. He said: The report of this sudden influx of Chinese into the northern territory was received by me on April 7th, and we received at the same time a telegram from New South Wales referring to the rumour of a treaty between the United States and China, and asking for some similar protection. I rather fancy that that treaty has not yet been ratified in the Senate, but, at all events, its terms were published, and I sent them out to the Australian Colonies. Upon receiving the telegram from New South Wales we replied at once that the matter was under consideration, and we heard subsequently that that reply was received with satisfaction. During April, therefore, there was no pressure upon the Government to lead them to take immediate action. In fact, at the end of April we received a telegram from the Governor of Victoria asking us not to take any decision with respect to negotiations with the Chinese Government until we should have received despatches which had been forwarded. I mention this to show that during April there was no delay on the part of the Government, and no disinclination to act. In the last days of April and the beginning of May vessels with an unusual number of emigrants on board arrived at Melbourne and Sydney, and then followed the action of the New South Wales Government. There was a great deal to be said for that action; there was a sudden panic, great alarm, and, as a consequence, some hasty legislation. That I regret, because it made any opening of negotiations with the Chinese Government at the time impossible. It certainly would have been useless to begin negotiations then. The charge against the Government of having before that time refused to negotiate is absolutely unfounded. It was unfortunate that not only that report, but many other unfounded reports, appeared in the Colonial newspapers, because they tended to excite feeling and to spread the belief that the Government did not desire to meet the wishes of the Colonies. I have more than once contradicted the reports already, but in further contradiction I may be permitted to read a telegram which I sent to Lord Carrington on May 11:—"Referring to your telegram of April 26, no foundation for report that the Government refused to negotiate with Chinese Government. Negotiations being carefully considered. . . . The Government fully sympathise with feeling." We have always been ready to negotiate, but it was necessary before beginning negotiations that we should thoroughly understand the case. Exact information was therefore asked for as to previous legislation, and as to the views of the Colonists. We should have been unwise to enter upon negotiations in a hurry. We regretted the action of the New South Wales Government in passing through the Assembly a very stringent law against Chinese immigration, but, although we regretted it, we gave the Governor leave to assent to the measure, subject, of course, to Her Majesty's right of disallowance in case the measure should prove to be contrary to treaty.

THE EARL OF DERBY asked, supposing the Government were to veto any Act of a Colonial Legislature, and announce that they would veto any similar Act, what would be the result? The matter would be settled by popular opinion, and thus they were practically in the hands of the Colonists. If there was in Australia a strong feeling upon any question, it was that Australia belonged to the Australians, and that it was for them to regulate the conditions of admission to their own country. As to China, he did not think that she had at any time encouraged emigration. But the way in which the question touched this country was this. They had for many years tried to obtain admission for their merchants and missionaries into the Chinese Empire, but with indifferent success, and he feared that our Colonial friends would be cutting the ground from beneath our feet by the action they were taking when they claimed to prevent Chinese immigration. He drew special attention to the fact that many of the Chinese were British subjects from Hong Kong or Singapore.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY agreed that where the Australian Colonies were united on a particular point it would be impossible not to let them have their own way; but the interests of the Australian Colonies were not the only interests to be considered. There were the interests of the rest of the British Empire, and especially those of India. No one would deny that the relations between this country and China and her relations with India should be not only friendly but cordial. He ventured to hope that in discussing these questions in the Conference they would duly consider our relations with other countries as well as with China.

After a short reply from the EARL OF CARNARVON as to the complexity of the interests to be considered, and the need that the Imperial Government should not abdicate its responsibility,

LORD KNUTSFORD said that if the Government did not think right to interfere now in the discussions, they would, when they knew what the views of the Colonists were, state their own views. It was impossible for the Government to divest itself of responsibility, as they had power, if they chose to exercise it, to veto the Colonial legislation.

The motion as amended was agreed to.

THE Cape has 1,600 miles of railway open, and paying interest on their capital at the rate of 4.15 per cent. Natal has 217 miles, paying 3.10 per cent.

THE Khedive's stars, presented to the members of the Soudan contingent by the Khedive of Egypt, in recognition of their services in Egypt, have at last arrived in Australia, and are in process of distribution to the members of the contingent.

ACCORDING to Senator Frye, the United States fishermen need to be "protected against injustice and outrage and wrong inflicted by a neighbouring nation, emboldened to it only because it rests under theegis of a mighty Power beyond the seas."



## CORRESPONDENCE.

## THE ADMISSION OF COLONIAL REPRESENTATIVES TO THE CABINET.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—Referring to your remarks in last month's Journal upon my proposal that the Colonial representative element should form, in due proportion, a part of the Cabinet, as the most manageable dealing with it, I may say that the question of political party in that conjuncture was always before me, but certainly never, as a difficulty, in the way you suggest. On the contrary, it seemed to me that such extreme of party feeling as would involve "party secrets" that went outside of the national and patriotic, so far as it really exists (and possibly it does to some extent), might receive a most wholesome check and diversion by the entrance of the Colonial element. This element would, I think, prove entirely for good, and might be the means of reconstructing party government in a very healthful way.

Sir Robert Herbert's still more genial diversion from party, in the suggestion, as to the hopeful future with our Colonies, that when a Cabinet Minister was made a Colonial Governor it might not be indispensable that he should cease to be a minister, is no doubt more open to your objection, but only in this way, that in our Constitutional government the Cabinet seat means representation of the people. Peers, of course, have not this, but that is rather the accident than the principle of the Constitutional case, as our practice is that an adverse vote of the Commons (the representative element) turns out Lords and Commons alike from the Cabinet.—Faithfully yours,

8, Finch Lane, June 15th, 1888. W. WESTGARTH.

[Surely Mr. Westgarth is peculiar in thinking that there is anything discreditable in the fact that Cabinets have secrets which belong to them as the leaders of a party, as well as secrets which are entrusted to them as the ministers of a nation. For our own part, we fail to see how Cabinet government is possible on any other terms. Mr. Westgarth thinks that the introduction of Colonial members into the British Cabinet might be the means of reconstructing party government in a very healthful way. There are at least two other possible results. The one that Colonial affairs would be added to the list of party questions; the other, that just as the Cabinet formed itself out of the Privy Council, not only because that body was too large, but because it contained members of different political parties, so an interior junto would form itself out of the Cabinet. And from that junto the Colonial ministers would find themselves excluded.—Ed. IMP. FED.]

## A TIMELY QUESTION.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—Soon after reading the article upon the Chinese question in the issue for June of IMPERIAL FEDERATION, I met a friend who had also just read your warning respecting the change which had taken place in the position of China as a warlike Power since we last crossed swords with her, and your invitation to Sir Henry Parkes to contemplate the actualities of his proposal that the Australian Colonies should be left to deal with China in this matter unaided.

My friend tells me that it is too absurd to talk of China as possessing any fighting power, that the Chinese are a horde of barbarians, the strength of whose offensive tactics lies in the free use of hideously painted shields and banners, the multiplication of drums and other noisy instruments, and the burning of stink balls, but that when it comes to fighting with a foe not to be dismayed by these proceedings, the Chinese soldiery invariably turn tail and flee.

I mentioned the fighting under Chinese Gordon, of which I had read accounts describing it as sufficiently severe, and also the experience of the French in Tonquin, but he says that in the first instance they only fought among themselves, and in the second it was the climate which gave trouble to the French—not the enemy—also that these were Tonkinese, not Celestials. My friend has a supreme contempt for the Chinese navy, which, he assures me, will only prove a burden to them.

I have since remembered that, meeting some weeks ago at dinner a gentleman lately arrived from Queensland, where he had lived for fifteen years, I expressed my pleasure, as a member of the Imperial Federation League, at the manner in which the Australasian Naval Defence Bill had been passed in the Colonial Legislatures. To my surprise I found that this gentleman looked upon the whole thing as entirely unnecessary. "With our railways," said he, "we can at a week's notice concentrate 25,000 men at any given spot. Our volunteers would give a good account of any force landing. Besides, what would they do if they did land? They would starve." Even the suggestion that if the Mother Country were out of the way the Australian Colonies might have to deal with Germany, who is generally on the look-out for desirable Colonies, did not dismay

him in the least, and when invited to do so, he categorically stated that they could now hold their own against any attack from such a Power as Germany. It transpired subsequently that this gentleman had been adjutant of a native regiment about the time of the Mutiny.

Now, sir, my object in troubling you with this letter is to ask you to relieve my mind, and perhaps the minds of others who may have been similarly thrown into a state of doubt, by giving us a short statement of the forces which would find themselves opposed were the Mother Country to hold aloof (which cannot of course be conceived), and the Australian Colonies to be involved in a war with China, say, over this immigration question.

I have hitherto found that the statements, and even the conclusions of IMPERIAL FEDERATION, might be received with implicit confidence, and as I am in the habit of talking whenever I have an opportunity upon these subjects, and making free use of the arguments advanced in its columns, I am a little disconcerted at these strong assertions in opposition to your remarks.

—I am, sir, yours faithfully,

STAY AT HOME.

London, June 11th, 1888.

## THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION BOGEY.

OUR pages this month should be of interest to the student of the fascinating science of comparative mythology. Anybody can put forward speculations more or less ingenious as to the probable origin of a fairy tale. It is given to few to trace the actual growth and development of the legend. But that is our privilege to-day. We can show our readers a good old-fashioned bogey, "a-swellin' wisely before their wery eyes." Last month M. Mercier told a charming fairy tale about the League. He meant, no doubt, merely to tell a tale, to amuse the children for an idle hour; but the bogey that he sketched was so terrible that the children, when they went home, could not get it out of their heads; and one of them, a little French boy—*DEtendard* was his name—dreamt about it all night, and next morning he told the tale, with all his nightmare terrors added to it, to his awe-struck schoolfellows. And here it is:—

We have already pronounced our opinions on the threatened Imperial Federation too explicitly to need to return to this melancholy prospect.

The instinctive horror which the French-Canadians feel of this confederation is so strong that there is not one among them who would not be ready to take up arms sooner than see his country form a part of this Empire, in which we would be governed no longer by Protestant Englishmen, as we have been for a century and a quarter, but by pagan Asiatics, Brahmins, Buddhists, Mussulmans, fire-worshippers—in a word, by people vomited by Satan upon the earth.

According to the laws of these people, every wife who loses her husband is obliged to mount the funeral pile, where her body is burnt to ashes. For some years the English, who are the strongest for the moment, have put an end to this custom. The Hindoos have submitted, but they forbid their widows to re-marry. In a few days we will see in Montreal a young girl from that country who was married at the age of four or five years, and who became a widow at eight years, before she had ever lived with her husband, who, besides, was as young as she. She is ten years old now, and is condemned to perpetual widowhood.

With the Empire of which they dream it would be the Hindoos who would have the majority—a crushing majority, since they are 355 millions, while the Christians of all the British Empire, counting among them the Protestant writers of the *Witness*, do not amount to 45 millions.

Behold, French-Canadians, the majority to whom they would deliver you! Soon the ancient law which ordains that widows should burn themselves would be put in force again, and instead of gaily singing on our rivers, "Long live the Canadian woman," we would have the loyal voices of the pagans, who would cry, "Death to the Canadian woman! To the funeral pile with her!"

But, it will be said, Great Britain would not allow itself to be governed by India.

With the rules of Parliamentary institutions that is, on the contrary, the future that would be certain if Imperial Federation took place. The capital of this Empire would no longer be London; it would be Calcutta or Bombay.

But if England wished to rise against the Imperial Government, when once the Hindoos had become masters and had the disposition of the fleet and the armies, she would soon be taught reason; these people would make only a mouthful for her, for they are 350,000,000—that is to say, ten times more numerous than the people of Great Britain. . . . Sooner than expose ourselves to be governed by these pagans of Asia we would like better still to become Americans.

However, we may hope that, thanks to the wise counsels which the French-Canadians have never failed to receive in great days of trial from their patriotic clergy, we will be able to walk in safety between the two abysses into which the political parties of the day would drag us, without being obliged to commit national suicide by annexing ourselves to the United States.

No doubt in a month or two more we shall have to extract from the Sydney *Bulletin* a full, true, and particular account of the origin and development of the practice of suttee among the French-speaking population of Canada, and to confess, with shame and confusion of face, that Imperial Federation was at the bottom of the whole bad business.



## PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

*Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.*

LEAMINGTON.—On May 16, at a meeting of the Warwick and Leamington Conservative Association, Mr. D. Stewart Smith proposed, "That, in order to maintain the integrity of the British Empire, and to bring its parts into closer union and co-operation, some form of Federation is essential." He described Imperial Federation as being the binding into closer and more continuous bonds the relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies she had founded. There was at present a nominal bond between England and her Colonies, but he saw a prospect of it being unloosened, and the object of the League was to rivet those bonds into a golden chain for ever. (Applause.) He pointed out the comparative insignificance of the English Colonies 200 years ago, and said that now the British Empire covered 9,000,000 miles, and was one-fifth of the habitable globe, one-eighth larger than Russia, with three times its population, and three times the size of the United States. It contained three continents, each of which was larger than Europe, and the sceptre of the Queen swayed over 300,000,000 people. During the past fifty years our Colonies had increased in population enormously, and they would, in all probability, increase their population four or five-fold during the next half-century. He also described, in detail, the objects and aims of the League which he represented, and described the projected Federation as being one of the best guarantees of peace that we could possibly have. The Rev. Dr. Nicholson seconded the motion, and said he considered that it contained a grand idea and a good and practical purpose. (Applause.) The motion was carried, as was also a vote of thanks to the lecturer. Earlier in the evening a letter was read from the Secretary of the League, pointing out that Mr. Stewart Smith was only present as the representative of the League, and was taking no part in the politics of the Association, and that the League would be happy to send a lecturer to the Liberal and Radical Association at any time on the same terms.

ORILLIA.—This branch was fully organised on May 18th. Mr. John Gray, of Coldwater, who had taken such an active interest in the movement, was elected hon. chairman; Mr. McLean, chairman; Rev. John Gray, D.D., Rev. Wm. Galbraith, LL.B., Messrs. C. J. Miller, James Quinn, and J. W. Shaven, vice-chairmen; C. L. H. Stephens, secretary; G. H. Hale, treasurer; Messrs. J. B. Thompson (Mayor of Orillia), A. W. Campbell, M.D., G. E. Whiten, G. F. Booth, Wm. Ramsay, Deputy Reeve, J. B. Henderson, Wm. Tueskey, Wm. Maynard, and A. Black, executive committee. The meetings will be held on the first Friday in each month. The Rev. Wm. Galbraith has been invited to address the June meeting, and Mr. Chas. Drury that in July.

OXFORD.—There was a meeting in Pembroke College, Oxford, on Sunday, May 27, which was forcibly addressed by the Lord Bishop of Brisbane, who had that day preached in the University Church the annual Ramsden sermon, on "Church Extension in the Colonies and Dependencies." This sermon is provided for by a special bequest, and it must, we believe, be preached on Trinity Sunday. The bishop struck a key-note in calling attention to Britain's great destinies, and quoted from "The Expansion of England." At the evening meeting in Pembroke the bishop was supported by Sir George Bowen, himself an Oxonian, and Sir Arthur Hodgson, a Cambridge man. From a member of our Oxford executive, Mr. J. F. Hayes, of Magdalen College, who was present, we learn that the stirring remarks of Sir George and "King Arthur," as the former called the latter, were most heartily received; in fact, the concluding part of the meeting seemed to merge into one on Imperial Federation. "The Shepherd King" gave a touching account of his early life as a gentleman squatter, and told the undergraduates that if they backed up the bishop in his noble work of planting and extending the Church in Queensland they would never regret it. Sir George amused them by saying they would live in luxury "in a heavenly climate." Certainly, if our young clergy would adopt the bishop's suggestion of going out for, say five years, before settling down in England, this brotherly migration would do much to enlighten the ignorant insulators at home, and would provoke more intelligent mutual sympathy.

ST. THOMAS.—The St. Thomas Branch of the Imperial Federation League met on May 12 in the Grand Central Hotel, when it was decided to forward a petition to the Governor-General, memorialising him to invite the Colonies of the British Empire to meet in conference and discuss the question of reciprocal relations. The petition further recites the good results likely to follow from taking Newfoundland into the Dominion, and the establishment of a steamship line between Canada and

Australia. Arrangements were completed for the annual meeting on the 20th inst., and the secretary instructed to secure a suitable hall and select speakers. It was resolved that the secretary should communicate with the Secretary of the Dominion League, and invite Lord Rosebery to deliver an address in this city should he visit Canada this summer.

ST. THOMAS.—Imperial Federation was discussed at a public meeting in the City Hall, on the evening of May 21, which was attended by a very large and highly representative audience. Amongst those present were several ladies. The chair was occupied by M. A. Gilbert, Manager of the Imperial Bank and President of the local branch of the Imperial Federation League, and addresses were delivered by Rev. A. H. Munro, Father Flannery, Jabez Robinson, C. O. Ermatinger, and J. C. Hopkins, of Ingersoll. The arguments advanced were most forcible and convincing, it being especially noticeable that, while essentially at variance in regard to the question of Free Trade and Protection, all cordially united in desiring to secure more intimate relations with the Mother Country and to bring about a grand federation of the various portions of the British Empire. Resolutions were unanimously adopted endorsing Imperial Federation as proposed by the League, desiring closer trade relations with Great Britain, expressing satisfaction at the increased interest manifested by the Mother Country in the affairs of her Colony, and approval of the Colonial Conference held in England a short time since, enunciating the opinion that while it is not desirable that the autonomy of individual dependencies in regard to fiscal matters should be interfered with, a general policy giving fiscal advantages would be of great benefit, and hailing with satisfaction the establishment of a branch of the Imperial Federation League in St. Thomas.

TORONTO.—A meeting of the Toronto Branch of the Imperial Federation League was held in the Canadian Institute on the evening of Friday, June 1, Dalton McCarthy, Q.C., presiding. There was a large attendance, and the interests of the branch were freely discussed. It was decided to enlarge the committee to twenty instead of ten as heretofore, and to add three additional vice-presidents to the list. Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Hamilton Merritt and Mr. Jehu Matthews, who held the offices of secretary and treasurer respectively, for past services to the League, in compliment for which both gentlemen were placed on the vice-presidents' list. The discussion showed the League to be in a very healthy condition. The following is a revised list of the officers:—

President: Hon. John Beverley Robinson (ex-Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario).

Vice-presidents: G. R. R. Cockburn, M.P.; Lieut.-Colonel G. T. Denison; J. M. Clark; Jehu Matthews; W. H. Merritt.

Committee: E. F. Clarke, M.L.C. (Mayor of Toronto); D. R. Wilkie; Jas. Bain, sen.; J. D. Hay; R. H. Bowes; Colonel F. C. Denison, C.M.G., M.P.; J. T. Small; Casimir Dickson; T. R. Skippon; G. T. Blackstock; G. R. Creelman; J. L. Hughes; J. A. Worrell; John Catto; Rev. H. Symons; F. H. Holgate; W. Stark; H. J. Wickham; A. J. Cattanaich; R. F. Scott.

Secretary and Treasurer: Commander Law, R.N.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Committee met on Monday, the 28th May, at 1.45 p.m.,

SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G., in the chair.

THE SECRETARY stated, in the course of his monthly report, that a proposal had been made by Mr. S. V. Morgan for the extinction of the debt of the League, amounting to £189 7s., by the four surviving guarantors of the Journal, who had not been called upon to pay under their guarantee. This proposal had now been carried out: two of the four guarantors—namely, the Earl of Rosebery and Mr. S. V. Morgan—having contributed proportionately to the amount of their guarantees, and the balance having been provided by the Special Committee. The League was, therefore, now free from debt.

The amounts contributed were as follows:—

MR. S. V. MORGAN, £147 1s.

EARL OF ROSEBERY, £17 5s.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE, £25.

The Special Committee had voted a sum of £25 towards the provision of a lantern and slides for the use of the lecturer.

The cost of producing "A Synopsis of the Tariffs and Trade of the British Empire" had been rather over £100. Two thousand copies had been printed. A number of copies had been ordered by the Home and Colonial Governments, and the sale was continuing.

A suggestion having been made in the secretary's report that Reuter's Company should be requested to consider the desirability of separating "Colonial" from "Foreign" news in issuing their telegrams to the daily papers. It was moved by Mr. G. W. Rusden, and seconded by Sir Harry Verney, that the letter drafted and read by the secretary be sent to Reuter's Telegram Company.



It was resolved that Lord Rosebery be requested to sign a letter, as President of the League, on behalf of the Committee, addressed to the English and Colonial bishops attending the Pan-Anglican Conference, calling their attention to the objects of this League, and inviting their co-operation.

The following resolution was ordered to be communicated to the President of the League:—

"That the Executive Committee desire to express to Lord Rosebery the pleasure with which it has learnt that his lordship has received an invitation from the League in Canada to visit the Dominion during the current year, and its sincere hope that he may be able to accept it."

The action of the League in Canada with reference to the trade relations of the Empire having been discussed, it was resolved:—

"That a meeting of the Executive Committee be called, at which the President of the League can attend, on a day to be fixed by him, to consider the action which it is desirable for this League to take in connection with the proposals of the League in Canada with reference to the trade relations of the Empire."

The following members were elected to the Council:—

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.

THE HON. JOHN ROBINSON (Representative of Natal at the Colonial Conference, 1887).

HENRY BROADHURST, M.P.

WALTER CHAMBERLAIN.

In pursuance of the resolution at the previous meeting a special meeting of the Committee was held on the 7th of June, at 12.30 p.m. Present—

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ROSEBERY (President of the League), in the chair.

LORD CASTLETOWN OF UPPER OSSORY.

SIR RAWSON W. RAWSON, K.C.M.G., C.B.

SIR FRANCIS VILLENEUVE SMITH.

SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G.

SIR JOHN COLOMB, K.C.M.G., M.P.

SIR SAMUEL WILSON, M.P.

SIR JOHN SIMON, Q.C., M.P.

THE REV. CANON DALTON, M.A., C.M.G.

JAMES RANKIN, M.P.

A. J. STAVELEY HILL, M.P.

H. L. W. LAWSON, M.P.

C. E. HOWARD VINCENT, C.B., M.P.

JAMES A. YOUNG, C.M.G.

COLONEL P. R. INNES.

S. VAUGHAN MORGAN.

HAROLD A. PERRY.

W. M. ACWORTH.

KENRIC B. MURRAY.

G. W. RUSDEN.

F. P. DE LABILLIÈRE.

PANDELI RALLI.

H. F. WILSON.

H. O. ARNOLD-FORSTER.

ALBERT O. RUTSON.

J. L. OHLSON.

JAMES STANLEY LITTLE.

EDWARD A. ARNOLD.

The action of the League in Canada as set forth in the printed statement circulated to members of the Committee was considered.

The following resolution being put to the meeting by the Chairman, after much consideration was unanimously passed:—

"That this Committee rejoices at the action of the League in Canada in advocating a Conference between the Representatives of the Dominion and the Australasian Colonies to consider questions relating to the development of closer relations of commerce and intercourse; and, further, trusts that in any arrangements which may be concluded with that object, provision will be made for facilitating their extension to other parts of the Empire."

The monthly meeting of the Executive Committee was held on the 18th of June at 1.45 p.m., Sir Rawson Rawson, K.C.M.G., C.B., in the chair.

The Secretary stated in his monthly report that the resolution passed at the special meeting on the 7th inst. had been cabled to the Secretary of the League in Canada, and by Renter's Company to the press in Canada and Australia.

Mr. Dalton McCarthy, President of the League in Canada, was then on his way to England in order to confer with the leaders of the League in the Mother Country upon their future action. Mr. G. R. Parkin, one of the representatives of Canada at the Conference of 1886, was also coming over in June.

The "Return of Commercial Treaties" moved for by Mr. Howard Vincent, a member of the League, had been issued. Copies had been sent to members of the League in the Colonies chiefly interested.

The report from the Finance Committee was received. On that report it was resolved that in future a member subscribing

21s. annually to the funds of a branch of the League shall be qualified for election to the Council.

The resolution passed at a meeting at Hobart on the 9th March, 1888, requesting affiliation, having been read, it was resolved, on the motion of Sir F. Villeneuve Smith, late Chief Justice of Tasmania, seconded by Mr. de Labilliere, that the Imperial Federation League in Tasmania be affiliated.

MR. D. STEWART SMITH was elected a member of the Council.

### OUR CANADIAN WIND-GAUGE.

It may truly be said that the League is gaining strength throughout the whole Empire, and this is clearly shown when in one and the same month it is able to chronicle two such events as the holding of the meeting in Toronto, and the opening of a branch of the League in Tasmania.

—*The Empire*.

AFTER this [Lord Lansdowne's speech, No. 1] we presume no further steps will be taken in the matter of the proposed memorial which the Montreal branch of the Imperial Federation League is busying itself about, with intent to present it to Lord Lansdowne. And some very worthy people in England, as well as in Canada, will greatly improve their knowledge of Colonial politics by reading the Governor-General's speech.—*Montreal Herald*.

IF Lord Lansdowne or any one else falls into error as to the meaning of Imperial Federation, the fault is with its advocates who do not clearly explain themselves.—*Montreal Herald*.

THE mighty are fallen indeed when *L'Etendard* surrenders its columns to persons who have no more respect for Canadian sentiment than to threaten foreign intervention if the constituted rulers of the land espouse what policy may seem good to them. The question of Imperial Federation is not yet with us a question of "practical politics." When the time comes for its discussion, we have no doubt that sufficient patriotism and ability will be forthcoming to deal with it worthily.—*Montreal Gazette*.

We notice, with some amusement, the alarm of the annexationists at the discussion of Imperial Federation. It certainly cannot be a worse thing to discuss the possibility of closer relations with Great Britain than to discuss the handing over of Canada to the United States by means of commercial union.—*Halifax Critic*.

THE St. Thomas *Times* reports a meeting recently held in that town to discuss Imperial Federation. Most of the speakers appear to have regarded the idea as lacking in form and substance, but as worthy of further consideration. Rev. Father Flannery said that "when it came to a question of trade with Britain or trade with the United States he certainly would go for trade with Britain." Herein the priest is wiser and more patriotic than are some of our politicians.—*Toronto World*.

IT is cheap to talk about Commercial Union (which we have no power to negotiate) or an Imperial Federation (which is also beyond our power), but we hear little about such vital issues as the treaty-making power, the finality of our own courts, the fitness of Canadian officers to command our own forces, and last and most important of all, the right of Canada to make her own copyright law.—*Toronto World*.

We have no hesitation in saying that we should rejoice exceedingly if we could discern the possibilities of Imperial Federation more clearly than, at this moment, honesty compels us to acknowledge we do. But of one thing we are certain—that the discussion of so great a subject cannot but have the effect of eliciting facts of permanent value, whether tending to one side or the other. We have learned a good deal even from the Commercial Union discussion, though what we have learned is unfavourable to that theory. The earnestness of the growing movement cannot fail to teach us some new points in our intercolonial relations, and in those with the Mother Country. Any consideration of these relations is evidently highly distasteful to the annexationists; but, as we have said before, they do not rule the roost yet; and if the Federation idea seems to them so absurd a "fad" as they would fain have it believed, they would, one would think, quietly give it rope to hang itself. As it is, they seem not a little afraid of it.—*Halifax Critic*.

IT cannot be denied that this Imperial Federation agitation is due almost entirely to the fact of the quite universal desire on the part of the Canadian people to have unrestricted trade with the United States. In Ontario the movement has fallen still-born. In Quebec it has to be repudiated by all Conservative leaders and papers, to save every constituency from going against them. In Nova Scotia it does not promise much vitality. A meeting to further Reciprocity would in two hours' notice draw a larger audience and evoke twenty times the enthusiasm.—*Halifax Morning Chronicle*.

### FOREIGN WARSHIPS IN FORTIFIED PORTS.

BELOW we give the full report of a speech made by Lord Carnarvon in the House of Lords on June 21. The importance of the subject can hardly be overrated, but yet it has hardly ever been brought before the attention of the British public. To lay down mines in order to detain an enemy's ship in front of an earthwork mounting three or four heavy guns ought, no doubt, to be sufficient protection for Port Darwin or King George's Sound. But if the ships introduce themselves in rear of the fortifications in time of peace, and remain there, what is then to be done? One point is fortunately clear. If we think proper absolutely to exclude French and Russian and German men-of-war from fortified British ports all over the world, it will not lie in the mouth of France or Russia or Germany to protest. It is true that exclusion from Sydney or Hong Kong may be more inconvenient to them than exclusion from Brest or Kiel, or even Vladivostock, could be to us. But that is their



misfortune, not our fault. We are quite aware that we have—by mere good luck, it may be—got possession of some of the most eligible positions on the face of the earth. But having got them, please Heaven, we intend to take all necessary steps to secure that we continue to hold them :—

The EARL OF CARNARVON rose to ask whether Her Majesty's Government proposed to issue instructions to naval commanders or Colonial governors with regard to the entry of foreign ships of war and transports carrying troops into fortified ports in Her Majesty's dominions? There were, he said, few questions of greater importance from a military and naval point of view. We possessed first-class harbours in various parts of the world, some of them being under Imperial control and others under Colonial control. Among the former were the harbours at Singapore, Hong Kong, and Malta, and among the latter such harbours as those of Sydney and Melbourne. Some of these ports were centres of much commerce and wealth, and were of great political importance; others were in the nature of coaling stations for the navy, and on these in time of war the safety and success of our maritime operations would depend. But whether merely centres of wealth or merely coaling stations, they were alike places of immeasurable importance. That was the first point to be borne in mind. The second point was that the world had arrived at a stage when all the conditions of naval warfare were enormously altered. Foreign squadrons now consisted of heavily-armed ironclads. While the armour a few years ago probably did not exceed some five or six inches, its thickness was now at least twice as great, and the armament carried was proportionately stronger. In the event of hostile operations if an enemy's squadron, consisting of such ironclads, were to be within the waters of one of our great Colonial ports, the place would be absolutely at its mercy. It might be said that an operation such as he contemplated could only be carried out at the outbreak of a war, and in circumstances amounting almost to treachery. He did not desire to impute any unfairness or treachery to any nation, least of all to any of the great European powers; but, on the other hand, they were bound to remember that the stake in such a case would be enormous, that the history of wars was a history of surprises, that certain grave theories had been deliberately published by eminent foreign military critics, and that modern warfare was, in all its operations, essentially rapid. Therefore it was the bounden duty of those who were responsible for the safety of these ports to leave nothing to chance. What, he asked, was our practice with respect to the entrance of foreign war-ships into our Colonial ports? We had, he believed, no rule upon the subject. But what was the practice of other Great Powers? The Italians admitted ships into their ports in certain numbers only, and he doubted whether this privilege of limited admission did not depend upon the nationality of the vessels. The Germans excluded ships of war altogether, and the French excluded them from their chief ports—Brest and Toulon. The Russians, who at one time did admit a limited number of foreign cruisers into the port of Vladivostock, now excluded them absolutely. We alone, with everything to lose, with far more at stake than any other nation—we alone had no fixed rule, unless it was a rule permitting free entry into every one of Her Majesty's ports. By making and enforcing a rule of prohibition we should not be laying ourselves open to any charge of lack of international amity, for we should be following simply the practice of other nations. There were, in his opinion, only three courses possible. The first would be to limit the number of foreign men-of-war entering a port; the second would be to assign to foreign ships particular waters within our harbours; and the third would be to exclude them altogether. A great deal might be said in favour of each one of these three courses, but his own view was that the last would be the best because it was the simplest, and suited the practical and strategical conditions of every port. There was more than one port in which the presence of one single powerful ship of war might render of no avail all the fortifications around it. The last course he had named would be by far the best. At all events, it was the duty of the Government to lay down some distinct rule on this subject, and he would urge that such a rule could not be in contravention of the comity of nations. This was the time for making such a regulation. When we were on good terms with every other nation of the world, there could be no offence in following their example, but if once relations were strained between us and any other Power, such a regulation would have the semblance, at all events, of unfriendliness. He hoped Her Majesty's Government might be able to show that this matter had been under their careful consideration, and that before long they would be able to take some action upon it.

LORD ELPHINSTONE said the noble Earl would hardly expect him to enter into the details to which he had referred, many of which were still under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. So far as the matter had gone, it was not convenient, consistently with due regard to the interests of public service, to make any statement, and that being the case, no instructions had been issued to naval commanders on the subject.

### IMPERIAL INTERESTS IN PARLIAMENT.

MAY 22ND—JUNE 21ST, 1888.

#### CHINESE IN AUSTRALIA.

June 1st.—In the House of Commons, MR. HENNIKER HEATON asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Government were now in a position to furnish any further information respecting the negotiations with China relative to the action of the Australian Governments in restricting the immigration of Chinese; had he any objection to lay on the table of the House a copy of the despatch of the Envoy of China to Lord Salisbury, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the reply of the Prime Ministers of New South Wales and Victoria to that document; was he aware that that correspondence had already been printed and published by the Australasian Governments; and was the correspondence between the Australian Governments and the Home Government conducted through the

Agents-General of the several Colonies, or direct between the Foreign and Colonial Offices and the Governors of those Colonies.

SIR J. FERGUSSON said: The correspondence on this subject is being printed, and will shortly be presented. I am not aware that some portions have already been published in Australia, but it is very probable. In reply to the third question, I am informed that the correspondence with the Australian Governments is conducted in the usual way—that is to say, between the Secretary of State and the Colonial Governors.

#### ASCENSION.

In the debate on the Civil Service Estimates, MR. CONYDEARE asked whether it was not possible to retain this island as a sanatorium for Government officials from the west coast of Africa. LORD GEORGE HAMILTON replied that it had been decided, after full consideration by a commission, that it was not advisable any longer to maintain the naval establishment at Ascension. Both the Admiralty and the Colonial Conference had confirmed the opinion of the Commissioners. But though the naval establishment would be transferred to other stations on the west coast of Africa, Ascension would still remain a British possession and enjoy the same immunity from attack as all the other British possessions in every part of the world.

#### CHINESE IN AUSTRALIA.

MR. HUNTER asked the Under-Secretary for the Colonies whether he would give to the Committee information as to the present state of the negotiations between Her Majesty's Government and the Australian Government with reference to the Chinese question in Australia, and state what course Her Majesty's Government proposed to pursue in the matter. There seemed to be an impression that the Government were opposed to the policy which found favour with some of the Australian Colonies who desired to exclude the Chinese from those Colonies.

BARON II. DE WORMS said that he could not confirm the view that had been expressed that Her Majesty's Government were in any way opposed to the line of policy adopted by the Australian Colonies. He was not in a position to lay papers on the table of the House dealing with the subject. He explained, in an answer he gave the other day, that one or two telegrams had passed between Her Majesty's Government and the Australian Governments, but that it would not be advisable before the papers were completed to lay them on the table. On the 12th of the present month a conference would meet in Sydney for the purpose of considering this very important question, and not until the result of that conference was known would it be possible for the Government to make a statement to the House. But Her Majesty's Government were deeply sensible of the very strong feeling which existed in Australia. The Government were most anxious to see that the best measures possible were taken. The question was one which was being dealt with in this country, and a Select Committee was at present sitting to consider the best means of meeting the considerable influx of foreign labour which found its way to these shores. There was one important point which ought to be cleared up. There seemed to be an impression that China had the right of pouring her subjects into our Colonies. That was not the case. Although the Emperor of China had engaged by treaty not to prevent his subjects from leaving China and emigrating to British Colonies, there was no engagement on the part of Her Majesty's Government that Chinese emigrants should be permitted to enter any British Colonies at their pleasure, so that the engagement was not reciprocal. On the other hand, it was desirable, if possible, to make such arrangements with China as would obviate any check in the extensive commercial relations between her and our Australian Colonies. It might perhaps be of interest that the Committee should know what the words of the treaty really were. Article 9 of the treaty between Great Britain and China, signed at Tientsin, June 26th, 1858, said :—"British subjects are hereby authorised to travel, for their pleasure or for purposes of trade, to all parts of the interior under passports, which will be issued by their Consuls and countersigned by the local authorities." This was amended by Rule 8 of the agreement. Rule 8, referring to foreign trade under passports, was as follows :—"It is agreed that Article 9 of the Treaty of Tientsin shall not be interpreted as authorising British subjects to enter the capital city of Peking for purposes of trade." Article 13 of the treaty said :—"The Chinese Government will place no restrictions whatever upon the employment by British subjects of Chinese subjects in any lawful capacity." There was nothing that could be construed into an obligation on the part of the British Government to admit an unlimited number of Chinese into British Colonies. There seemed to be an entire misapprehension as to the communication made by Lord Knutsford to the Australian Governments. He did not say: "That if the Australian Governments will join together and make common cause, then, and only then, will he communicate the character of the negotiations between China and the home Government on the Australian difficulty." No negotiations had been commenced, and what Lord Knutsford really said was embodied in the following telegram :—

"Lord Knutsford to Sir W. C. F. Robinson (South Australia), May 22.—Referring to your telegram of the 10th of May, there can be no doubt that Her Majesty's Government would obtain assistance from Australasian Colonies making joint representation in dealing with Chinese immigration. If conference meets, Her Majesty's Government will be happy to telegraph for consideration points for discussion which appear important."

There was no pretence for saying that Her Majesty's Government had in any way ignored the wishes and representations of the Australian Governments. In a despatch which was sent to Lord Carrington on the 11th of May, Lord Knutsford said :—

"No foundation for report that Her Majesty's Government refuse to negotiate with Chinese Government. Before arriving at conclusion against negotiations Australian Colonies would have been consulted further. Her Majesty's Government fully recognise strength of feeling." Now, it appeared to him, that from the information he had



given, the Committee would be satisfied that, as far as the Government were concerned, they were not in the slightest degree in antagonism to the Australian Governments. The question was of very great importance, and one not to be decided hastily. It would be obviously improper if any decision were suddenly arrived at by the Australian Governments which should prevent many thousands of persons from landing on their shores under the idea that their so doing would be prejudicial to their commercial interests. On the other hand, it was quite clear that, in view of the treaty which he had quoted, it might be reasonably argued that there was no ground for saying that their action could be defended as a right one. The conference would, however, take all the facts into consideration, and he had little doubt that some arrangement might be arrived at, perhaps in some degree similar to that which had already been arrived at by the United States, and which might be entirely satisfactory to Australia, without in any way wounding the susceptibilities of the Chinese Government.

MR. H. HEATON wished to know whether there was anything in the treaty between England and China which would prevent equally favourable terms being granted to Australia as were granted by China to America.

BARON DE WORMS said there had been no refusal to negotiate with China for a similar treaty to that made between China and the United States so far as the conditions of that treaty might be applicable.

At a later period of the evening SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL desired to ask Her Majesty's Government to give the House some information with regard to the burning question of the Chinese in Australia. (Laughter.) He knew it was a delicate subject, but Sir Henry Parkes and other Australian Ministers had not treated it in a very delicate manner. They had, in fact, attempted to "bounce" us. He would ask the Government to inform the House if they were prepared to enforce the law in Australia and see that our treaties were duly observed. The present Imperial connection between the Home Country and the Colonies could not be long maintained unless the Colonies were prepared to some extent to subordinate their wishes to Imperial requirements and interests. (Hear, hear.) He hoped the Government would give the House some information as to the present position of this very important matter. (Laughter.)

BARON H. DE WORMS said he hoped the hon. member would not think him discourteous if he refrained from repeating the speech he had delivered half an hour ago. He had then explained the exact position of the matter, when the hon. member was unfortunately absent. (Laughter.)

#### SEAL FISHERY IN BEHRING SEA.

June 4th.—In the House of Commons, in answer to Mr. Gourley, SIR J. FERGUSSON said: I am informed that the Government of the Dominion have cautioned persons engaging in sealing expeditions in the Behring Sea from using force in the event of their being interfered with by the United States officers. The questions involved are the subject of consideration by the Governments of Her Majesty and the United States, and it would not be convenient or usual to present the correspondence before it is concluded.

In answer to a further question from Mr. Gourley,

SIR J. FERGUSSON said that the correspondence between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States was being conducted diplomatically and in a friendly manner, and he deprecated any discussion upon the matter at present.

#### CAPE COLONY.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Secretary of State had received any reply from the Rev. John Mackenzie to the despatch of the High Commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson (C. 4,890, No. 24), on the subject of the separation between the offices of High Commissioner and Governor of the Cape Colony, and, if so, whether there was any objection to its publication.

BARON H. DE WORMS: The letter referred to by my right hon. friend shall be presented to Parliament; but as the question has been reopened, it is desirable to ask Sir Hercules Robinson whether he has any further observations to make, which should be presented with Mr. Mackenzie's letter. My right hon. friend will have learnt from my answer to the hon. member for Leith on March 27th what are the views of Her Majesty's Government on this question.

#### IMPERIAL DEFENCES.

At a later period the House went into Committee and resumed the debate on the resolution moved by Mr. W. H. Smith before the Whitsuntide holidays authorising the expenditure of £3,450,000 on the provision of an Australasian fleet and the fortification of coaling stations. The report of the debate occupies nine columns of the *Times*, but the discussion ranged wide of the immediate issue before the House, and dealt with the whole question of the adequacy of the navy for the defence of Great Britain and for the protection of our commerce and food supply. The discussion cannot be abridged, nor can we report it at full length. Perhaps the most remarkable contributions to the debate were the speeches of Mr. Jacob Bright, who thought we might safely rely on neutral ships bringing sufficient food to keep us from starving, and of Mr. Cunningham Graham, who said that it would produce in the minds of a great many people a sense of fury and despair that so much time should be wasted, and so much money voted for defence against an enemy who might not perhaps be very tangible. He supposed that when the Government got that money they would use it to provoke a collision with other nations. Nor should Mr. Cremer, who declared that the country had got on very well for the past two hundred years without fortifying its coaling stations, pass unnoticed. Mr. Labouchere, too, was convinced, by the fact that Lord Palmerston's fortifications at Portsmouth and Plymouth had not yet been attacked, that fortifications were useless and expensive superfluities. In the end the debate was again adjourned.

#### SOUTH AFRICAN AFFAIRS.

June 5th.—In the House of Lords the EARL of KIMBERLEY asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether it was true that an important agreement had been entered into with the chief of the Amandebele country, and whether the treaty would secure for our South African Colonies free access into the interior of Africa? He also asked whether any recent intelligence had been received as to the state of affairs in Zululand?

LORD KNUTSFORD: We have concluded a treaty with the chief of the Amandebele tribe, and I think that the best course for me to take will be to read its terms. The treaty runs as follows:—

"The Chief Lo Bengula, ruler of the tribe known as the Amandebele, together with the Mashuna and Makakalaka, tributaries of the same, hereby agree to the following articles and conditions—that peace and amity shall continue for ever between Her Britannic Majesty, her subjects, and the Amandebele people; and the contracting Chief Lo Bengula engages to use his utmost endeavours to prevent any rupture of the same, to cause the strict observance of this treaty, and so to carry out the spirit of the treaty of friendship which was entered into between his late father, the Chief Umsiligoas, with the then Governor of the Cape of Good Hope in the year of Our Lord 1836. It is hereby further agreed by Lo Bengula, chief in and over the Amandebele country, with its dependencies as aforesaid, on behalf of himself and people, that he will refrain from entering into any correspondence or treaty with any foreign State or Power to sell, alienate, or cede, or permit or countenance any sale, alienation, or cession of the whole or any part of the said Amandebele country under his chieftainship or upon any other subject without the previous knowledge and sanction of Her Majesty's High Commissioner for South Africa."

I am strongly of opinion that a treaty of this kind will be of great advantage as securing free access and trading facilities for our Colonies, and also as securing the chief himself against unwary concessions of land to European or other foreign nations. I am obliged to the noble lord, also, for giving me an opportunity of reading the last telegram from the Governor of Natal with respect to the very much to be regretted outbreak in Zululand. This is the telegram:—

"Dinizulu and Undabuko, having collected armed native followers at Keeza, made raids upon and stole cattle of friendly peaceful Usutus. Warrants of arrest of Dinizulu and other ringleaders on charge of cattle stealing were issued 2nd June. Police, rifles, troops, went to Keeza to execute warrants; were successfully resisted and compelled to retreat. Two men reported killed and two wounded. Levy of Basutos under M'Keen, and reinforcements of troops proceed immediately to support authority."

It will be seen from the above report which appear in the telegram in some of this morning's papers that Dinizulu had attacked and routed Usibepu, is incorrect. I may add that I have telegraphed out to say that all means are to be taken to put down this insurrection as speedily as possible. (Hear, hear.)

#### TELEGRAPHS TO AUSTRALIA.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies what was the cost of the telegraphic message sent from the Colonial Office to the Governor of Adelaide, dated December 3rd, 1886, on the subject of New Guinea.

BARON H. DE WORMS: I presume that the hon. member means the Governor of South Australia. No telegram was sent to the Governor of South Australia on the date mentioned by the hon. member. One was sent to the Governor of Queensland at Brisbane, and its cost was £86 5s. 9d.

#### CHINESE IN AUSTRALIA.

June 8th.—In the House of Lords LORD CARNARVON raised a discussion on this question, a report of which will be found elsewhere.

In the House of Commons MR. HENNIKER HEATON asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether her Majesty's Government were in a position to give any further information respecting the Chinese question.

BARON H. DE WORMS: The Conference of the Colonial Governments on this subject is to meet, as arranged, on the 12th inst., and Her Majesty's Government have communicated fully with the Colonial Governments on the points which appear to them specially deserving of consideration, with a view to the effective restriction of Chinese immigration in the manner most conducive to the general interests of the Australasian Colonies and the Empire at large. Until the conference has deliberated Her Majesty's Government will necessarily not be in a position to make any further statement of policy.

#### VANCOUVER ISLAND.

JUNE 11th.—In the House of Lords LORD SUDELEY drew attention to the position of our naval headquarters at Esquimalt, and urged the superior advantages of Burrard Inlet. He said that the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway and creation of the Russian arsenal at Vladivostock had enormously increased the importance of our coaling station on Vancouver's Island. At present Esquimalt is practically undefended, and its dockyard nothing better than sheds on which but very little money has been spent. In spite of the fact that a dock had recently been constructed at Esquimalt, he would like to see the dockyard removed bodily to Burrard Inlet, where was the terminus of the Canadian Pacific, and which was opposite to the coal mines of Nanaimo. If it was argued that Esquimalt was safer from attack by the United States, he replied that a fratricidal contest of this kind was inconceivable, and if it came, he believed that neither place was capable of defence. In conclusion, he urged that if it was determined to remain at Esquimalt, at least the fortifications there should be pushed on to completion as rapidly as possible.

LORD ELPHINSTONE, in reply, declared that he himself had been at one time of the same opinion as Lord Sudeley. He had, however, come to the conclusion that Esquimalt, and not Burrard Inlet, was the



right place for our naval station after all. Burrard Inlet was a splendid harbour once a ship got there, but the tides ran so fast—eight and nine knots an hour—that it was very difficult of access, and it was impossible to lay mines in such a tide-way. In case of war with the States, Esquimalt on Vancouver Island could be defended; not so Burrard Inlet, which was on the mainland. The ships of foreign powers, moreover, would not dare to enter the straits to attack the terminus of the Canadian Pacific at Vancouver, leaving Esquimalt unsubdued in the rear.

LORD HARRIS then gave an account of the actual position of Esquimalt. He said that the guns there at present were not of a modern type. It was only in 1885 that it was decided to defend Esquimalt. It was not one of the places originally recommended by the Royal Commission on Coaling Stations. Still, in spite of this, some of the batteries were already far enough advanced for the guns to be placed in them. The armament had been slightly altered from that fixed in 1885, and would consist of two 6-in. guns of 5,000 yards' range, four 9-in. guns of 7,000 yards' range, two quick-firing guns, six 16-pounders for general use, and six rifle machine guns. The Imperial Government was prepared to spend £31,000 upon the armament, £10,000 upon submarine stores, and about £10,000 upon submarine buildings. The works, as in the case of all the coaling stations, had been undertaken by the Colonies. The guns were nearly all ready to be sent out. There would be sent out with them a suitable supply of ammunition, and the real question at the present moment between the Colonial Government and the Imperial Government was the question of garrison.

#### TREATIES WITH CHINA.

In the House of Commons, on the motion of SIR G. BADEN-POWELL, an address was agreed to for a return giving clauses in treaties or other binding agreements at present in force between China and the United Kingdom relating to the treatment of immigrants from either State into the territories of the other.

#### NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERIES.

June 12th.—In the House of Commons MR. SAMUELSON asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what were the reasons given by the Newfoundland House of Assembly for their "disinclination to adopt the arrangement arrived at in Paris" in 1886 by the respective agents of the Governments of France and Great Britain in regard to the disputed claims of the French as to their fishing rights upon the coasts of the island.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: The chief ground of objection on the part of the Newfoundland Legislature was that the proposed arrangement gave to French fishermen the right of purchasing bait for the prosecution of their fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, thereby enabling them to take fish, the sale of which entered into competition with fish caught by Newfoundland fishermen, who were unable to compete with the French in the markets of Europe, owing to the large bounties given by the French Government to their fishermen.

In answer to a further question from MR. SAMUELSON,

SIR J. FERGUSSON said Her Majesty's Government had always held that the right of fishing was common; but the Newfoundland Legislature held that if the French were allowed to purchase bait, it would be prejudicial to the interests of the Newfoundlanders.

June 18th.—In the House of Commons, in reply to a question of MR. W. REDMOND, BARON H. DE WORMS said: The suggestions and recommendations made by the Australasian Conference with regard to the Chinese labour question are receiving the fullest and most careful attention of the Government.

#### THE AMANDEBELE COUNTRY.

SIR G. BADEN-POWELL asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he could now state the boundaries or extent of the "Amandebele country with its dependencies" (mentioned in the Treaty of Friendship of February 11th of this year), of which the permanent chief, Lo Bengula, undertook not to alienate any portion without the previous sanction of Her Majesty's High Commissioner for South Africa; and whether he could state whether that territory is bounded on the north by the Zambesi River.

BARON H. DE WORMS said: Her Majesty's Government are not at present in a position to state precisely the boundaries and extent of the territory over which Lo Bengula claims to have authority. It is, however, understood that this territory is bounded, in part at all events, to the northward by the Zambesi.

#### COLONIAL PATENTS.

SIR M. HICKS-BEACH, replying to Sir B. Samuelson, said he was informed that there was some delay in forwarding specifications of Colonial patents to the Colonial Office, and that inconvenience was occasioned at the Patent Office library thereby. The Colonial Secretary was in communication with the Colonial Governments on the question, with a view to an improvement in this respect.

#### SEAL-FISHING IN BEHRING SEA.

MR. GOURLEY asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether it was true that the United States Government had officially announced the departure of the warship *Dolphin* and three other armed vessels to the Behring Sea, with instructions to seize British or other vessels engaged in seal-fishing in those waters; whether Her Majesty's Government had sent a warship to warn masters of British sealing vessels of the consequences of infringing the Alaskan laws; and whether any of the vessels seized for alleged illegal fishing in 1886 and 1887 had been, as promised, released.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: In so far as Her Majesty's Government are aware, no such announcement has been made by the United States Government, nor has any British ship of war been ordered to Behring Sea. Orders have been given by the United States Government that the three British vessels seized in 1886, with their tackle, apparel, and furniture, should be restored to their owners. The vessels in question were the *Onward*, *Caroline*, and *Thornton*. As regards the seizures in 1887, we have not heard that any of them have been released, but pro-

ceedings in connection with all the seizures are before the American Law Courts.

#### EMIGRATION AGENTS.

June 19th.—MR. BRADLAUGH asked the President of the Board of Trade whether he was aware that the Toronto Trades and Labour Council complained that the immigration into Canada of destitute labourers from Great Britain was encouraged by persons in England describing themselves as Government agents; whether William Barlow, of 106A, Market Street, Manchester, correctly described himself as "Government Immigration Agent" and as "Appointed passage broker by the Board of Trade;" and whether representations circulated by William Barlow as to the state of the labour market in Canada had any official sanction.

SIR M. HICKS-BEACH said that he was not aware who were or were not employed by the Colonial Government. Barlow was not included in the records of the office in the list of licensed passage brokers who were licensed by the local magistrates under the sanction of the board, but he was informed that several licensed passage brokers had appointed Barlow as their agent.

#### COLONIAL GOVERNMENT SECURITIES.

SIR G. BADEN-POWELL called attention to the value of Colonial Government Inscribed Stocks, and moved a resolution, which was seconded by Mr. G. O. Morgan, expressing the opinion of the House that these securities should be more adequately recognised as suitable for trust investments.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, who approached the subject with every desire to do justice to the efforts which the Colonies had made to maintain their credit, and fully appreciated the value of Colonial Stocks, thought it was going too far to say that investments in them should be authorised in cases where a testator had deliberately excluded them. The Courts now were only empowered to direct investments to be made in securities over which this country had control, and he doubted the wisdom of extending that power.

After a long discussion, in which many other members took part, the motion was by leave withdrawn.

#### INDIAN AND COLONIAL TRADE.

June 21st.—In the House of Lords, LORD STANLEY of ALDERLEY called attention to the Parliamentary paper "Commercial No. 8 (1888)," and moved for a return showing the amount of trade between India and each of the Colonies on the one hand, and the following countries on the other, during the year 1886:—Ecuador, Greece, Italy, Montenegro, Paraguay, Portugal, Roumania, Salvador, Servia, and Uruguay.

VISCOUNT CROSS said that, so far as India was concerned, there was no objection to the motion if the words "as far as practicable" were introduced.

LORD KNUTSFORD said the same on behalf of the Colonial Office, adding that the Colonial Office desired to do everything possible to strengthen the ties between the Colonies and the Empire, but he doubted whether preferential and protective trading arrangements would have that effect.

The motion, as amended by the insertion of the words "as far as practicable," was agreed to.

#### SYNOPSIS OF THE

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## NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

AT a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."

That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.

That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.

That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.

That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.

That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.

That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.

That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.



# Imperial Federation.

AUGUST 1, 1888.



THE MODERN GEORGE WASHINGTON.

*Mr. Purves.*—"I CAN'T TELL A LIE, FATHER; I'M A-CUTTING AT YOUR CHERRY-TREE LIKE MAD."

*Mr. Bull.*—"WELL, HACK AWAY, MY BOY; IF YOU DON'T INJURE YOURSELF, THE TREE AND I CAN STAND IT."

## AUSTRALIAN NATIVES AND THEIR OPINIONS.

OUR readers are hardly likely, we fancy, to make the mistake that was made by a newspaper correspondent a short time back, and to confound an Australian "native"—a born, that is, as distinguished from an immigrant inhabitant of Australia—with the people whom those inhabitants are accustomed to denominate "black fellows." But perhaps they are not all aware of the excitement that has prevailed for the last month or two amongst and concerning the Australian natives in Melbourne. Let us begin and tell the tale from the beginning. There is an Australian Natives' Association, whose headquarters are in Victoria, but which also has ramifications not only throughout Victoria but in the other Colonies. Membership is only open to persons born in Australia, of whom about 7,000 have enrolled their names. The president is Mr. Purves, Q.C., a leading Melbourne barrister with a great reputation in criminal cases. In the last week in April the Association held a banquet, and the president made a speech, in which he described Imperial Federation as not only a dream, but an impracticable dream. It was impossible, he argued, for the existing relations between the Colonies and the Mother Country to continue, and, looking forward to the future, he considered "severance" to be "inevitable." But this was not all. When the toast of "The Queen" was proposed, some half-dozen members of the Association remained seated, and refused to drink it. According to the *Argus* report, they were only "a few silly boys"; but it turned out subsequently that they were, as a Melbourne correspondent of ours describes them, "prominent members." Whatever

they may have been beforehand, there can be no doubt that they have been prominent members ever since. A perfect storm of censure fell upon their heads from the Melbourne press. Members of the Association wrote letters to the papers deploring the action of the persons in question; local branches passed resolutions unanimously "requesting the board of directors to disavow the contention that the Association favoured the idea of separation from Great Britain, and expressing an opinion that those who had evinced disloyalty might not be members of the Association." The board of directors met, and decided that the toast of "The Queen" must be honoured at every dinner of the Association; it added, however, that, in case any one remained seated, there was no need to direct any special attention to the fact. This determination was approved of, later on, by a general meeting as, on the whole, the best way out of the difficulty, though a large number of speakers were in favour of stronger measures.

As for the president, he comes out of the matter still less successfully than the recalcitrant members. He made haste to explain that he was a loyal subject of the Queen, and that, though he looked forward to separation as inevitable, he had no idea of doing anything to promote it. Here is what the *Argus* thinks of the figure that he cuts:—"Last year there was a Mr. Purves who, as an Imperial Federationist, welcomed Lord Brassey, the treasurer of the League, at a Town Hall dinner, and made one of the most important speeches at the demonstration"—[The speech may be found in the journal for September, 1887. We should, ourselves, have preferred to term it "remarkable" rather than "important."—"and as this gentleman described himself as a Queen's Counsel, and Australian native, and the ex-Constitutional member for Mornington, there can be no doubt of his identity with the anti-Federation orator of the Natives' Association. Since then he has thrown a somersault. All men are entitled to do this, but it is a pity that this particular somersault should have been thrown backwards." But perhaps the cartoon which we reproduce, with apologies for our plagiarism, from the Melbourne *Punch*, will give an idea, better than any words, of the general feeling on the subject.

The ball, having once been set a-rolling, did not stop with the action of Mr. Purves or of his Australian natives. The Melbourne evening journal, the *Herald*, interviewed some of the leading men of Victoria, and extracted from them their views on the question of Separation or Federation. The first interview was with Mr. Justice Williams, who agreed entirely with Mr. Purves in one point, that "as surely as the sun will shine to-morrow, so surely must Separation take place in the future." As for Imperial Federation, he declared:—"The large majority of the native population are adverse to it, and that majority will increase as time goes on, the efforts of Imperial Federation Leagues to the contrary notwithstanding. In the sense in which the term Imperial Federation is commonly used, I am no believer either in the thing itself, or in it ever assuming tangible and practical shape or form. If it should ever assume form and shape I think it will contain in itself the germs of much future mischief. In the sense of binding the Mother Country to the Colonies, and the Colonies to the Mother Country, by bonds of common interest and mutual sympathy and affection, I am an advocate of Imperial Federation; but in no other sense do I advocate it, for the simple reason that I do not believe in it."

Commenting on this, the *Daily Telegraph* is somewhat more outspoken than we should venture to be: "We hold," it says, "these to be eminently foolish opinions; the only consideration that gives them weight is the accident that the gentleman who utters them sustains a great judicial office. The circumstance that a Judge of the Supreme Court of Victoria publicly states that Separation is as inevitable as to-morrow's sunrise, will help to give to the outside world the utterly mistaken opinion that the policy of Separation has some genuine following behind it in this Colony. The strength of his Honour's opinions as to the certainty of Separation might produce some faint impression if his reasons were not so visibly and lamentably weak. Mr. Justice Williams's reasons for believing in Separation consist of one quite false analogy and three utterly petty grievances." The moral, on the other hand, that the *Herald* draws, is



that "when men like his Honour Mr. Justice Williams, and the Hon. Thomas Bent, tell us that the great bulk of the native-born population are of the opinion that Separation from the Mother Country is sooner or later desirable, and when in addition such men ask what is meant by Imperial Federation, the time has surely arrived for the advocates of Imperial Federation to speak out and explain clearly what are the foundations on which they seek to base their scheme, for the future of Great Britain and her Colonies is a matter in which civilised humanity is interested all the world over." We certainly have no reason to complain of this demand. The League can ask nothing better than to be allowed to speak out, and we owe our thanks to the *Herald* for giving us the opportunity. In another column we publish in full what Mr. Service has to say on the subject. But the *Herald* was not yet satisfied, and went on further to interview three more prominent and representative citizens—Sir W. J. Clarke, Bart., M.L.A.; Mr. Gaunson, M.L.A.; and the Rev. J. Watkin, D.D., a leading Wesleyan minister. We shall hope at some future date to find more space to give their views in detail. Suffice it to say here and now, that the heading of the interview with Dr. Watkin—"Separation Dangerous and Ungrateful"—might be the heading of all three of them. On the whole, we think the League has no reason to regret that public attention has been so pointedly called to the question. Nor do the interviews, as published in the *Herald*, seem to afford much ground for Mr. Justice Williams's assertion that the great bulk of Australian natives look upon Separation as sooner or later desirable.

#### A "WELCOME" COMMITTEE.

UNDER the heading of "Touch-and-go Papers" the *Echo* publishes a proposal for what is called—not very happily, perhaps—a "Welcome Committee." For it needs explanation that the committee is not to be one which is welcomed, but which is to welcome others, the others being visitors arriving in London from beyond seas, and more especially our own Colonial fellow-countrymen. Our contemporary asks, "What has the Imperial Federation League, as one of many organisations devoted to the growth of mutual sympathy and mutual understanding, to say to the proposition?" We can have no possible hesitation in replying that, in theory at least, it has our heartiest approval. It is unfortunately only too true of many of our visitors that "they mingle in a slight degree with the fringe of London life; they see many things to wonder at, and some things to admire; and they go away with imperfect impressions, after all, of the British people." Assuredly it is "a pity that these strangers who come from afar should be, as it were, sent so empty away." But whether this state of things could be much improved by the formation of a committee, "each member of which should, at least once a year, invite to his house or club, or some dining-hall, a number of strangers who may be in London at any given time, to dinner," we confess to being more than doubtful. It is difficult enough at any time to secure that a dinner shall always be a success, or to assort the guests satisfactorily, even when they are all personal intimates of the host. How will it be managed when the guests are strangers, not only to one another, but even to their host? Surely we should most of us hesitate to put down our names as ready to give a dinner on these terms, if it were only from diffidence as to our own capacities.

It is impossible not to feel that the *Echo* raises a serious question, but fails to answer it. Even assuming that the proposal were feasible, that we each entertained two or three or half-a-dozen Colonists yearly and made friends with them; assuming, too, that the Colonial Institute, and the various clubs that more especially lay themselves out for the reception of Colonial visitors, succeeded beyond their utmost expectations, even then we should only have touched the fringe of the question. For every Colonist who can afford to return to Europe in the saloon of a mail steamer leaves behind him tens of thousands who can never hope to see their native land again. The true benefactor to his country, the true reader of the riddle of Imperial Federation, would be the man who could bring together, not in reality but in imagination, the masses in Great Britain with the

masses in Canada or Australia. How this may best be done is the great problem that we have to solve. To this end the schoolmaster may, we are persuaded, do much. At home, it must be his business to teach his pupils something of the history, something of the geography—to tell them of the marvellous development of our great Colonies beyond the ocean. In Australia, to teach them to be proud of the triumphs in war and peace, of the struggles for freedom and the battles for constitutional progress, of the Mother Country. In Victoria, we believe, history has been excluded from the public schools, lest its teaching by Protestants should offend the susceptibilities of their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen. How, then, can the rising generation care for a country that is to them but a name? If we cannot all agree to rejoice in the glories of Queen Elizabeth, though as we write they have found it possible to do so down at Plymouth, with the Roman Catholic Duke of Norfolk at their head, at least let us make the most of the history we have indisputably in common. If we must say nothing of Henry VIII. or Edward VI., at least we can all take our share in the victories of the fifth Henry or the constitutional triumphs of the first Edward.

But we must not concern ourselves alone with the children. Their elders too need instruction, and their primer is likely to be and to remain the newspaper. And the newspapers can do much to promote sympathy and understanding between the different parts of the Empire. That the great London papers do all that they might do, few would be found to assert. That the *Times*, which devotes a column every day to the Parisian gossip of M. Blowitz, and spends a king's ransom on its weekly telegrams from Calcutta, should dismiss the affairs of Australia in the few lines of small print that Reuter's Company think proper from time to time to furnish, and draw such Canadian news as it thinks proper to publish from a correspondent at Philadelphia, would be matter for amusement were it not so lamentable. We gladly recognise that the London correspondence of the Colonial papers is on a higher level than this, but even here one might venture to question whether the matches of the Australian cricket team are quite the most important events that have occurred in London this summer. But it is profitless to search for moles in our neighbours' eyes. Let us of the League rather seek to remove the beams from our own. Let us resolve that for ourselves, not only as members of the League, but in our private capacity as individual citizens, we will do what in us lies, whether by hospitalities to Colonial visitors, or by an intelligent study of Colonial questions, or in any other way that comes to our hand, to promote rather than to hinder the growth of a feeling of solidarity between the widely sundered branches of the British stock. And what each does individually, that in the long run the State must do collectively.

#### IMPERIAL FEDERATION AND HOME RULE.

WE have received from all parts of the country newspapers commenting on the Parnell-Rhodes correspondence, which we reprint elsewhere. The vast majority of them have no title to notice in our columns, which, as we have said in another place as categorically as lies in our power, have nothing to do with the question of Home Rule. To our mind our contemporaries have given us an intolerable deal of sack to a very exiguous ha'porth of bread. Like Mr. Rhodes himself, they have given us much Home Rule and uncommonly little Imperial Federation. We should be sorry to appraise Mr. Rhodes's interest in the two questions precisely in the ratio of 2,000 to 1, but as he has been alluded to in more than one quarter as an enthusiastic supporter of Imperial Federation, we think it well to state that his support of the movement, whether personal or pecuniary, has hitherto been confined, as far at least as is known at the offices of the League, to a donation of £5 to our funds some three years ago. Assuredly the man who attempts to mix up Imperial Federation with a question of party politics in Great Britain is no friend of ours.

To two journals, however, we have to express our thanks, and as they are on opposite sides in politics we have the less hesitation in quoting them. The *Leeds Mercury* writes:—"No one desires that the two problems



should be associated at the present time. There is no need that Ireland should wait for the control over her own affairs until the Empire is ripe for Federation in the sense alluded to by Mr. Rhodes, and we have seen already that there is an Imperial Federation which is practicable though the Irish problem remains unsolved. To make the one in any respect conditional upon the other would be to retard the progress of both. In the same spirit its Unionist neighbour, the *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle*, declares: "Up to the present time great care has been taken to keep the question of Imperial Federation outside party politics, and for the sake of the whole Empire any attempt to mix it up with the Irish Question is to be strongly deprecated. . . . A great cause must not be shattered because one of the parties who would be interested in the agreement arrived at is anxious to reach the goal without delay."

There is really little that we can add to this. It must be patent to the most casual observer that Imperial Federation in no way depends on the granting or the non-granting of Home Rule to Ireland. If we had an Imperial Senate to-morrow, Canada would send her representatives from the Dominion as a whole, Australia hers from the single separate Colonies. Will any one argue that a dissolution of the Dominion is a pre-requisite of Imperial Federation? Or, on the other hand, an Australian Confederation? Or will any one ask us to concern ourselves with questions of the respective rights of the Parliaments that meet at Quebec and Ottawa? The man that would wish us to do this is no true friend of Imperial Federation. Nor is there any reason that the rule that applies to Canada should be suspended in great Britain.

\*\*\* *In order that the Journal may be a complete record, we insert all matter bearing on Imperial Federation, without reference to the quarter from which it may proceed, but it is hardly necessary to remind our readers that party politics, whether at home or in the Colonies, are wholly alien to the League in any shape or form, and that the League is in no way responsible for the opinions stated therein.*

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### THE MAGIC OF A NAME.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—Objection has been taken in some quarters to the conjunction of the words "Imperial" and "Federation" in the name of the League, on the ground that it is logically impossible to connect the word "Imperial," which denotes a monarchical system of government, with the word "Federation," which denotes a democratic system. Allow me to point out what seems to me to be a very simple solution of this difficulty. In the phrase "Imperial Federation," the word "Federation" *alone* is used in a political sense, to imply a form of government. The word "Imperial" is used in a purely geographical sense, and is the adjective corresponding to "The British Empire." Whether we have a right to talk of a British Empire when there is no British Empress is another thing; but anyhow, that name is a very convenient one for expressing the dominions ruled over by the Queen, and so long as it is thus used so long must "Imperial"—or more strictly speaking "British Imperial"—be used as its corresponding adjective. In this way, "Imperial Federation" simply means "Federation of the dominions ruled over by the Queen."—Believe me, yours faithfully,

J. A. LONGLEY.

8, Lowndes Street, S.W., July 23rd, 1888.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—I beg to be allowed to take exception to an expression in IMPERIAL FEDERATION for June. You say: "If Australians and Britishers could all live side by side for a twelvemonth, we are persuaded that Imperial Federation would be brought about out of hand." Why this limitation of the term "Britishers"? If Britishers are anything, surely they are the natives of the "British" Empire—all the natives of the British Empire; and, therefore, Australians are included.

It has often seemed to me that unity amongst even the inhabitants of the British Islands is discouraged by there being no one appellation connecting them all with their country. English and Scotch are "Britons"; but who ever uses the word, except in poetry? "England" and "English" are universally employed by other European nations to designate the inhabitants of England, but the Scot is not pleased at this

failure to carry out the terms of the Act of Union, and an Irishman has a perfect right to declare loudly that he is not English. We do, indeed, require one name which will designate all the subjects of our Queen, and until some better one is introduced, "Britisher" does so well that it seems a pity not to adopt it. In the meantime, I am constrained to sign myself, sir, your obedient servant,  
AN ANGLO-SCOT.

## AGENTS-GENERAL IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—May I be allowed to draw your attention to the fact that Lord Rosebery's suggestion to give the Agents-General seats in the House of Lords is in direct opposition to the 3rd Article of the Constitution of the Imperial Federation League?—"That no scheme of Federation should interfere with existing rights of Local Parliaments," for the House of Lords is one-half of the Local Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland. And with your permission I will express a hope that our President's sentiments have not been adopted as a League policy. That the Agents-General should form a committee of advice to the Colonial Office is, I believe, a more workable and beneficial scheme.—I am, sir,

AN ARDENT SUPPORTER OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.  
Peterhouse, Cambridge.

## COLONIAL MISREPRESENTATIVES.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—I see that in your issue for June you refer to a letter I wrote to the *London Times* about six months ago. In that letter I stated my opinion that Canada would be better off, *commercially speaking*, if annexed to the United States, and that such was the opinion of two-thirds of the people of Canada.

I said nothing in favour of annexation. I merely wished to point out that the people here were not progressing to the same extent as their neighbours across the line.

I may add that Mr. Goldwin Smith, in a letter to the *Times*, referring to my letter, stated that my assertion was perfectly correct. There is scarcely a word of truth in the extract from the *Winnipeg Call* which you published. The *Call*—so far from being a leading paper, is regarded with the greatest contempt by the bulk of the people here, and has no circulation worth speaking of. As you will see from the enclosed circular, I am one of the candidates for North Winnipeg at the coming election, and have no time at present to enter into a discussion of the relations of Canada to Great Britain; but I append an extract from the *Winnipeg Siftings*, published to-day, containing a letter from myself, which will explain my connection with the so-called Secession Movement here, and which is so pointedly referred to in the extract you published from the *Call*.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,  
CHARLES STEWART.

P.O. Box 196, Winnipeg, June 30th, 1888.

[We adhere to our statement as to the position of the *Call*.—  
ED. IMP. FED.]

## THE RHODES CORRESPONDENCE.

THE following correspondence has passed between Mr. Parnell and Mr. Cecil Rhodes:—

"WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL, LONDON,

June 19, 1888.

"DEAR SIR,—On my way to the Cape last autumn I had the opportunity of frequent conversations with Mr. Swift MacNeill upon the subject of Home Rule for Ireland. I then told him that I had long had a sympathy with the Irish demand for self-government, but that there were certain portions of Mr. Gladstone's Bill which appeared open to the gravest objections. The exclusion of the Irish members from Westminster seemed rightly to be considered both in England and the Colonies as a step in the direction of pure separation; while the tribute clauses were, on the face of them, degrading to Ireland by placing her in the position of a conquered province, and were opposed to the first principles of constitutional government, by sanctioning taxation without representation. It has been frequently stated that the hearty acquiescence of the Irish members in these proposals gave good grounds for believing that they were really working for complete separation from England. Mr. MacNeill assured me that this was not the case; that, naturally, the first object of the Irish members was to obtain self-government for Ireland, and that when this their main object was secured, it did not become them to criticise or cavil at the terms of the grant made to them. Moreover, he said he believed that the Irish members were only too anxious to support Irish representation at Westminster, should a scheme containing the necessary provisions be brought forward.

"With safeguards—and they must be effective safeguards—for the maintenance of Imperial unity, I am of opinion that the Home Rule granted should be a reality and not a sham. If the Irish are to be conciliated and to be benefited by the grant of self-government, they should be trusted and trusted entirely;



otherwise the application of popular institutions to Ireland must be deemed impracticable, and the only alternative is the administration of the country as a Crown Colony, which plan, in the present state of public opinion, is totally impossible.

"My experience in the Cape Colony leads me to believe that the Ulster question is one which would soon settle itself. Since the Colonial Office has allowed questions at the Cape to be settled by the Cape Parliament, not only has the attachment to the Imperial tie been immeasurably strengthened, but the Dutch, who form the majority of the population, have shown a greatly increased consideration for the sentiments of the English members of the community. It seems only reasonable to suppose that in an Irish Parliament similar consideration would be given to the sentiments of that portion of the inhabitants which is at present out of sympathy with the national movement.

"I will frankly add that my interest in the Irish Question has been heightened by the fact that in it I see the possibility of the commencement of changes which will eventually mould and weld together all the parts of the British Empire.

"The English are a conservative people, and like to move slowly and, as it were, experimentally. At present there can be no doubt that the time of Parliament is overcrowded with the discussion of trivial and local affairs. Imperial matters have to stand their chance of a hearing alongside of railway and tramway Bills. Evidently it must be a function of modern legislation to delegate an enormous number of questions which now occupy the time of Parliament to district councils or local bodies.

"Mr. Chamberlain recognised this fact in his Radical programme of 1885, and the need daily grows more urgent. Now, the removal of Irish affairs to an Irish Legislature would be a practical experimental step in the direction of lessening the burden upon the central deliberative and legislative machine.

"But side by side with this tendency of decentralisation of local affairs, there is growing up a feeling for the necessity of greater union in Imperial matters. The primary tie which binds our Empire together is the natural one of self-defence. The Colonies are already commencing to co-operate with and contribute to the Mother Country for this purpose. But if they are to contribute permanently and beneficially, they will have to be represented in the Imperial Parliament, where the disposition of their contributions must be decided upon. I do not think it can be denied that the presence of two or three Australian members in the House would in recent years have prevented much misunderstanding upon such questions as the New Hebrides, New Guinea, and Chinese immigration. Now, an Irish representation at Westminster for Imperial purposes would, without making any vital change in the English Constitution, furnish a precedent by which the self-governing Colonies could, from time to time, as they expressly desired to contribute to Imperial expenditure, be incorporated with the Imperial Legislature.

"You will, perhaps, say that I am making the Irish Question a stalking-horse for a scheme of Imperial Federation; but, if so, I am at least placing Ireland in the forefront of the battle.

"The question is, moreover, one in which I take a deep interest, and I shall be obliged if you can tell me that Mr. MacNeill is not mistaken in the impression he conveyed to me, and that you and your party would be prepared to give your hearty support and approval to a Home Rule Bill containing provisions for the continuance of Irish representation at Westminster.

"Such a declaration would afford great satisfaction to myself and others, and would enable us to give our full and active support to your cause and your party.

"Believe me faithfully yours,

"C. J. RHODES.

"C. S. Parnell, Esq., M.P."

"June 23, 1888.

"DEAR SIR,—I am much obliged to you for your letter of the 19th inst., which confirms the very interesting account given me at Avondale last January by Mr. Swift MacNeill as to his interviews and conversations with you on the subject of Home Rule for Ireland.

"I may say at once, and frankly, that you have correctly judged the exclusion of the Irish members from Westminster to have been a defect in the Home Rule measure of 1886; and, further, that this proposed exclusion may have given some colour to the accusations so freely made against the Bill, that it had a Separatist tendency. I say this while strongly asserting and believing that the measure itself was accepted by the Irish people without any after-thought of the kind, and with an earnest desire to work it out in the same spirit in which it was offered—a spirit of cordial goodwill and trust, a desire to let bygones be bygones, and a determination to accept it as a final and satisfactory settlement of the long-standing dispute between Great Britain and Ireland.

"I am very glad to find that you consider the measure of Home Rule that should be granted to Ireland should be thoroughgoing, and should give her a complete control over her own affairs without reservation; and I cordially agree with

your opinion that there should be effective safeguards for the maintenance of Imperial unity.

"Your conclusion as to the only alternative for Home Rule is also entirely my own, for I have long felt that the continuance of the present semi-constitutional system is quite impracticable.

"But to return to the question of the retention of the Irish members at Westminster, my own views upon the points and probabilities of the future, and the bearing of this subject upon the question of Imperial Federation.

"My own feeling upon the measure is, that if Mr. Gladstone includes in his next Home Rule measure provisions for such retention, we should cheerfully concur in them and accept them with good will and good faith, with the intention of taking our share in the Imperial partnership. I believe also that in the event stated this will be the case, and that Irish people will cheerfully accept the duties and responsibilities assigned to them, and will justly value the position given to them in the Imperial system. I am convinced that it would be the highest statesmanship on Mr. Gladstone's part to devise a feasible plan for the continued presence of the Irish members here, and from my observation of public events and opinion since 1885, I am sure that Mr. Gladstone is fully alive to the importance of the matter, and that there can be no doubt that the next measure of autonomy for Ireland will contain provisions which you rightly deem of such moment.

"It does not come so much within my province to express a full opinion upon the larger question of Imperial Federation, but I agree with you that the continued Irish representation at Westminster will immensely facilitate such a step, while the contrary provision in the Bill of 1886 would have been a bar.

"Undoubtedly this is a matter which should be dealt with in accordance largely with the opinion of the Colonies themselves, and if they should desire to share in the cost of Imperial matters, as undoubtedly they now do in the responsibility, and should express a wish for representation at Westminster, I certainly think that it should be accorded to them, and that public opinion in these islands would unanimously concur in the necessary constitutional modifications.—I am, dear Sir, yours truly,

"CHARLES STEWART PARNELL."

"WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL, LONDON,

June 28, 1888.

"DEAR MR. PARNELL,—I have to thank you for your letter of the 23rd inst., the contents of which have given me great pleasure.

"I feel sure that your cordial approval of the retention of Irish representation at Westminster will gain you support in many quarters from which it has hitherto been withheld.

"As a proof of my deep and sincere interest in the question, and as I believe that the action of the Irish party on the basis which you have stated will lead, not to disintegration, but really to a closer union of the Empire—making it an Empire in reality, not in name only—I am happy to offer a contribution to the extent of £10,000 to the funds of your party. I am also authorised to offer you a further sum of £1,000 from Mr. John Morrough, an Irish resident in Kimberley, South Africa.—Believe me, yours faithfully,

"C. J. RHODES.

"P.S.—I herewith enclose a cheque for £5,000 as my first instalment."

### ELEGANT EXTRACTS.

ON the "no case, abuse plaintiff's attorney" principle, our readers should be pleased to read the following elegant extracts from the *Sydney Bulletin*. A twelvemonth since we had occasion to refer to this journal, and we then endeavoured to classify it as "half *Reynolds's*, and half *Petit Journal pour Rire*." In this, its latest lucubration, perhaps we might say that the *Reynolds* element has got the upper hand. We should add that we believe that the *Bulletin* has a considerable circulation in New South Wales, but that at the same time Colonists, who should speak with authority, say that it possesses very little influence. That this is by no means a paradox will be evident to any one who remembers the position occupied by such a paper, for instance, as *Truth*, at home. Why our poor human nature should lead men, who themselves are capable of resolute self-sacrifice for the sake of lofty ideals, to listen with pleasure to a gospel which preaches that humanity advances only on its belly, with its hands clenched tight in its breeches pockets, we know not; but the fact is undeniable, be the reason what it may. For our part, we refuse to subscribe to so base a doctrine. In the fine phrase of Carlyle, "In the meanest of men there lies something noble. It is not to taste sweet things, but to do noble and true things, and to vindicate himself under God's Heaven as a god-made man, that the poorest son of Adam dimly longs. Show him the way of doing that, and the dullest day-drudge kindles into a hero." So we shall continue to believe that the statesmen of Australia, even those who oppose us most bitterly, are neither "snobs" nor "traitors," but that they are honestly pursuing the ideal of an independent Australasian Federation, an ideal noble enough to fire the imagination of any man whose enthusiasm had not been roused on behalf of that yet nobler,



though perhaps more distant, ideal—the Federation of the British Empire. And even of the writer in the *Bulletin* we shall strive to think that he is fighting with the weapons with which nature has endowed him, in the honest belief that so alone he can protect his fellow-Colonists from the hired bravoos of the “fatuous Salisbury,” or the “dusky hordes of the mountebank Disraeli.”

“The great Imperial scheme, by which this Continent is to be degraded to the level of an outlying English Province, is steadily unfolding, and England is once more knocking at the gates of futurity for the President of the United States of Australia. The miserable African expedition of three years ago impressed the Jingoos of Britain with the idea that Australia was filled with a hunger for military glory, and the party which is always wanting to go out and kill something has ever since regarded this land as a possible recruiting ground for the miserable little army which fights the battles of England on two meals a day. The late Imperial Conference gave the astute Salisbury a chance to size up the statesmen of Australia, and he weighed them one by one, and found them snobs and traitors almost to a man. In return for the meanest title which the Queen can confer—a title which, in England, ranks little higher than the medal which is conferred upon a Cochinchina rooster at a country hog exhibition—they virtually pledged themselves to a scheme which would place Australia at the mercy of a foreign fleet commanded by a foreign admiral, and the partial success of this naval offence scheme is already leading to further developments of the great Imperial conspiracy.

“For the last few weeks a strange rumour has filled the air—a rumour which points to further aggression of a kind which will reduce Australia to the level of Ireland or India, and place her in the same position as that which Bulgaria occupied during the 400 years when she groaned under the yoke of the Selims and Amuraths of Constantinople. The good old days when Australia was garrisoned like a conquered country are left far away among the slimy wrecks of history. But the fatuous Salisbury still dreams of a day when that old history will be revived. The troops of the various Australian Colonies, it is proposed, shall be organised into one force, under the command of a general who will be kindly lent by Britain for the purpose, and who will be independent of all local authority; and with the accomplishment of this scheme, Australia will be wiped off the roll of nations, and will become, like Ireland or Burmah, a military province dependent on Britain and ruled by the British bureaucracy.

“The British military despot whom it is thus proposed to foist upon Australia could be controlled by no Colonial authority, and the Parliaments and the people of this continent would be equally at his mercy. All the forces of the land, from Carpentaria to the Great Australian Bight, would be under his command, and his domain would probably also include the whole Archipelago, so that the dark-skinned natives of Fiji might be enrolled to suppress the rebellious tendencies of New South Wales, or the warlike Maoris might be induced to abandon the spears and clubs of their forefathers, and adopt the British uniform and the British bayonet in order to keep order in Queensland, or suppress a growing Republican sentiment in Adelaide. The troops of one Colony could be used to quell the incipient mutiny of another, and there exists no central authority which could speak with the voice of a united Australian people against the *régime* of military dictatorship. Moreover, even in the event of a unanimous refusal on the part of the proposed Australian army to act as the instrument of the proposed English general in Australia in suppressing national liberty, the alien commander himself would serve as a rallying-point for Imperialism. The power which created him would necessarily feel called upon to support him, and the forces most readily available for such a service would be the Sepoys of India—the same whom the mountebank Disraeli brought to Malta, not many years ago, and whom he was on the verge of letting loose upon distracted Europe. The one central axiom of the Tory creed is that the dignity of the Crown must be upheld; it was for the sake of this principle that the dark-skinned hordes of Hindostan were so nearly being poured down on the desolated plains of Bulgaria ten years ago; and the party which threatened, in defence of its mouldy creed, to show the Asiatics the road into Europe, would hardly hesitate to take a similar step in Australia, should this country be weak and mad enough to accept a military incubus, which nothing but wholesale mutiny and rebellion could ever cast off.

“Should Australia be induced to hand over her military, as well as her naval, defences to foreign hands, she will appear before the world in a new light. The country which voluntarily entrusts her protection to alien mercenaries is generally regarded as beyond contempt in her weakness and her cowardice, and the country which entrusts her defence to England—a land which, among the armed nations of Europe, has become of late years a byword for impotence—will have reached the lowest depths of degradation in the eyes of foreign Powers. The protection which England extends to her own subjects in Samoa and the other islands of the South Seas is of such a kind that Englishmen are insulted with impunity by every potentate whose importance is just a little greater than that of the imbecile ruler of Tonga, and in South Africa the tribes over whom she has extended her shield are raided and slaughtered by the Dutch farmers at the Cape, without even an attempt at remonstrance. British protection is a thing which, nowadays, even a petty Hottentot chief would hardly sacrifice his independence to obtain, and if Australia is ever induced to give up her liberty in return for the shadowy benefits to be gained by the presence of a cast-off British general, she will surrender so much in exchange for so very little that it will be difficult to find words with which to define the measure of her folly.”

THE Governor of Victoria, in opening Parliament on June 19th, said that much had been done to improve the defences of the Colony. The forts were rapidly approaching completion, and the naval and military efficiency had been increased. The formation of a first-class reserve was also projected.

## THE LATE SIR JOHN BRAND.

THAT the death of Sir John Brand, which at the best of times would have been a grievous misfortune, is, in the present critical position of South African affairs nothing short of a disaster, not only to the Orange Free State and its neighbour Colonies, territories, and republics, but also to the whole British Empire, is a point on which statesmen and public men of all parties are in the most complete accord. We cannot express the universal sentiment better than by reproducing the language that was used in the House of Lords by four Colonial Secretaries and ex-Secretaries on July 16th, the day on which the telegraph first flashed to England the sorrowful intelligence. Lord Carnarvon said:—

I would take this opportunity of saying with what extreme regret I saw the announcement in to-day's paper of the death of that very eminent man Sir John Brand. My lords, I think it is a very heavy loss, both Colonially and Imperially. I had personally many opportunities of knowing his worth and his great personal reliability, and I think that of the men I have known I have been acquainted with none who united more completely strong practical sense with the most straightforward conduct. Of him it could be emphatically said that his word was his bond. My lords, in South Africa there is no sounder head that I can call to mind and no firmer friend to this country. I particularly regret that his death should have occurred under the critical circumstances of South Africa at present; I can only trust his loss will not aggravate the difficulties of the present position.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I cannot allow the observations of the noble earl to pass without adding my testimony to the admirable qualities of the late head of the Orange Free State, Sir John Brand. He was a man who, while fully devoted to the interests of his own State (“Hear, hear,” from Lord Carnarvon), displayed on all occasions a spirit of friendship towards this country, and a cordiality which, in many difficult circumstances, have been of the greatest service alike to the Empire and to South Africa. I feel especially bound myself to bear testimony to his merits, because, as your lordships may remember, I was Secretary of State at the time when we were engaged in troubles in the Transvaal, and the circumstances in which he was then placed were those of peculiar difficulty, and I can say with perfect truth that nothing could have exceeded the fairness and the loyalty and the steadiness of purpose with which he conducted the affairs of his State through that very difficult time, without involving them in any hostilities; and, while looking to the interests of his own burghers, he contributed largely to the restoration of peace in South Africa.

THE EARL OF DERBY: My lords, I cannot refuse to add my testimony to that of my two noble friends who have just spoken. Sir John Brand's death is a great loss to South Africa: he was an able Minister, and a good friend of this country besides.

LORD KNUTSFORD: I do not intend to add anything to the very full testimony that has been given by the three noble lords, who have served in the position which I have now the honour to hold, of the merits, the transcendent merits, of Sir John Brand. I would only say this, that Sir John Brand has proved himself always to be a firm friend of this country through many difficulties, and his death is a loss, not only to the Orange Free State, but to the whole of South Africa, whose peace he largely maintained by his ability and his good faith and integrity of purpose. I would just add, that I have been commanded by Her Majesty to express to the acting President of the Orange Free State her sincere regret at the death of Sir John Brand, and at the loss South Africa has thereby sustained.

If journalistic comment need be added, the *Times* may speak for all. In a leading article of the same date it writes:—

The death of Sir John Henry Brand, the President of the Orange Free State, is a heavy loss to his own country and to South Africa at large. For a quarter of a century President Brand has played the part of mutual friend of the two great parties into which the white population of South Africa is divided. For this conciliatory task—often a most difficult one—he was well qualified by training as well as by temperament. Sir John Brand was of Dutch birth, and he possessed a certain sympathy with the struggles of his race against the tide of British empire in South Africa; but he knew how to reconcile such feelings with a warm friendship for this country, and admiration for British character and institutions. . . . South Africa can ill afford to lose such a statesman, who was the standing referee of national disputes, and who seemed to embody in himself the union of races which is the ideal of all broad-minded men in those regions.

THE Chairman of the Ottawa Branch of the League, Mr. Sandford Fleming, C.M.G., has been re-elected President of the Royal Society of Canada.



## COMING OF AGE.

(FROM OUR TORONTO CORRESPONDENT.)

WITHIN the last week this Confederation of Provinces—which in 1867 were united together into one great whole, and which to-day stretch from ocean to ocean, and embrace a thoroughly happy and contented people—passed the rubicon of their boyhood, and to-day England's eldest child, the fair Canadian Dominion, stands forth—proud of what she has accomplished in the past, and confident for the future! The event was celebrated throughout the country in a quiet and unostentatious manner, and Canada's twenty-first birthday passed by without any great outward popular demonstration. This is very different from the way in which our cousins across the border celebrate their national holiday, and some portion of our press has commented adversely on the quiet way our coming of age was commemorated; but I, for one, prefer to see less loud-mouthed demonstrativeness, and am content to see for myself the health, wealth, and prosperity of our citizens and our land, whichever way one may turn, and to find in that sight a thorough and real celebration of the event, on which no amount of oratory or spread-eagleism could improve. We are, indeed, a happy and prosperous people, and enjoy as thorough and perfect liberty as any nation under the sun; but there is a feeling of unrest manifest from time to time in our borders which is being persistently fostered by those who either do not comprehend in which direction our true interests lie, or have not got them at heart. From such as these we hear the doctrine of Canadian independence preached on the one hand, and that of Commercial (*alias* Political) Union on the other. But to neither of these notions does popular sentiment in this country look forward. I think I am correct in saying that the feelings of our people are rather to be likened to those of the boy who has become a man, and who has passed the age of tutelage. Having arrived at this period he naturally feels able to think and act more for himself, and to have more to say in his own affairs. But he finds himself still held firmly in the leading-strings! His father does not recognise the fact of his manhood, and does not admit him to a *partnership in his business*! These are exactly our feelings! We and our fellow-Colonists are no longer minors! We are full-grown sons and daughters of the grand old Motherland, and *should*, as such, *be admitted as partners into the great Imperial firm*! We should be asked to take an active part in the Councils of the Empire, and should be no longer *Britons by courtesy*, but Britons in the fullest and truest sense of the word. We are ready and willing to receive the benefits and privileges of citizenship and partnership in the Empire, and to shoulder the responsibilities consequent upon the attainment of these objects. It is for those at home in Great Britain to remember this fact, to appreciate it fully, *and to act on it. The first move must come from the parent land.* You must not rest on your oars with masterly inactivity and wait till the children become dissatisfied and clamour for their rights! You must offer the boon to them freely and willingly, and you will find that it will be accepted in the same spirit, with the result that by the infusion of new and healthy blood into its system, the Imperial firm will be healthier and stronger than ever before. Canada awaits the call of the Mother Country to take her proper place! Do not commit the folly of delaying till she becomes impatient and has to ask for her rights!

Toronto, 6th July, 1888.

CUBO SED CURO.

## INTER-BRITISH TARIFFS AND TRADE.

BY THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE LEAGUE AT OTTAWA.

It is on all hands conceded that a Commercial Union of the British Empire would be as potent for good as any of the other plans of federation which are being advocated; whether these aim at a combination for defence, a common parliamentary representation, or any other federal object. British Commercial Union means, of course, union among the members of the British Empire by certain arrangements for mutual aid and intercourse which do not extend to foreign nations. It necessarily involves mutual participation in certain advantages, from which other countries are excluded. The commonest form of such a Commercial Union

is that presented by the United States; by the various kingdoms and principalities constituting the German Empire; and by the different Provinces which form the Dominion of Canada. Such Union provides for perfect freedom of trade between the States or Provinces so bound together, with more or less restriction of intercourse as regards commerce with other countries. This restriction usually assumes the form of duties upon imports, the proceeds of which are, in many cases, required for purposes of revenue. No other plan of commercial federation has had any successful existence in the world's experience, and, therefore, when a British Commercial Union is mooted it is at once taken to mean, on the one hand, free trade betwixt the various parts of the Empire, and, on the other, a tariff of some description, discriminating against foreign nations.

But perhaps this definition of a Commercial Union may not be satisfactory to those political economists who have advocated the greatest possible freedom of trade, not only between the integral parts of the same federation, but between such aggregated communities and other nations throughout the world. Possibly the free-traders' idea of a Commercial Union is unrestricted commerce, not only between its members, but with all the world besides. If so, it is one of those unrealisable combinations that have had no existence in the past, and do not seem possible in the future. Let us suppose, for instance, the various obstacles in the shape of tariffs that are said to obstruct trade between the British possessions at the present time to be entirely removed, or to be all remodelled after the English pattern, *without the institution of any Imperial tariff leviable on foreign importations*; would it be possible to look upon the result of such an arrangement as a "Union," in any sense, commercial or otherwise? Certainly not; at any rate, it could not be regarded as an improvement upon the Union we at present enjoy. It seems that, no matter how the present British tariffs may be modified or improved, such changes would not bring British possessions into closer Union if the question of a common Customs tariff, to be imposed by all of them as against foreign countries, be kept out of consideration.

Since, therefore, a British Commercial Union involves the imposition of duties on imports, it is necessary to return to the consideration of the question as to how the simplest form of it, indicated above, would answer for the whole British Empire. What would be the result, if absolute internal Free Trade were adopted in conjunction with an Imperial tariff? What would be the consequence, if the amount of revenue at present derived from Customs duties throughout the Empire were obtained, not by taxing British products, but by duties on foreign importations? It is in solving such problems as these that recourse must be had to Sir R. W. Rawson's "Synopsis," in which the foundation for the discussion of such questions has been well and securely laid. According to the statistics of this work, it appears that the sum of £37,189,274 was raised in the year 1885, in the various parts of the Empire, by duties on imports and exports. In the same year, the value of the imports from foreign countries into the Empire was as follows:—

Great Britain and Ireland	... ..	£286,566,000
India, Ceylon, Straits Settlements, Labuan, and Mauritius	... ..	24,337,000
Canada and Newfoundland	... ..	12,736,000
Australasia	... ..	6,751,000
West Indies, Honduras, and British Guiana	... ..	3,206,000
Africa	... ..	1,061,000
Gibraltar, Malta, Bermuda, and the Falkland Islands	... ..	154,000
Total	... ..	£334,811,000

A simple calculation shows that it would be necessary to impose a duty of 11·1 per cent. on this amount to obtain the revenue above mentioned. All agree that revenue must be raised in the various possessions; opinions may vary as to the manner of obtaining it. If it were proposed to raise that part of it now derived from Customs duties by a duty of 11·1 per cent. *ad valorem* on foreign imports, it would become necessary to ask, how much would, in this case, be collected in the various divisions of the Empire. The following statement gives the answers, and compares the amounts with the sums actually raised at present from Customs duties:—



	Proceeds of an <i>ad valorem</i> duty of 11 per cent. on foreign imports.	Amount of Customs duties now raised.
Great Britain and Ireland ...	£31,808,826	£19,827,000
India, Ceylon, Straits Settlements, Labuan, and Mauritius ...	2,701,407	3,427,391
Canada and Newfoundland ...	1,413,696	4,130,773
Australasia ...	749,361	7,222,054
West Indies, Honduras, and British Guiana ...	355,866	949,115
Africa ...	117,771	1,475,230
Gibraltar, Malta, Bermuda, and the Falkland Islands ...	17,094	157,711
	£37,164,021	£37,189,274

A glance at this statement shows that a change from the present system of levying Customs duties, to one of internal Free Trade, with an outward Imperial tariff of 11 per cent., would occasion an increase in the amount raised in Great Britain of 37 per cent., but that, in the case of all the Colonies and dependencies, the following immense losses of revenue from Customs would be sustained:—

India, &c. ...	21 per cent.
Canada, &c. ...	65 "
Australasia ...	89 "
West Indies, &c. ...	62 "
Africa ...	92 "
Gibraltar, &c. ...	89 "

To make up these losses by a resort to direct taxation would be a course utterly impossible for any Colonial statesman, and, in Canada, it would be one of doubtful legality. The Dominion could scarcely levy direct taxes so long as the various Provinces avoided doing so. It might be suggested that the subsidies paid to the various Provinces out of the Dominion treasury could be reduced or abolished, but this would require a revision of the British North American Act, and endanger our Confederation. On the other hand, it might be claimed that Great Britain should make up the deficiencies out of her increased revenue from Customs, but this course would no doubt be deemed as impracticable as any other.

From the foregoing it seems plain that inter-British free trade would utterly derange the finances of all the Possessions. Indeed, it might be argued that demanding it would be an interference "with the existing rights of local parliaments, as regards local affairs," and consequently a violation of federation principles. Such interference would certainly not promote the progress of the League in the Colonies. It follows that the management of the various British tariffs, however chaotic and void of principle they may appear, must be left to the authorities at present in charge of them, and any suggestions for modifying them must be made with the greatest care, and with due consideration for the financial necessities of each separate possession.

But although the abolition of inter-British tariffs has thus been shown to be impossible, it does not follow that *reasonable* proposals from any quarter, looking to the reduction or alteration of the various duties, and to the encouragement of inter-Imperial trade, should not be considered and perhaps entertained by the different authorities which control the tariffs. But the wisest course would be, in the first place, to suggest some plan of increasing revenue, as a prelude to schemes which involve its sacrifice. Such a suggestion has already been made, under the title "A British Zollverein," in the February number of IMPERIAL FEDERATION. It does not carry with it the *immediate* prospect of a reduction of revenue from Customs in any part of the Empire, and it would effect the establishment of a British Commercial Union. This proposal is to levy 10 per cent. *ad valorem* on all foreign importations into the British Empire, over and above the present local duties. The various British tariffs would thus be left just where they are at present, but a revenue would be provided to enable each Local Government to reduce or modify the local tariff in such a manner as would in their judgment best suit local circumstances. A duty of 10 per cent. on the foreign imports above mentioned would yield the following revenues:—

In Great Britain ...	£28,656,600
" India, &c. ...	2,433,700
" Canada, &c. ...	1,273,600
" Australasia ...	675,100
" West Indies, &c. ...	320,600
" Africa ...	106,100
" Gibraltar, &c. ...	15,400
	£33,481,100

By this plan there could, therefore, be raised by the British possessions £4,824,500, which would enable them to some extent to reduce their present Customs duties, or, if required, to make a contribution to the defence of the Empire. Few would object to such an arrangement from a Colonial standpoint. Nor does it appear that any valid argument can be raised against it on the part of the Mother Country. At present she raises £19,827,000 by specific Customs duties. This upon her total import trade, foreign and Colonial, of £370,968,000, amounts to an average duty of 5½ per cent. *ad valorem*. It does not, therefore, seem that Great Britain would sacrifice anything by adopting this plan of establishing a Commercial Union. Ten per cent. on the value of her foreign imports amounts to £28,656,600, which revenue would enable the English Government to make such reductions, either in the specific duties or in the direct taxes, as might be deemed most to the advantage of the people of the United Kingdom.

It is in this direction that progress is possible towards obtaining a British Commercial Union, and not by discussing and nibbling at the rates levied under existing tariffs. The latter course would raise storms of objections from all quarters, and postpone indefinitely the end which all Federationists are working for, the establishment of a United Empire.

THOMAS MACFARLANE.

Ottawa, Canada, 29th May, 1888.

### GREAT SPEECH OF THE BISHOP OF MANCHESTER.

OUR readers, we think, will not regret that we postponed reporting this speech when it was first delivered, as we are now enabled to give it in full. Even Mr. Labouchere would scarcely deny the right of the bishop to speak with authority upon Colonial questions.

THE BISHOP OF MANCHESTER (Dr. Moorhouse), who was received with cheers, said he really felt that to speak in the University of Cambridge upon the subject of Imperial Federation was like carrying coals to Newcastle, because Imperial Federation, as a practical idea, had its origin in the University. It was propounded as an important factor of modern politics, and it was forcibly explained and illustrated in a fine series of lectures on the extension of England by Professor Seeley (applause), which were read and quoted wherever the English language was spoken. At the same time, they could not possibly throw a new truth or a new idea into the world without its having to run through a process of criticism and comment. It came, at first, into conflict with the principle of prejudice, to which it was repugnant, and interests which it seemed to oppose, and, therefore, they had to take account, not only of those free lances of controversy who seemed to object to everything that other men believed, and who must not be taken too seriously (applause), but they had to deal with men of power and of practical convictions, who must be taken account of, and whose objections could only be met by solid reasoning. A veteran and patriotic politician whom he (the Bishop) supposed they all admired—Mr. John Bright (applause)—was such a man.

#### NOTHING BUT A DREAM.

In the language of which he was a master, Mr. John Bright had told them that Imperial Federation was nothing but a dream, and he advanced two reasons for what he told them. He said that, in the first place, it was a dream, because England could not expect the Colonies to involve themselves in the warlike responsibilities of the Mother Country; and, secondly, he said England could not have a federation for common purposes between those who opposed one another with hostile tariffs. He (the Bishop) had the deepest respect for Mr. Bright, and he thought all would admire Mr. Bright for his robust reasoning, for his love of freedom, and his patriotic conduct from the beginning of his career until to-day, notwithstanding which he must confess that an air of suspicion was thrown for him over these statements of Mr. Bright by the circumstance that they were based on two well-known prejudices. He called them such, for to him (the Bishop) they seemed so—the first being that they had a right to first obtain peace at any price, and, secondly, the prejudice, as it seemed to him, that orthodox views upon Free Trade were amongst the necessary conditions to Imperial Federation. He did not believe that either of those arguments was a sound one, but, at the same time, he confessed that one must not allow one's judgment to be dominated by those suspicions, and one must receive and consider with all respect which they demanded the arguments of such a man as Mr. Bright. Let them ask, in the first place, "Is it a fact that it is impossible to have Imperial Federation because we cannot expect our Colonies to enter into the warlike responsibilities of the Mother Country?" In the first place, he would answer that he did not think the Colonists did, and he did not think they should believe in Mr. Bright's proposition, that peace should be purchased at any price.

#### PEACE, BUT NOT AT ANY PRICE.

Peace was very precious, and everybody, particularly every Christian man, would pay a heavy price for peace, but not at any price. He did not think that any nation should give up, as the price of peace, its civil liberty. Those exhortations of their blessed Lord



and Master of forgiveness of enemies and abstinence from strife, they must not forget, were propounded to men who lived under the civil protection of the Roman sword. They knew that one Apostle told them that the magistrate did not bear the sword in vain; and that he was to administer wrath upon him that did evil. The question for Colonists to consider was whether, if England and the Colonies fell asunder into separate States, their civil liberty would be secure. Mr. Bright thought it would, and he brought forth this illustration of his view—the case of the American Colonies. He said he thought it was a very fortunate thing for the American Republic that it did not form part of the British Empire during the French Revolutionary War. With all respect to Mr. Bright, he (the Bishop) did not think that that was an illustration in point, at all, because they knew that the British navy swept the sea of all the competing naval Powers, and, therefore, the American Republic could afford to neglect the hostility of France because France could not get at her. But the point was—could our Colonies, in like manner, afford to neglect the hostility of other Powers in the new era which was approaching—in this new era of huge iron-clads and growing national navies—was it, in a word, probable that England might find herself at death grips with some naval Power that exhausted her utmost energies and resources; and did they think that, under such circumstances, the Colonists who desired to live in a peaceful Arcadia would be sufficiently defended against some of the naval Powers that had their resources at their disposition because the Colonies were not engaged in England's conflict?

#### THE FATE OF NEUTRALS.

Did they remember that, in the French Revolutionary War, Denmark thought that a declaration of neutrality would protect her aggression? But did it? England imagined that Denmark might be overrun by France, and, to prevent the French getting hold of the Danish navy, England sent an expedition and seized upon it. "Infamous!" some might say. It was all very well for those who talk about peace to say it was infamous, but men who were fighting for life did not consider it infamous, and those present might rely upon this—that such Powers as Germany and Russia would not be likely to think, if self-preservation dictated it, that such a step was infamous. (Applause.) At any rate, he (the Bishop) could be sure of one thing—that the Power which promised to evacuate Khiva, and found it so comfortable and prosperous a place that, to put it mildly, it reconsidered its decision—that Power would not have the smallest reluctance to attack any of the Colonies if England was engaged in another direction. (Applause.) He thought it was desirable that he should give an illustration or two of the position in which the Colonies would find themselves—illustrations based on his knowledge of Australia, and certain events which happened there during his residence in that part of the world. They remembered that the French, after promising to regard the New Hebrides as neutral territory, sent forces and took possession of those islands; and for what purpose did they take possession of them? That they might make them the common sewer of France; that they might fill them with the vilest scum of Parisian convicts; that they might make, to put it in plain English, these islands a hell upon earth. That would signify very little to England; but to Australia, which had at its back-door those islands—whose coasts and ports were invaded by these wretches; whose population was corrupted, and whose property was stolen—to Australia it was a question of life and death.

#### AUSTRALIA'S PIGMY NAVY.

But what was the use of Australia entering a protest? What notice would France be likely to take of the protest of a Colony whose pigmy navy she could sweep from the seas in a week? It was useless for Australia to protest against a great Power unless her protest was backed with the voice of England. (Applause.) He would give another illustration of the importance to the Colonies of a scheme of Imperial Federation. The Germans took possession of a part of New Guinea. That signified very little to England unless England cared for Australia, as he hoped England did (applause), but those present would see that if a first-rate European Power established itself at the back-door of Australia this was likely to follow—it might create vast military establishments there, and if it did it would compel Australia to make her population undergo the inconvenience of the conscription, and it would force her to the wasteful military expenditure which was exhausting the great military powers of Europe. Some one might say, "It is wild suspicion—the idea of Germany creating vast military establishments in such a place as New Guinea!" But they had got eyes in their heads in Australia (laughter and applause), they did, really, see beyond their noses, and that great question about New Guinea did exist. Bismarck had taken that step of which he had spoken, and did they suppose that Bismarck would run the risk of losing the valuable English alliance if he had not a purpose in view, and, perhaps, of putting a little pressure upon England to let her see that she was not invulnerable? Perhaps that was one risk, but he (the Bishop) thought any wise man could see another. If they glanced at the map they would see New Guinea, Sumatra, Java, and Borneo forming a long line of islands on the north-east of Australia. They belonged to the Dutch. It was a matter of common European gossip that the next Power that Bismarck was going to swallow was Holland, and there was no knowing how soon Bismarck might produce a change in that part of Europe. At any rate, in Australia it was seen to be a near possibility. Let the meeting look at the matter from that point of view. Germany would be in New Guinea, having possession of Sumatra, Java, and Borneo, would be a great Power at the Antipodes, and would necessarily have a large navy and a big military force, which, it seemed to him, meant that Australia must go to great expense and submit to great inconvenience or slumber in a fool's paradise. It might do for a man who would accept peace at any price to disregard such things and to dream dreams of Utopia, but sensible men must look upon this world as they found it, and this world was not arranged according to the Society of Friends. (Laughter and applause.) It must be remembered that if England lost a thousand lives and fought a thousand

battles, and he hoped England would, rather than surrender the nation's civil liberty—then that was a tremendous question for Australia, whether we in England knew it, or whether we did not.

#### SWALLOWING HOLLAND.

When Prince Bismarck performed that political deglutition—swallowing Holland—and trouble arose in Australia, what would be the use of any protest on the part of a separated Australia? If Australia was a part of a great Empire, and if Australia could speak with the voice, and strike with the puissant power of England, there would be some good in her protest, and Prince Bismarck would think twice before he took the step of which he (the Bishop) had spoken. But a protest by a separate Colony was just as good as nothing. He had spoken of the effect of Imperial Federation upon the Colonies, and it was quite as important to England that there should be a federation with the Colonies. They had come into the era—an era so graphically described by a learned professor as an era of great States; an era of oceanic communication; an era of steamships and telegraphs and the like; and they had pots swimming down the stream of history; and if one was made of iron and one of clay, the clay pot must be smashed in the passage. In this new era of great States, when any small State could be overpowered what was it to do? He (the Bishop) said, "Keep united," let England be a great Empire, and if England had to strike—he hoped only in justice and self-defence—he hoped she might strike a blow which would be felt all round the world. If they did that he had no fear that Germany or France would attack Australia, because either Power would know it would have to reckon, first, with the English Navy, and he had no fear that Russia would be quick to attack England in India, for she would know that she must face, not only England's island legions, not only the warrior races of the Peninsula, but also twenty thousand Australian infantry and a crowd of the grandest light cavalry of the world—men bred to horseback from their mother's knee, men before whom any Russian Cossacks might well show their horses' tails. (Applause.) Russia would know, moreover, that the forces of which he had spoken might be transported more quickly from the shores of Australia to India than a Russian *corps d'armée* could march from Khiva to the northern boundary of that territory. It might be said that there was Mr. John Bright's second argument, and that was, that when different people imposed hostile tariffs it was impossible to attempt Imperial Federation amongst them for common purposes.

#### MR. BRIGHT MORE WARLIKE THAN HE KNOWS.

Really, he (the Bishop) did believe that Mr. John Bright was a great deal more warlike than he knew. (Laughter.) Mr. Bright would not strike with his fists nor with his sword, but he seemed to think that all persons who opposed him commercially were foes, and when he cried out about a tariff, he called it a hostile tariff and not a protective tariff. (Laughter.) He (the Bishop)—being, really, a peaceably disposed person—would not hit anybody unless that person hit him—he called that being peaceably disposed. (Laughter.) Being peaceably disposed, he could not understand that necessarily a protective tariff was hostile in the sense that it was an indication of hostile feeling. He happened to know, intimately, one of the Colonies of Australia that had, unfortunately, adopted a protective duty. He deeply regretted it, and regretted it as much as Mr. John Bright could; it was a terrible mistake, and he believed that the people would, one day, find that out, and regret it, and would retract the measures to which they had, unfortunately, committed themselves. But he knew the reason of the imposition of those protective duties; they were merely for protection, and not from any hostile sentiment towards England. If there existed any hostile sentiment towards England, Imperial Federation would be the vainest of dreams, and the Colonies would not wish to be federated with England. But what was the case? He came from the country, and he knew the people, and he could tell those present that in Australia the love for the Mother Country was so deep, so reverent, and still so tender, that it was almost wonderful. (Applause.) They thought England was a great deal better even than she was (applause), and he could assure them that he never saw that England was so great and so good until he saw it through Australian spectacles. (Renewed laughter.)

#### WILD, WANTON, AND WICKED.

He might tell the meeting that there was nothing so displeasing to Australians as to hear Englishmen, in their wild, and wanton, and wicked pessimism, declaring that England was weak, and worthless, and decayed. Such people as said that, were doing a great deal of harm, not to England alone, but to those who loved the Mother Country best. The Australians regarded England in the same way as a young man looked upon his mother; there might be some waverers, but how would any one of those present like a man to strike his mother in the face? And they might depend upon it that if any big Power struck England in the face, there was not an Australian who would not spring to the front and strike with all his might for England. Did they mean to tell him that the act of imposing a protective tariff was to prevent Imperial Federation for the purpose of mutual defence? He believed that to be the purest dream of Mr. Bright. There existed a protective tariff at the gates of the city of Paris. The *octroi* duties were very heavy; Paris charged the rest of France a great price for the privilege of selling in her markets, but did any one mean to say that, therefore, Paris would not join the rest of France in opposing a common enemy? The Colony of Victoria imposed a heavy price upon the people of New South Wales for the privilege of selling goods in Victorian markets, but if any foreign Power attacked New South Wales, the men in Victoria would rise in her defence. The policy of adopting a protective tariff was not entitled to be called a hostile policy at all, and it was folly to think that that should prevent the connection of England with the Colonies for the purposes of mutual defence. He agreed that a man who would come forward with any cut-and-dried scheme, which he thought to be perfect in every form, would be a contemptible sciolist; but he would go so far as to say this—that if, by a reconstruction of the House of Lords, say, England obtained the best



representatives of the Colonies in one of the Houses of Legislature, and if those representatives were given posts among the Privy Councillors of the Sovereign, so that the voice of the Colonies could be effectively heard in all matters of international policy, he knew that the Colonial subjects of the Queen would be amongst the readiest to offer all the life or treasure which the country required for the common defence of the Empire. (Applause.)

#### DIFFICULTIES MADE TO BE OVERCOME.

Those who favoured Imperial Federation were met with an everlasting talk about difficulties, but difficulties were made to be overcome; public officials were paid to overcome difficulties—(laughter)—and politicians were elected to overcome difficulties with which they might meet. The question was no longer one of Federation alone, but it was a question of Federation or Separation. (Hear, hear.) He had spoken of the questions which had arisen with regard to the New Hebrides and New Guinea, and another difficulty had arisen with regard to Chinese immigration. He wanted those present to remember this—every time the Mother Country and the Colonies were tempted to make alliance upon any national questions, there arose the imminent danger of Separation, and those questions would go on increasing and multiplying, and if they would not invent a Federation League, through which all parties might make their claims and wishes known, and get their opinions represented, there would be separation between those who wanted to be brothers, and who wanted to be one, in order that they might be peaceful and strong. Was there anybody present who was so ignoble and so unpatriotic that in an age, as described by Cambridge's learned Historical Professor—who in such an age as that would think Separation to be no calamity? He (the Bishop) thought it would be a calamity, and the only course which they could take to prevent it was Imperial Federation. Let England and the Colonies have Imperial Federation, that, as a great Empire, England, in conjunction with that other great Anglo-Saxon Empire—the Republic of the West—might, allied in hopes and feelings, place the hand of strong repression upon all autocratic, and dynastic, or ministerial ambition, and so lead the nations of Europe and the world into that great millennium of peace for which every good man must pray. (Cheers.)

### LEAGUE MEETING AT ORILLIA.

#### MEMORIAL ADOPTED IN FAVOUR OF IMPERIAL PENNY POSTAGE.

THE first monthly meeting of the Orillia branch of the League was held on Friday, June 8th, in Quinn's Hall. DR. J. A. MCLEAN occupied the chair and thanked the members for the honour done him in choosing him as Chairman of the League, expressing deep interest in the movement, and a strong desire for its success. Routine business was quickly disposed of by the Secretary, MR. C. L. STEPHENS.

The REV. W. GALBRAITH, LL.B., then delivered an interesting, instructive, and patriotic address. He said the subject was new, and the time for study brief, but it was one of such importance that every patriotic Briton would feel proud to bring forward thoughts upon it, and from the discussion thus evoked they might look forward to some practical scheme for the consolidation of our vast Empire. The Imperial Federation movement was calculated to foster feelings of patriotism. When we looked back to the example of pagan nations which had attained the highest degrees of civilisation, whose achievements in war or peace were commemorated and commended in history, we found that they fostered the patriotism of their people. The Spartans assembled, their aged men recounted what they had done for Sparta, the young men came forward, declared their determination to emulate the worthy deeds of their fathers, and the boys marched past proclaiming their veneration for their country and determination, when their opportunity came, of excelling in valour and patriotism all who were before them. In the days of Imperial Rome, the word "I am a Roman" implied all that was brave and patriotic. How much more should Britons, in whatever part of the world, be proud of their Empire, the greatest in war or peace the world had ever seen. One of the results of Imperial Federation would certainly be the drawing closer of the trade relations between various parts of the Empire. That was a branch of the subject upon which Mr. Galbraith spoke with special diffidence, since it was not in the line of his accustomed study. But it appeared to him that free trade between countries—the one populous and wealthy, the other smaller in numbers and development—might or might not prove beneficial to the latter, according to circumstances. If both were similar in products and requirements, the effect upon the smaller country must prove injurious. If dissimilar, beneficial. Commercial Union with the United States, leaving out of view the undesirable political results, must, he thought, prove injurious. The products of both countries were largely similar. Already we had as much of free trade with our neighbours as was good for us. Eggs, the largest item of export which they required and we had to dispose of, were admitted to the States free of duty. The early fruits which they had to sell and we required were admitted to Canada without duty. That was done by each Government, for the benefit of its own people. A large proportion of our exports to the United States were re-exported to other countries, and he did think that it would be more beneficial for our people to export them direct to the consumers. Free trade with the Mother Country, on the other hand, meant intercourse between the farmer and the merchant. Britain produced merchandise and required farm products. At present, fifty per cent. of Canada's trade was with the Mother Country, forty per cent. with the United States, and ten per cent. with other countries. Imperial Federation meant giving the Colonies and dependencies a voice in the foreign policy of the Empire. The population of the Colonies and dependencies—notably of Canada and Australia—was increasing much more rapidly than that of the

United Kingdom, and already exceeded it by more than six to one, yet the latter had sole control of the foreign policy of the whole. Mutual consideration of mutual interests in the domestic and foreign policies of such an Empire was manifestly desirable. Such a federation could be made without consultation with foreign nations. The various Governments of our sovereign could enter into it without violation of treaty relations with any foreign country. It would strengthen Canada, so that, instead of the Americans dictating upon what terms we may deal with them, if any dictation were to be done we could do it. With the markets of the Empire open each to the other, Britain would possess within herself all the requirements of life in peace or war, and need trouble herself little regarding the trade policy of other countries. At present, Canada charged a duty averaging sixteen and a half per cent. upon imports from the United States, while the latter charged thirty-three and a half per cent. upon her imports from Canada. Our neighbours were not content to deal with us upon equitable terms. Again, the duty at present collected upon imports from the United States would, under Commercial Union, have to be raised by direct taxation, thereby falling upon the farmer and the mechanic, the very classes who would benefit nothing by the opening up of the rival markets of the United States. If Canada would gain nothing by a fusion commercially with the United States, he need scarcely say that politically and morally she would be a great loser.

The speech was heartily applauded, and at the conclusion the CHAIRMAN said that he had listened with great pleasure to the address, and agreed with all except Mr. Galbraith's trade policy. He did not think the Americans dictated to Canada, nor would they be inclined to.

MR. BLACK, in moving a vote of thanks, said, the subject being new, full discussion of every phase was desirable, and though they might not agree on all points, he had listened to the address with interest, and thought the League under a deep debt to Mr. Galbraith for the study he had evidently given the question in the midst of a busy fortnight. One kind of reciprocity with the States he would fain see done away with, that in defaulters and swindlers.

MR. A. G. ROBINSON, C.E., thought the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty and the non-intercourse law showed a desire on the part of the Yankees to dictate to Canada, and Imperial Federation would prove a shield against such dictation, which was a vastly different thing from our wishing to dictate to them. Canada strong enough to deal where she chose would not be in any danger of having non-intercourse laws aimed at her in the hope of coercing her into political alliance with her neighbours.

The telegram from the Secretary of the League, announcing the resolution of the Executive Committee at the meeting on June 7th, as reported by us in our last number, was then read.

A discussion ensued on Mr. Henniker Heaton's projected penny postage throughout the Empire, which was heartily approved of. The Canadian Postmaster-General came in for some mild criticism for not accepting the offer of the Imperial Postmaster-General for an exchange of postal notes, or making any effort for obtaining a reduction of the rates of letter postage between Canada and Australia. MR. ROBINSON pointed out that the fear of rendering the department a burden upon the taxpayers often delayed such reforms, which he regarded as desirable. MR. JAMES JACKSON referred to the time when the single letter rate between Canada and Scotland was fifty cents. The lower postal rates had been of great benefit, and every encouragement to frequent communication between all parts of the Empire should be given. He rejoiced to see the League formed, and predicted Canada would never regret the closest union with the Empire. The CHAIRMAN and SECRETARY were requested to draw up a memorial to the Postmaster-General in favour of the postal reforms mentioned.

The HON. CHARLES DRURY will, it is hoped, address the next meeting, and the Chairman that following. The members are also invited to discuss any question bearing upon the objects of the League, and all are welcome to the meetings.

We regret to find that in our issue of June last, the name of Councillor Croker was given as W. H. Crocker.

THE Halifax dry dock is being pushed on vigorously, and the contractors hope if nothing unforeseen occurs to complete it this year. It will be one of the largest docks in the world, and is estimated to cost close upon a quarter of a million sterling.

At his recent visit to the Quebec Militia Camp of Exercise, Sir Adolphe Caron, Dominion Minister of Defence, discussing his own race, said to the 4,000 citizens assembled on the occasion, that the French Canadians were proud to claim, with other nationalities, a common heritage in this great country. They were proud, too, to live under such a flag as that of Great Britain, which granted equal rights to all. After Canada had been ceded to England, the United States endeavoured to induce the French-Canadians to seek shelter under the Stars and Stripes; but they refused, because they found a better protection under the folds of the Union Jack, and they were free to enjoy all the rights and liberties so dear to them as a people. As they had been true to France, they did not prove traitors to England, of which they furnished proofs in 1812. They refused to encourage the American cause and stood by the British flag; and this they are doing to-day, in the full knowledge and enjoyment of the liberties and privileges which make a people happy and contented.



## NOTICES.

THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

The annual payment of Five Shillings ensures inscription upon the Register of the LEAGUE, and the receipt of the JOURNAL of the LEAGUE monthly, post free.

The annual payment of One Guinea ensures inscription upon the Register, and the receipt of all the publications of the LEAGUE (JOURNAL included) as they are issued.

The annual subscription to the JOURNAL may begin with any number, to cover twelve months from that date. It will be sent post free the world over for the subscription of Four Shillings, payable in advance.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be obtainable through any bookseller. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining it, the SECRETARY of the LEAGUE should be communicated with, when the matter will be at once attended to.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire should become members of the LEAGUE, and promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves and introducing it to their friends.

The JOURNAL can now be sent at the 2 oz. rate.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London, W.

## Imperial Federation.

AUGUST 1, 1888.

### NOTES AND COMMENTS.

PERHAPS it would not be a paradox to say that the condition of affairs in South Africa is at present somewhat more satisfactory than usual. It is true that just at this moment we have one more little war on our hands; but that is nothing so far out of the common as to call for special notice. What is unusual is that the authorities appear to be on the alert at the very outset, and resolute that the little war shall not grow by neglect into a considerable-sized one. Further, there seems to be an awakening consciousness—not only in the Government and in the House of Commons, but throughout the country—that we have failed in South Africa while we have succeeded in India, because in India we have had a policy and in South Africa we have had none. We have sent men to India to govern; in South Africa our Governors have been employed to "show us how to get out of" governing. Signs are not wanting that we have begun to realise that this policy has failed because it was bound to fail, and because it deserved to fail. And perhaps the day when we shall boldly assume our responsibility for the Dominion of South Africa, and administer the affairs of the native territories by Imperial residents, in the interests alike of the native populations and the Imperial exchequer, may not be as far distant as some of the "volunteers" and freebooters might wish to think it.

IN the Journal of the Bankers' Institute of Australasia, of all unlikely places, by special invitation of the editor, who describes the subject as "pregnant with interest," a very lively contest has been waged for some months past. A correspondent writing under the initials "F. A. L." roundly charges Downing Street with "imbecility, want of knowledge, and absolute disregard of Colonial interests," and declares that England will be justly punished for allowing France to get a footing in New Caledonia, and Germany in New Guinea, by Australia cutting the painter in the near

future. To "F. A. L." replies an "Australian Imbecile" pointing out that the fact that the two strongest powers of the Old World have established themselves within striking distance of the Australian coasts is a somewhat Hibernian reason for resigning all claim to the protection afforded by the British navy. "F. A. L." rejoins "that with the exception of the continued irritation from New Caledonia, its menace as a base of operations, and possible friction with our German neighbours of New Guinea, the geographical position of Australia is such that the possibilities of troubles with other countries are almost *nil*." To this even an "Imbecile" has little difficulty in replying that were the possibilities of trouble with every other country not only almost but absolutely *nil*, the menace of attack by France and Germany alone would necessitate a larger expenditure on defence than Australia is prepared for at the present moment. Our readers must judge for themselves which of the two disputants has the best of the argument.

LORD KNUTSFORD has many a time done yeoman's service to the cause of Imperial Federation, but he has seldom done us a better turn than in inducing LORD STRATHEDEN and CAMPBELL to postpone, we trust only as a prelude to withdrawal, the motion of which he gave notice a week or two back. The COLONIAL SECRETARY is no doubt correct in thinking that it is not desirable that any abstract discussion of the relation between the Mother Country and the Colonies should take place just at present. In any case, it is surely not presumptuous for us to think that the League has had more to do both with the convocation and with the success of the late Conference than has LORD STRATHEDEN and CAMPBELL, and to claim that if a discussion is to be raised at all, it had better be left to men like LORD ROSEBERY, LORD CARNARVON, or LORD BRASSEY, who not only can represent the League, but also have some right to claim familiarity with the drift and tendency of Colonial opinion.

FOLLOWING our custom of placing before our readers each month a complete record of references made in the press to Imperial Federation, we have in another column printed certain letters which have appeared elsewhere, and are commonly spoken of as the "RHODES Correspondence." In order, however, to avoid possibility of any misunderstanding arising from the publication of matter which has appeared in any other papers, or of correspondence in which questions of a party character are in any way associated with Imperial Federation, we have adopted a head note to which we draw special attention. Under this heading we shall, for the future, place all correspondence and extracts from other papers, and we feel sure the members of the League will agree that while it is necessary to secure in the Journal a complete record of all references made elsewhere to Imperial Federation, too much caution cannot be exercised to prevent the slightest misapprehension from the republication of matter referring to Imperial Federation, but accidentally introducing questions which, being of a party character, are entirely outside the limits, aims, and objects of the League.

IN another column we give a letter that has been addressed on behalf of the League to the bishops attending the Pan-Anglican Conference—a letter that we are glad to say has resulted in enlisting several new episcopal recruits into the service of a cause that counts a bishop—of Manchester, and an archbishop—of Halifax, amongst its foremost and most eloquent champions. But the Anglican is not the only national church in Great Britain, and a similar welcome has been addressed also to the fathers of



the Presbyterian Church who have been meeting in London from all parts of the world almost simultaneously with their Anglican brethren. Presbyterian ministers have on many occasions championed our cause on public platforms, but we are always ready to enrol fresh names. Meanwhile, we are glad to note that among the hospitalities extended to the Pan-Presbyterian Conference was a reception by a member of our Council, LORD ABERDEEN, at Dollis Hill.

LORD ROSEBERY was again at home at the rooms of the League on Monday, July 16th, this time to all the members of the Council. Over a hundred members were present in the course of the evening, among them being LORD CARNARVON, LORD ABERDEEN, LORD HERSCHEL, the BISHOP of MANCHESTER, MR. DALTON MCCARTHY, President of the League in Canada, MR. DOWNES CARTER, President in Victoria, SIR HENRY BARKLY, SIR GEORGE BOWEN, MR. OSCAR BROWNING, PROFESSOR BRYCE, M.P., SIR CHARLES CLIFFORD, SIR JOHN COLOMB, M.P., SIR JOHN COODE, MR. A. RAYMOND HEATH, M.P., MR. ELLIOTT LEES, M.P., MR. O. V. MORGAN, M.P., MR. S. V. MORGAN, MR. JAMES RANKIN, M.P., SIR RAWSON RAWSON, SIR JOHN SIMON, M.P., SIR FREDERIC YOUNG, MR. A. H. LORING, and many others. There was but one opinion expressed as to the benefit that the League had derived from moving into new quarters so admirably adapted for the purposes of a reception, and from the hospitality of the President in affording members an opportunity for personal intercourse and friendly interchange of views that could never find utterance at any formal dinner.

ELSEWHERE we publish a letter protesting against the suggestion that the Agents-General should have seats in the House of Lords. We cannot agree with our correspondent that LORD ROSEBERY's proposal would be a violation of our constitution, which reserves the "existing rights of local Parliaments as regards local affairs." The Parliament that meets at Westminster is not merely a local one, it is also, at the same time, the Imperial Parliament. Among its existing rights is that of exercising authority over all parts of HER MAJESTY'S dominions. Our correspondent, however, may make his mind easy on the subject. Our PRESIDENT'S proposal has not only not been adopted as a plank of the League platform, but as far as we are aware has never so much as been formally discussed. In making the suggestion, LORD ROSEBERY, we take it, was speaking, not as President of the League, but as a reformer of the House of Lords. And it is quite possible to hold with LORD ROSEBERY, that the Agents-General would be a valuable addition to the House of Lords, and at the same time to agree with the leading article which we quoted last month from the *South Australian Register*, that it would not be in the interests of the Colonies to allow these officers to assume that position.

WE have received from MR. J. D. WANLISS, of Ballarat, a long letter, "respectfully but firmly protesting" against the conclusion of the Executive Committee, as reported by us in March last, that the colloquial use of "English" and "England" in place of "British" and "Great Britain and Ireland," or shortly "Britain," cannot fairly be considered as in any way a slight to the other members of the United Kingdom. We regret that it is impossible for us to find room for MR. WANLISS'S letter, which we would gladly have done, had it only been in order to show our anxiety to be even more than impartial in considering the rights of the weaker members of the Empire. In assuring MR. WANLISS of our determination never in these pages to use one word that can tend to promote ill-feeling between those whom

it is our mission to unite, we would point out to him that, though Acts of Parliament may settle the formal style and title of a country, it is only usage that can decide the name that shall be used in common parlance. Foreigners assuredly have no desire to "flatter the national vanity of a certain class of Englishmen," and yet, though in treaties and protocols they speak of *Grossbritannien* and *Grande Bretagne*, their newspapers talk habitually of *Angleterre* and *England*. Or, again, we distinguish every day (in default of a better word) between London and the Provinces, without wishing to imply that Birmingham and Manchester are politically dependent on the Metropolis. It is surely inconceivable that any one who knows what Scotchmen and Irishmen have done in India and China, in Canada and Australia, in building up that Greater Britain which is our common heritage, should wish to claim the glory and the fruition of it for England exclusively. At any rate, a glance at the list of names of our Council should satisfy the most suspicious that the Imperial Federation League, at least, is not likely to make this mistake.

THE miller in Æsop's fable who, in his desire to satisfy public opinion, ended in carrying the ass on whose back he had intended to ride to market, had an easy time of it compared to the editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION. We have called the inhabitants of these islands "Englishmen," and MR. WANLISS reproves us for "flattering the vanity of a certain class of Englishmen." Then we tried "Britisher." Our readers see the result in a letter we publish elsewhere. It would be easy to confine "Englishman" to the inhabitants of England, and to use "Briton" or "Britisher" to express the citizens of the Empire, if only some of our correspondents would supply us with a new name for the inhabitants of the United Kingdom as a whole. "Anglo-Scot" would most naturally mean one who is English by birth, Scotch by training (*cf.* Anglo-Indian); an "Anglo-Celt" might equally well be a citizen of the United States. For our own part we confess we see no way out of the difficulty. Perhaps some of our readers can help us.

IT would be unfair to hold an editor too closely responsible for everything that is published as from "Our London Correspondent," but it is still worth notice that the inhabitants of Sheffield were supplied the other day with some valuable information as to the status of MR. RHODES. "He is," says "Our London Correspondent," "the representative of a Crown Colony, who has occupied an important official position." Whether, however, this is to be construed as meaning that the Cape is a Crown Colony, or that MR. RHODES was, or is, the elected representative of the Bechuanas, is not quite as clear to the reader as might perhaps be desirable. Would it be uncharitable to suppose the reason to be that the point was not quite clear to the writer himself?

WE print elsewhere a communication we have received from MR. CHARLES STEWART, of Winnipeg, whom we described in our June number as a Colonial misrepresentative. Whether MR. STEWART be representative or misrepresentative, we have certainly no wish that he should be misrepresented in our columns, so we gladly publish his letter. But we really cannot find room either for his election address or for the letter which he has addressed to the Editor of *Siftings*. From the latter document we learn that that journal, too, has been under a misapprehension, since MR. STEWART "happens to be the very opposite of an Annexationist," viz., an Imperial Federationist, and that he "was brutally assaulted by a mob of supposed intelligent citizens," who, finding him in the chair at a meeting of a "secret



secessionist society called the Anti-Confederation League," were so unreasonable as to suppose that he was in harmony with its objects. From the election address to his "fellow working-men in North Winnipeg," we learn, further, that MR. STEWART is "Hon. Sec., St. George's Society; graduate of Cambridge and Manitoba Universities; Foreman of the District Assembly, Knights of Labour, &c." Seeing that the editors of two local newspapers have shared with the rest of their "supposed intelligent" fellow-citizens an inability to understand the working of so Protean a mind, we feel sure that MR. STEWART will not reproach us for being guilty, at a distance of 4,000 miles, of a similar want of accurate understanding. In the last few days, however, MR. STEWART has announced to us his desire to be enrolled a member of the League. We will not say we trust his wanderings will here have end, for MR. STEWART assures us that his heart has always been steadfast in this faith, but rather express our hope that his neighbours will not so cruelly misunderstand him in the future.

THE emigration statistics are published for the first half of the year 1888. There is not in them very much of special note, unless it be the fact that in spite of the paragraphs about the phenomenal emigration to the States that went the round of the papers a month or two back, the increase in the figures from the United Kingdom is only from 108,000 to 100,000, while from Ireland in particular there is actually a decrease. On the whole, it may be said that immigration into the States is advancing slowly, into Canada rapidly, while into Australia it is actually retrograding. Perhaps the most striking point is that the number of Foreigners entering Canada increased for the six months from 7,000 to 10,300, and for the month of June, from 1,600 to 2,600. Even Yankee newspapers admit that a few of these people are not merely passing through to the States.

THE annexation of two Christmas Islands within a period of a few months has been too much for the geography of some of the London papers, which have, apparently, seen no particular difficulty in a sudden incursion of the squadron on the East Indian station into the South Pacific. Christmas Island No. 2 lies two hundred miles south of Java, and is described as of no special strategic importance, "though it might be irritating to have any other flag over it than our own." On the other hand, its guano and cocos give it some commercial value; while to the physical geographer it is one of the most interesting places in the world. Cliffs of coral—steep, and in places almost inaccessible—rise from their base, upon the crater of an extinct volcano, to a height of over 1,100 feet above sea-level. There is no water on the island—on which man has, apparently, never lived—and its principal inhabitants are rats and land-crabs.

IN an elaborate and careful article occupying four columns of its space, the *Empire* points out that "the United States dare not go to war with Great Britain," as "not one of the great seaports of the United States is safe against an attack by ironclads." "A blockade of New York by a British fleet would produce an insurrection within a week." As for an invasion of Canada, the Canadian Militia, reinforced of course by the Imperial troops, could give a good account of any army the States might venture to despatch. From all this the *Empire* concludes, "our position in Canada is entirely secure, as long as Britannia rules the waves, and we remain under the British flag." The *Empire* of course is only concerned to knock down the arguments of the Commercial Union "people," who are at present occupied in a patriotic endeavour to prove that Canada had better

surrender her independence by fair means lest her neighbours destroy it by foul; but to us in England it may come as a not unwholesome tonic to read calculations which assume that England will occupy the position, not of invaded, but of invader. Let us only hope that those in France who desire to invade England are as few as those in England who desire to invade America, and we can then feel satisfied that as far as we are concerned the peace of the world is safe—for the next century or two, at any rate.

IN another column of the same issue the *Empire* publishes a letter from COLONEL HAMILTON, "late of British Columbia," protesting strongly against the decision of the Home Government to adhere to Esquimalt in preference to Burrard Inlet as our naval base on the Pacific. "Although not a commissioned military engineer," writes COLONEL HAMILTON, "I may possibly know as much about fortifications as LORD ELPHINSTONE does—that is, at least, when I know, and he does not know, the *locus* to be defended." COLONEL HAMILTON evidently is unaware, not only that LORD ELPHINSTONE is an old naval officer, but also that he was, as he stated in the House of Lords, at Burrard Inlet himself only a short while back. At the same time, LORD ELPHINSTONE was careful not to attempt to argue the matter as a question of what he personally approved or disapproved. There is evidently a great deal to be said for both places, but after all some one must in the end decide, and when the Imperial authorities, with the advice of the most experienced naval and military officers in the service, have once decided, we cannot but regret that their action should be labelled as "squandering money," and "infatuation," in the columns of a daily paper where no answer to COLONEL HAMILTON's strictures is likely to be forthcoming. On one point COLONEL HAMILTON is obviously under a misapprehension. In describing Burrard Inlet as a "rat-trap," LORD ELPHINSTONE was referring not to an attack by sea, but to an advance by land across the United States frontier.

A PARLIAMENTARY return just published shows that the English god Terminus still continues to look forward, and not backward, in Africa. According to the Act of the Berlin Conference of February, 1885, notification of all new annexations and protectorates is to be given in each instance to the signatory Powers. Since that date, Germany appears to have had nothing to notify, as no mention is made of Zanzibar in the return. France has extended her possessions in the neighbourhood of Dahomey; where, also, Portugal established a protectorate in 1885, which she has since withdrawn. England, on the other hand, has had to report, not only the annexation of Zululand, but also the acquisition of fresh territory both on the Niger and on the Somali Coast.

"BRITISH National Consolidation Attainable by adding a Suitable Crowning Executive to the Existing World-wide Edifice of British Constitutional Government" is the magniloquent title of a pamphlet by a British colonist that has reached us from Melbourne. The larger part of the pamphlet is occupied by a draft bill of forty sections, which is submitted as including "a sufficiency of what is essential for commencing a general discussion, and for initiating the practical action suggested." The author complains that the League has "restricted itself to theoretical and educational processes," and fears that the question of Imperial Federation is being "allowed to work itself out by the grand old method of drift," or that it may come to be "directed only or chiefly by the reckless needs of party politics and local politicians." Of such a disaster there are fortunately no traces whatever, and the author of these statements



must be singularly in the dark as to our work. But we must confess that the whole of this draft bill, with its forty sections and innumerable subsections, furnishes us with the strongest possible argument in favour of our position, that it would be the height of folly for the League to come forward with any cut-and-dried scheme whatever, and endeavour to press it upon public acceptance. The principle is more than any scheme; and the principle must not be involved in the discredit that would attach to any scheme which had been shown to be unworkable, or even unacceptable. Can anything, for example, be conceived as more certain to involve the League in ridicule than precipitate advocacy of section 3, subsection 5—that British Africa, the West Indies, and Central and South America should be jointly styled the Fifth Dominion of the British National Federacy! Or, section 36, that one of the Council's earliest measures should be to raise a loan of a hundred millions sterling! When British citizens at home and in the Colonies have cleared the ground by preliminary discussion, there may come a time for constitution-building. But to say that it had already arrived would only be gratuitous self-deception.

WE have commenced the practice of filing various Colonial papers at the offices in Charles Street, where members of the League may perhaps at times find it convenient to be able to consult them. Among the more important papers of the list, which we shall hope to extend from time to time, will be found the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the *Tasmanian*, the *Diamond Fields* (Kimberley) *Advertiser*, the *Toronto Empire and Mail*, and the *Montreal Gazette*.

#### PAN-ANGLICAN UNITY.

THE letter given below has been addressed by our President, on behalf of the League, to the Bishops assembled at the Pan-Anglican Synod:—

30, CHARLES STREET, BERKELEY SQUARE,

LONDON, June 30th, 1888.

MY LORD BISHOP,—The assemblage at this time of many Bishops of the English Church whose dioceses are situated in those parts of the British Empire beyond the seas, brings forcibly to mind the important part which the Church has always taken in the history of that Empire, and suggests that the co-operation and assistance of the Fathers of that Church might be not unreasonably solicited towards the promotion of an object which is so largely bound up, not only with the continued prosperity, but even with the very existence of the Empire, as is that of Imperial Federation.

The Federation aimed at by this League is "the closest possible union of the interests ruled by the British Crown, consistent with that national free development which is the birthright of British subjects all over the world—the closest union in sympathy, in external action, and in defence."

Working towards this object the League has already brought about the assembly, last year, in Conference with Her Majesty's responsible Ministers, of the officially accredited representatives of the various self-governing Colonies, which has resulted in the adoption of important practical measures that tend to the recognition and advancement of their common interests.

The League also claims to have produced, during the three years it has been in existence, an entire change in public opinion and in the attitude of the Press in this country upon questions affecting the distant portions of the Empire, which are now discussed with a feeling of sympathy and identity of interest previously unknown.

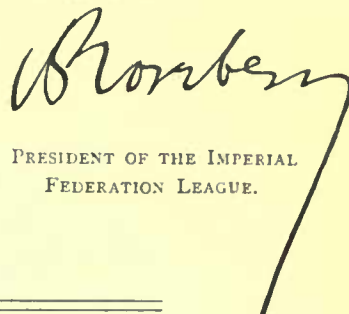
It is in the promotion of this feeling that the powerful assistance of your Lordship and the Clergy of your Lordship's diocese is specially sought.

It is believed that, even without directly championing any particular scheme of Imperial Federation, the practice of regarding the Empire as One, and the future of its various

countries as inseparably bound up with one another, is in itself a powerful factor towards the attainment of the object for which this League was founded, and that the opportunities enjoyed by the Anglican Clergy of promoting this habit of thought renders their assistance of especial value.

In conclusion, it is respectfully urged upon your Lordship that, so far as the human intellect can discern, there is nothing in the affairs of this world which is so likely to realise that "Peace on earth and goodwill towards man" which it is the object of the Church to establish, as the voluntary entrance of the people of this great Empire into a Federation for the defence of common interests, the maintenance of common rights, and the fulfilment of those responsibilities which have ever been held by the British race to be attached to the possession of power.

While asking your co-operation and that of your Clergy in the furtherance of an object of such importance to the Christian world, I am also requested by the Executive Committee to invite you to give your name and support to its work by becoming a member of this League. Full particulars will be found in the accompanying papers, for which I would cordially bespeak your Lordship's attention.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, with great respect,



PRESIDENT OF THE IMPERIAL  
FEDERATION LEAGUE.

#### GREAT MEN HAVE BEEN AMONG US!

THIS is not the place for a review of a work that has been received on all hands with approval, nor can we take it upon ourselves to discuss the political career of one whose life and work was prominently before the public for a quarter of a century. To us Mr. Forster was, and must remain, not so much the great educational reformer—not even the transparently honest statesman—but the founder and first president of the Imperial Federation League. But if we notice his biography from this single point only, we may claim at least this justification: that his position was no accident, but the natural place of one who "all through his public life had been anxious to see the bonds made stronger which united England to the other portions of the Empire." "His address upon the Colonies at Edinburgh in 1875 had," says Mr. Reid, "given him an opportunity of expressing his profound sense of the imperial dignity and grandeur of our country. It was no new thing, this deep-seated idea of the glorious character of our heritage of Empire. He had been conscious of it almost from boyhood. . . . But along with the sense of the grandeur of our imperial position there had always been present a sense, not less strong, of the responsibility which it imposed upon us." Nor can his position as our President be said to have been in his own opinion a matter of secondary importance. On the contrary, Mr. Reid writes: "There was one other great question which, after the death of General Gordon, occupied the first place in Forster's mind. This was the question of the relationship of England to her Colonies." In his own diary, Mr. Forster records the first meeting of what was to develop in a few months' time into the League in the following words: "July 29th, 1884.—A noteworthy event to-day. I took the chair at the Conference on Colonial Federation at the Westminster Palace Hotel—a real success." And in the last speech he ever delivered, at Bradford, on July 2nd, 1885, occurs this sentence: "If there is one thing more than another that I hope to live for and take part in politically, it is the hope that before I die I may see the British realm, a realm extending all the world over; and her children whom she has sent out, themselves self-governing communities, united with her in a bond of peace that shall be an example to the world."

1 "The Life of the Right Hon. W. E. Forster." By T. Wemyss Reid. Two vols., 8vo. Chapman and Hall. 1888.



A letter written by Mr. Forster only a few weeks before the commencement of the illness which he never shook off must be quoted in full, not only because he wrote it, but because the sober and statesmanlike views that it embodies are as valuable to us now as they were three years ago when he wrote them :—

"HOTEL HOLLAND, BADEN-BADEN, GERMANY.

"MY DEAR SIR GEORGE BOWEN,—

"I must again thank you for your letters, and especially for the copies of the reprint of your most interesting letter of May 15th, valuable as it is both for its suggestions and for the weight of your unmatched experience. I had been intending to go to Canada this autumn, in response to an invitation from the Canadian branch of our Federation League, but Mrs. Forster is so far from well—knocked up by London and rheumatism—that I have had to bring her here for the waters.

"Our Federation movement is gaining great strength—the idea possesses men's minds; but we might throw it back greatly by any premature plan, and I am very anxious to find out the real views and wishes of leading Colonists. My own impression is that—at first, at any rate—we had better aim at concert among the Governments rather than at an Imperial Parliament. Thanks to steam and telegraph, time and space no longer make such concert very difficult, but distance does prevent a member from being fully in touch with his constituents.

"We must remember that in order to realise Federation we only need (1) an organisation for common defence, and (2) a common foreign policy. Practically great steps have been recently made, not merely as regards defence (thanks to Australian aid), but as regards foreign affairs. I do not believe that any Colonial Secretary will in the future venture to disregard any large self-governing Colony in negotiating with any foreign Government in matters affecting such Colony; and the interests and defence of our settlements, such as Hong-Kong and Singapore, will, I believe, be much more considered in future.—Believe me to remain, yours very sincerely,

"W. E. FORSTER."

"The good work," writes his biographer, "to which Forster thus devoted much of his time in the latest months of his public life is still in its infancy. Forster himself had glowing visions of its future growth. It was not given to him to live to see them realised; but if the day should ever come which sees the British Empire united in the bonds of an equitable federation, to Forster will belong the honour of having been foremost among those who planted the seeds of this mighty and most beneficent revolution." That the day will come, we of the League not only trust, but confidently expect. But it will not come just yet; few of us perhaps may live to see the coping-stone placed upon the arch of our Imperial fabric. Meanwhile we may have other presidents more eloquent, it may be, and more persuasive than Mr. Forster. But it will be impossible to have one more single-minded in his devotion to our cause. Of him we may say, as Tennyson has said of a greater, though hardly of a nobler man :—

"His life was work, his language rife  
With rugged maxims hewn from life.  
He never sold the truth to serve the hour,  
Nor paltered with Eternal God for power."

### RIVAL PROPHETS.<sup>1</sup>

It must be gratifying to the national pride of our readers to learn that, though a short hour suffices to trace the destruction at the hands of France of the Imperial fabric that it cost our fathers three hundred years of toil and danger to rear, we need only turn the tenth page of the book of fate, according to the alternative version, in order to see France already beaten to her knees as the result of a third great war with Germany, and only saved from annihilation by the resolute intervention of a neutral league under the leadership of England. It is proverbially difficult to find an umpire where doctors differ, and we have no intention of thrusting ourselves in, a new Saul among the prophets, to decide whether the French or the English forecast is the more or the less probable or improbable. But for all that, we think that valuable lessons may be drawn from the almost simultaneous appearance of these two publications.

To take the French work first, apart from the tone in

which it is written, the mere fact of its appearance and extensive sale is evidence, which it behoves us not to neglect, of the existence of a feeling that Englishmen are apt to overlook, because no counterpart to it exists in this country, an active dislike to England and desire for her humiliation. An Englishman is constrained to rub his eyes, and wonder if he is reading a fairy tale, when he finds it made a serious grievance against his countrymen that the French newspapers prefer to economise in the expensive items of cable telegrams and special correspondents by getting nine-tenths of their extra-European intelligence gratis *via* London. But in truth on every page from the first to the last there is writ large, for all who choose to read, the warning that nations of different blood and speaking different languages seldom understand one another; and it is from misunderstanding in a very literal sense that first hostility and then hostilities take their origin. It certainly would never occur to an English writer of a "Battle of Dorking" to aggravate the military difficulties with visions of a mob storming, amidst savage cries of "*A bas les aristocrates!*"—the idea looks too grotesque in its English dress—a House of Commons which had decreed itself *en séance permanente*. Or, again, can we conceive any feeling except one of stupefied astonishment that would rise in the breast of an English working-man as he read the proclamation supposed to be issued by the French Commander-in-Chief after his successful landing at Hastings? "Inhabitants of the British Isles," this remarkable document runs, "the French Republic does not wish to make war on the English people. We wish only to obtain reparation for the insults to which the minority which oppresses you has so long treated us. We wish to prevent this minority from troubling any longer the peace of the world. . . . Treat directly with us. Let the English people trample under foot this oligarchy that has not even brains to defend itself. The French Republic will acknowledge all your rights and all your claims." We have the highest respect for the intelligence of the British workman, but we honestly doubt whether one in a hundred among them would even grasp the idea that the French general—we will not say expected, but even thought it conceivable, that he would be welcomed as a deliverer by one solitary unit among the inhabitants of Great Britain. Truth compels us to add that, if any one had not only understood, but believed the proclamation, he would have been grievously deceived. For after London had capitulated to a lieutenant of cavalry, the Queen had abdicated, and the House of Lords collapsed, the French democracy levied upon their starving brethren across the Channel a war indemnity of 560 millions sterling.

But the most remarkable point in the sketch is perhaps to be found in the references to the English Colonies. At the time of the outbreak of hostilities, "the House of Commons was occupied with the famous scheme of Colonial Federation, at which the Government and Colonial delegates had been working for some months. It was a question of knitting together the vast disconnected possessions of the British Empire by a military and naval organisation which could enable them to co-operate for common defence. This was nothing less than an attempt to *coerce* the whole world" (the italics are ours). When, however, England capitulated after a few days' resistance, the whole of the English Colonies, except Australia and the western portion of the Dominion of Canada, were transferred to France. "These transfers took place without the occurrence of any serious incident." No effort of ours is needed to heighten the colouring of this scene. So little does an educated Frenchman understand what the British Empire really is, that he imagines that communities of free and self-governing Englishmen, from New Zealand to Newfoundland, can be transferred from one owner to another with no more difficulty than the Lord Mayor found in transferring to the conquerors £40,000,000 of gold that was lying in the cellars of the Bank of England.

If the English author has not been privileged to dispose of a few millions of square miles with a stroke of his pen, at least it is not of want of notice that the Colonies can complain. The work is written in the form of a series of reports supposed to be addressed by the different Cabinet Ministers to the Crown. The Ministry, we should say, belong to the great "Constitutional" party whose principle

<sup>1</sup> "The Dawn of the Twentieth Century." London: Field and Tuer, 1888. Pp. 156, price 1s.

<sup>2</sup> "Down with England (*Pius d'Angleterre*): A French Prophecy." London: Chapman and Hall, 1888. Pp. 152, price 1s.



—and, yet more remarkable, whose practice—is to “subordinate mere party ambitions to the pure spirit of patriotism.” And each minister in turn finds much to report in reference to the Colonies. The Foreign Minister tells how German New Guinea has been ceded to Great Britain in exchange for Heligoland, the Lord Chancellor testifies to the satisfaction with which the House of Lords has welcomed the recent creations of Colonial Life Peers, the Postmaster-General is able to say that the Imperial Penny Post has already begun to be a commercial success; even the Minister for Agriculture has much to tell as to the Agricultural Colleges which “concentrate their energies on the training of future colonists,” and the benefit which has resulted from the free Training Schools for Emigrants. As for the Colonial Secretary his report is full to overflowing. Australia has become a single Dominion under a Prince as Viceroy, while another member of the Royal House is installed at Ottawa.” The shipbuilding yards of Western Australia promise shortly to rival those of Chatham and Devonport,” while “the Imperial Government take full advantage of the magnificent dockyards at Sydney for the construction and maintenance of the splendid ironclads that constitute the Australian fleet.” Nor is the *personnel* of the navy, which has now become an Imperial one, unworthy of its dockyards and its ships. The Colonial seamen fully reach the British standard, training-ships are moored in the Colonial harbours, and the sons of the best Colonial families eagerly compete for naval cadetships. As for the army, the flower of our younger officers are attached to the staffs of the Colonial Governors, Colonial officers are habitually selected for the coveted posts of Royal aides-de-camp, while “it is quite the exception if we have not in this country on duty Indian and Colonial regiments whose accustomed places have been temporarily occupied by regiments from home.”

It is a pleasant picture. If it is not Imperial Federation in a strict sense, it is yet something that is very like it; while in the whole of the programme not only is there nothing to which exception could be taken by the most scrupulous stickler for local independence, but there is no single item that seems at the present moment absolutely beyond the range of practical politics. Nor *pace* the fire-eating French gentleman who denies us even the right to defend ourselves, is there one word that can threaten the peace of the world. Whether, however, the world would gain from a system of universal International Reciprocity “in contradistinction to the unswerving policy of Free Trade” all the advantages that our author evidently expects, is a point on which we are reluctantly compelled to confess ourselves by no means satisfied.

#### PROCEEDINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

THE Committee met on Monday the 16th July at 1.45. The Earl of Rosebery, President of the League, in the Chair. The monthly report of the secretary was received.

The second part of Sir Rawson Rawson's work upon the Trade of the Empire was ordered to be printed and published by the League.

The following members were elected to the council:—The Right Revs. the Bishops of Lichfield, Rochester, Grahams-town, South Africa, Adelaide, South Australia. Colonel Ronald B. Lane, Rifle Brigade, late of Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Mr. James Cropper having resigned his seat upon the Executive Committee, owing to his inability to attend the meetings, Sir William Farrer was elected to fill the vacancy.

Following the practice of previous years, the sittings of the Committee will be suspended until the third Monday in October.

A meeting of the Council has been called for July 30th, at which the President has given notice of his intention to move the following resolution:

“That the Council of the Imperial Federation League desire to take the opportunity of the arrival in London of the two Presidents of the Canadian and Victorian Leagues, to tender a cordial welcome to Messrs. McCarthy and Downes Carter, both in their individual characters and as representing two kindred associations of such importance.”

THE Governor of South Australia, in opening Parliament on May 31st, announced that he had invited the Imperial authorities to reconsider the question of the establishment of an Imperial coaling-station and arsenal at Port Darwin in preference to Thursday Island.

#### A LONG LIST OF “NOBODIES.”

As we have been credibly informed that “no one in the Colonies whose opinion is worth having thinks that Imperial Federation is practicable or even desirable,” we publish the following list of names of members of the Dominion Parliament who are members also of the Canadian League. Sir John Macdonald's name does not appear, though he was one of the founders of the League, as he is enrolled not in Canada but at home. We should add that the Senate is composed of 78 and the House of Commons of 215 members.

##### THE SENATE.

HON. GEO. WM. ALLAN, <i>Speaker</i> .....	Toronto, Ont.
“ J. R. GOWAN.....	Barrie, Ont.
“ A. MACFARLANE.....	Wallace, N.S.
“ DONALD MACINNIS.....	Hamilton, Ont.
“ JOHN SCHULTZ.....	Winnipeg, Man.
“ JAMES TURNER.....	Hamilton, Ont.

##### THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

	<i>Constituency.</i>	<i>Address.</i>
BAKER, EDGAR CROW.....	Victoria, B.C.....	Victoria.
BARRON, JOHN H.....	North Victoria.....	Lindsay, Ont.
BROWN, ADAM .....	Hamilton, Ont. ....	Hamilton.
BRYSON, JOHN .....	Pontiac .....	Fort Coulonge, Que.
CARPENTER, F. M.....	S. Wentworth.....	Stoney Creek, Ont.
CASEY, GEORGE E.....	West Elgin, Ont.....	Fingal, Ont.
CASGRAIN, P. B.....	L'Islet, Que.....	Collins St., Quebec.
CHISHOLM, DONALD.....	New Westminster, B.C.	New Westminster.
COCKBURN, GEO. R. R.....	Centre Toronto, Ont....	Toronto.
DALY, THOS. MAYNE.....	Selkirk .....	Brandon, Man.
DAVIN, NICHOLAS F.....	W. Assiniboine .....	Regina, N.W.T.
DAVIS, D. W.....	Alberta .....	Macleod, N.W.T.
DENISON, Lt.-Col. FRED C.	West Toronto.....	Toronto.
FOSTER, HON. GEO. E.		
(Minister of Finance)	Kings, N.B. ....	Ottawa.
FREEMAN, J. NEWTON.....	Queens .....	Liverpool, N.S.
GORDON, D. W.....	Vancouver, B.C.....	Vancouver.
GUILBAUTT, EDOUARD .....	Joliette, Que.....	Joliette.
HALL, R. N. ....	Sherbrooke, Que.....	Sherbrooke.
HUOSPETH, ADAM .....	S. Victoria .....	Lindsay, Ont.
KENNY, THOS. E.....	Halifax, N.S.....	Halifax.
MCCARTHY, D'ALTON.....	N. Simcoe, Ont.....	Toronto, Ont.
MCDONALD, JOHN ARCH.	Victoria, N.S.....	Baddeck, C. B., N.S.
MACDOWALL, D. H. ....	Prince Albert, N.W.T.	Prince Albert.
McKAY, ALEX.....	Hamilton, Ont.....	Hamilton.
MACKEEN, D.....	Cape Breton .....	Little Glace Bay, N.S.
MACDOUGALD, JOHN .....	Pictou, N.S.....	Pictou.
MCNEILL, ALEX.....	North Bruce, Ont.....	Warton, Ont.
MADILL, FRANK .....	N. Ontario .....	Beaverton, Ont.
MASSON, JAMES, Q.C.....	N. Grey .....	Owen Sound, Ont.
MILLS, JOHN B.....	Annapolis.....	Annapolis Royal, N.S.
MONTAGUE, W. H., M.D.	Haldimand .....	Dunville, Ont.
O'BRIEN, LT.-COL. WM.....	Muskoka, Ont.....	Shanty Bay, Ont.
PATTERSON, JAMES C.....	North Essex, Ont.....	Windsor, Ont.
PERLEY, W. D.....	E. Assiniboine.....	Wolsely, N.W.T.
REID, JAMES .....	Cariboo, B.C.....	Quesnelle, B.C.
ROSS, A. W.....	Lisgar, Man.....	Winnipeg, Man.
SCARTH, W. B.....	Winnipeg, Man.....	“
SHAKESPEARE, NOAH .....	Victoria, B.C.....	Victoria.
SHANLEY, WALTER .....	S. Grenville, Ont.....	Montreal.
SKINNER, C. N.....	St. John, N.B.....	St. John.
SMITH, SIR DONALD A.....	Montreal West, Que.....	Montreal.
SMITH, WM.....	S. Ontario .....	Columbus, Ont.
STEVENSON, JAMES .....	Peterborough, Ont.....	“
TISDALE, DAVID .....	S. Norfolk, Ont.....	Simcoe, Ont.
TUPPER, HON. CHAS. H.		
(Minister of Marine and Fisheries).....	Pictou, N.S.....	Halifax.
TYRWIHT, LT.-COL.....	S. Simcoe, Ont.....	Bradford, Ont.
WALLACE, N. C.....	W. York, Ont.....	Woodbridge, Ont.
WARD, H. A.....	East Durham .....	Port Hope, Ont.
WELDON, C. W.....	St. John, N.B.....	St. John.
WELDON, R. C.....	Albert, N.B.....	Halifax, N.S.
WOOD, JOHN F.....	Brockville, Ont.....	Brockville.
WOOD, JOSIAH.....	Westmoreland, N.B....	Sackville, N.B.

#### ANNUAL MEETING OF THE STATE COLONISATION SOCIETY.

THE Earl of Meath presided at the annual meeting of the National Association for Promoting State Colonisation which was held at the Society of Arts on the 28th June last. Amongst those present were the Earl of Fife, Lord Mount-Temple, Lord Brassey, Lord Sandhurst, the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, Sir Charles Tupper, Sir Francis Dillon Bell, Sir William Houldsworth, M.P., Sir John Colomb, M.P., Mr. George Dixon, M.P., Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., Mr. Seton-Karr, M.P., Colonel Howard Vincent, M.P., Sir Edward Walter, Sir Frederick Young, Sir Francis De Winton, Louisa Lady Goldsmid, Mr. F. D. Mocatta, Miss Emily Faithfull, General Bray, the Hon. Mrs. E. Joyce, Mr. J. Maudsley of the Salford Trades Council, and Mr. J. Patterson of the Miners' Association, Durham.

The report which was read by the Secretary referred to the rapid progress of the Association. The most important step taken being the formation of a Parliamentary Committee consisting of 160 members of both Houses of Parliament.

The Chairman having dwelt upon the importance of the work of the Association, Lord Brassey moved the adoption of the report, which was seconded by the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, and supported by Mr. J. Maudsley and Sir F. Dillon Bell, Agent-General of New Zealand, who declared his hearty sympathy with the object of the Association.



The following resolution was moved by Sir Charles Tupper, High Commissioner for Canada:—"That this conference cordially thanks the Government for its recognition of the importance of 'Emigration' as evidenced in clause 66 of the Local Government Bill." He remarked that he could heartily support the resolution. He could hardly suppose that any Government could exist in this country that showed itself unmindful of the importance of emigration. If there was one question which ought to obtain the hearty support of the Government of a country like this, it was the question of emigration. What had they found? They saw the great Empire of Germany exploring the most remote quarters of the globe to find some place to which German emigrants might go without becoming foreigners to the Fatherland. And why? Because they knew that, notwithstanding the unqualified hostility of the Government of that country to emigration, every year saw no less than 300,000 of their people seeking homes in other lands where, in the absence of a German Colony to which they might go, they became not only foreigners, but were identified with countries which at any moment might be placed in a position of hostility. What was the position of England, on the other hand? Why, in the great Provinces of Australasia and in the great Dominion of Canada, England had the advantage of possessing the finest fields for colonisation to be found in any part of the globe, and she had the satisfaction of knowing that when from these overcrowded islands her sons were obliged to seek shelter in other countries, they had, under the same flag and under the same institutions, the most inviting countries which could possibly attract emigrants. (Applause.) No duty could be more imperative upon those who administered the affairs of the British Empire than that of cultivating and fostering every means by which those who required to leave this country might be assisted in building up national wealth in other parts of the Empire. Attention had been drawn to the fact that every emigrant that settled to the north of the boundary line on the continent of North America consumed four or five times as much of the product of British industry as he did if he settled to the south of that boundary line. That was an additional reason why every effort should be made to send emigrants to Canada rather than to the States. There was another consideration scarcely less important, and that was the question of the defence of the Empire. The British army and navy required the careful consideration of English statesmen; but there was a greater and more potent defence of the Empire than even ships, and guns, and fortifications. It was the sending out of stout hearts and strong arms of Britons to establish great and powerful communities in other parts of the Empire over which Her Majesty's flag was unfurled. Therefore, there was no duty more imperative resting on the Government of this country than to aid by every possible means such work as would result in the greatest good to England and her Colonies. (Cheers.) The Canadian Government would at all times be prepared to co-operate with the Imperial Government in any practical scheme of Colonisation. (Cheers.) The resolution was seconded by Mr. G. Dixon, M.P., and supported by Mr. Seton-Karr, M.P.

On the motion of the Earl of Fife, seconded by Sir William Houldsworth, M.P., and supported by Mr. W. Patterson of the Miner's Association, Durham, a resolution was passed urging upon the Government the importance of legislation for the carrying out of a comprehensive scheme of colonisation in conjunction with Colonial Governments.

Lord Sandhurst moved, and Sir John Colomb, K.C.M.G., M.P., seconded, a resolution thanking the 160 members forming the Parliamentary Colonisation Committee for their valuable services. This having been passed Lord Mount-Temple moved a vote of thanks to the chairman for presiding, and the proceedings came to a conclusion.

### THE COMING OF AGE OF THE DOMINION.

A DINNER in celebration of the twenty-first anniversary of the Canadian Federation was held on the evening of July 12th, at the Hôtel Métropole, under the presidency of Mr. McLeod Stewart (Mayor of Ottawa). Among the guests present were Lord Knutsford, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Sir Charles Tupper, G.C.M.G. (High Commissioner for Canada), Hon. Oliver Mowat, Q.C., M.P. (Premier of Ontario), Sir Adam Wilson (Chief Justice), the Hon. W. E. Sandford, Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, Q.C., M.P. (Canada), Mr. D. Macmaster, Q.C., Mr. A. Staveley Hill, Q.C., M.P., Sir Francis De Winton, K.C.M.G., C.B., Mr. J. G. Colmer, C.M.G., and Mr. A. H. Loring.

The CHAIRMAN, in proposing the toast of "The Queen," said that they had met there that night with the desire to pay honour to their great Dominion. They were at the same time animated by feelings of the strongest devotion to the Mother Land. He thought Lord Lansdowne would bear him out when he said that the loyalty of Canada was undoubted, and that there was no country over which Her Majesty ruled that had subjects more true, more devoted, more patriotic, or more loyal than her Canadian subjects. Canada was at all times prepared to send her contingent for the defence of the Empire, and the last shot would be fired by Canadians if the integrity of that Empire was ever assailed. (Loud cheers.) The toast was drunk with enthusiasm.

MR. D'ALTON MCCARTHY, Q.C., M.P., then proposed the toast of "Our Mother Country," and, in the course of his speech, observed that there had been three epochs in the history of Canada, and they were now, he believed, entering upon a fourth, and growing into a great nation. They had all felt in Canada that the rule of the Mother Country was a benignant, mild, and maternal rule, that they had the sympathy of the Old Country, that they had the experience of her wiser and riper statesmanship, and that the bond between them was a silken bond. (Cheers.) Although across the water they felt themselves rapidly growing into a great nation, they had no thought of a separate existence, their greatest aim and desire being to gain admission to a share of the responsibility of the Empire. They participated in all the benefits and the honour of the connection, and they wished also, as loyal subjects of Her Majesty, to stand shoulder to shoulder with their fellow-countrymen at home in maintaining the integrity and unity of that great Empire to which they had the honour to belong. As a Canadian, he had more than ordinary pleasure in proposing the toast which had been placed in his hands, and coupling with it the name of Lord Knutsford. (Cheers.)

LORD KNUTSFORD, who upon rising was received with prolonged cheering, remarked that to him there was a special pleasure in being present there that evening. While they were celebrating the anniversary of the Dominion of Canada, he was also celebrating the anniversary of his political life. (Cheers.) He could say that he was present at the birth of the Canadian Dominion, having joined the Colonial Office a few days previously. He had been in the Colonial Office about three days when the different questions connected with the Dominion Bill came before him for his opinion, and it was a source of satisfaction to him that, later on, he had been able to assist, however humbly, in promoting the growth of the Dominion. He was quite sure that his presence there that evening was not necessary to assure them of the vivid and keen interest and sympathy felt by Her Majesty's Government in all that concerns the welfare and increasing greatness of the Canadian Dominion. (Cheers.) That might go without saying. If they had failed to show that sympathy it had been from some accident, and certainly not from any set purpose, because Her Majesty's Government had always taken a very great interest in the growth of the Dominion. Great Britain was proud—and justly proud—of her child, the Dominion. It would be a sad day for this country if it ever happened—and God forbid that it ever should—that we should be separated from our Colonies. (Applause.) He was sure that we might never doubt the loyalty of the Dominion, and he was perfectly certain that we were prepared to meet the wishes of its people as far as it was possible. The gentleman who had proposed the toast had spoken of the three epochs through which Canada had passed: he himself was not sure if they had not already well entered upon the fourth epoch. A Colonist, to his mind, was quite equal to a British subject. (Cheers.) He would not enter upon the question of Imperial Federation further than to say that proposals embodying its principles should more properly come from the Colonies themselves, and he was perfectly certain that any proposals that came from those quarters would be most cordially received by the Mother Country, in whose name he begged to return thanks for the loyal and cordial manner in which they had received the toast. (Cheers.)

MR. A. F. MCINTYRE, in proposing the toast of "Our Governors-General, Past and Present," observed that no country better appreciated the form of Government which it enjoyed than Canada. The idea of Imperial Federation was gaining strength every day, and nothing helped it better in Canada than the fact that such splendid men were chosen to govern that country by the authorities at home.

The MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE, whose rising was the signal for an outburst of enthusiastic cheering, responded. Dissociated as he was to a great extent by his position from the party politics of Canada, he wished to say how forcibly he was struck with the fact that the public men of the Dominion, although separated by wide divergencies of opinion as to the proper methods to employ, as to the proper political courses to follow, were one and all absolutely single-hearted in their belief in the greatness and importance of their country, and sincere in their desire to place at its disposal whatever services they were able to render to it. (Cheers.)

MR. DONALD MCMASTER, Q.C. (Montreal), in proposing the toast of "The Dominion of Canada," said that the institutions of the Old Country had their prototypes on the other side of the Atlantic, and as Canadians were at one with the Mother Country in the walks of peace, so would they be found ready in the hour of need to loyally help in defending the interests and integrity of the Empire. If the old flag were attacked it would then be found that the weakest link in the chain of defence for our great Empire would not be the Dominion of Canada. (Cheers.)

SIR CHARLES TUPPER, in responding, said that in the United States the country had been steeped in a bloody and terrible war to accomplish what they had done in Canada in a peaceful and practical way. The grand idea ahead of them was Imperial Federation, and he would be at all times prepared to support any suitable legislation having this object in view to the utmost of his power. (Cheers.) They had some reason to be proud of what they had already done. The Dominion might go forward and take up a position of nationality, and there was no reason why such a course should interfere with its present Constitution or with the proposal for Imperial Federation. No sane man would counsel a severance of the bonds between Canada and the Old Country: the reasons against such a course were overwhelming. He was proud of the Dominion, and proud to think that he had been privileged to take a part in the inauguration of that Constitution which they were celebrating that night. (Cheers.) That the status of Canada had been visibly raised was fully evidenced in the terms upon which they were now enabled to bring capital into the country for reproductive works.

MR. MOWAT also replied, and said that everywhere in the Dominion there was manifested a growing sentiment of nationality. They loved



that Canada of theirs. (Loud cheers.) Love for the old land would not be diminished by this growing proclivity for nationality. The Old Country was the home of their fathers, and their affection towards it could never be weakened. Their position in Canada was not yet all that could be desired, and there were a few difficulties yet to be solved. He only trusted that when they were approached their solution would be attempted by Englishmen who loved Canada and by Canadians who loved England. (Cheers.) He was gratified with the growing enthusiasm of the Canadian people—enthusiasm which was born of the fact that they were realising the strength and the greatness of the glorious country to which they belonged. (Loud cheers.)

Other toasts were drunk, and it was not till midnight that the company separated.

### FÉDÉRATION IMPÉRIALE.

LES libéraux s'efforcent de faire un épouvantail du mot de fédération impériale. Ils croient détourner par ce moyen l'attention publique de l'Union commerciale, qui est la politique ostensible de leur parti dont l'annexion est la politique secrète, et l'autre jour la *Patrie* dénonçait Mgr. O'Brien comme fédéraliste pour punir ce prélat d'avoir désavoué le langage annexionniste qu'elle lui avait prêté.

Ainsi que nous l'avons dit, l'archevêque de Halifax n'est pas fédéraliste dans le sens employé par l'organe rouge, mais celui-ci aurait été dans le vrai s'il s'était borné à dire qu'entre l'union intime avec les Etats-Unis et une union plus étroite avec l'Angleterre, Mgr. O'Brien pencherait plutôt du côté de cette dernière.

Et nous croyons que ce sentiment serait celui de l'épiscopat en général. Chaque fois que le pays s'est trouvé dans cette alternative, on a vu les évêques repousser l'amitié, la camaraderie américaine. C'est ce qu'ils ont fait dès 1775, et c'est ce qu'ils ont fait encore en 1867 lorsqu'ils recommandèrent la Confédération comme une sauvegarde contre l'annexion. Ils faut croire qu'ils ont la conviction, dans leur sollicitude et leur prévoyance de pasteurs, que le danger, pour nous, pour nos intérêts religieux et nationaux, n'est pas du côté de l'Angleterre mais du côté des Etats-Unis.

C'a été aussi et c'est encore l'opinion de nos meilleurs hommes d'état.

Nous n'avons rien à craindre de la métropole, qui n'est plus, pour ainsi dire, en état de nous nuire, et qui peut nous être d'une grande utilité. Nous n'avons pas à redouter l'absorption, ni l'écrasement, de sa part; elle ne saurait nous englober, et ses relations avec nous ne peuvent guère exercer d'influence mauvaise sur ce que nous tenons par dessus tout à conserver, sur l'héritage national qui nous est cher et pour lequel la fusion américaine signifierait la ruine.

Qu'on ne vienne donc pas essayer d'assimiler les deux unions. C'est pure moquerie.

D'abord, nous ne ressererons jamais les liens qui nous unissent à l'Angleterre que si nous y trouvons notre compte, et si jamais nous accédions à une fédération ou alliance quelconque, ce serait parce qu'elle nous serait avantageuse. Ce qui est fait est fait, et il n'est pas un de nos hommes politiques, croyons-nous, qui voudrît sérieusement d'une modification qui comporterait une rétrocession des privilèges et droits que la métropole nous a successivement reconnus. On a bien vu M. Blake réclamer jadis une fédération impériale comme celle dont parle la *Patrie*, et la Conférence libérale de Québec proposer de faire retour au gouvernement anglais du droit de veto sur nos lois provinciales, mais ce sont là des déclarations excentriques dont le peuple se moque et qu'il ne ratifiera jamais.

Qu'on se tienne donc en paix. Si, plus tard, on nous proposait une fédération où nous n'aurions rien à perdre de notre autonomie, de nos libertés, de nos conquêtes politiques ou civiles, et tout à gagner sous le rapport de la sécurité extérieure, du prestige, de l'influence au dehors, ce serait le temps d'y voir, de tout peser, discuter, examiner, et de nous décider après mûre délibération, après consultation avec les hommes sages, fussent-ils évêques ou archevêques, de préférence aux écervelés et hâbleurs soi-disant nationaux.

D'ici là il faut traiter ceux-ci avec le mépris qui leur est dû et ne voir dans leur cri de fédération impériale qu'une manœuvre hypocrite destinée à voiler leurs desseins anti-nationaux, à tromper le peuple sur ses véritables intérêts et ses véritables amis.

La fédération impériale n'existe pas actuellement, et n'existera peut-être jamais comme question de politique active, il est donc superflu de vouloir agiter cette question; mais ce qu'il importe de regarder en face, c'est le vieux spectre de l'annexion qui nous hante de nouveau, porté sur les ailes du libéralisme et couvert du manteau de l'Union commerciale.

[The above article from *La Minerve* may speak for itself, and show that M. Mercier, with his organs, *La Patrie* and *L'Etendard*, need not be unconditionally received as representing the universal opinion of our French fellow-citizens. We make no apology for giving it in the original. So much often depends on the turn of a phrase, and it might be suggested that the tone of the translation was a shade warmer or more cordial than that of the original.—ED. IMP. FED.]

### PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

*Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.*

ABERDEEN.—In the course of his speech on the occasion of the inauguration of the Wallace Monument on June 29th, Lord Lorne referred to the proposal that trustees should be authorised in all cases to invest in Colonial stocks. He strongly approved of the suggestion for various reasons. He went on to say:—Thereby I believe you will be conferring a material good upon your Empire. You will be working in the sense of that Imperial Federation which we all desire, and you will have, as I believe, an advantage accruing both to them and yourselves. In these matters, speaking of Imperial Federation, I always think it is very dangerous indeed to have any too cut-and-dry plan. It seems to me that you ought to take occasion by the hand when it comes, and to help the fortunes of your fellow-subjects in other lands, that you should not have too much of a programme of fiscal uniformity, or even of naval and military uniformity, although, I believe, your best efforts should be directed to have some system of united defence in case of trouble both by land and sea. (Cheers.) I should proceed by the manufacture of the Imperial soldier and the Imperial sailor before I ventured to touch any fiscal matters at all, but whenever a great Colony does express the wish, such as the Colonies have expressed in the matter of the recognition of their stocks for such matters as the investment by trustees, I think we should give the most favourable consideration to it, and do our very utmost for their sakes, as well as for our own, in uniting their interests with ours by such means as that. I do not think that even in Scotland, close as is the connection of many Scotchmen with Australia and Canada, we quite realise the enormous resources they have at command. In Australia they have resources even more remarkable than in Canada, for they are progressing by leaps and bounds, and, with a population of only three millions, their towns exceed three hundred thousand in population, and they are rapidly accumulating wealth in a manner unknown before in the history of the world. But take the case of Canada, which, although possessing a larger number of people, has not got so large a revenue roll. Take, for instance, the mere fact that not very long ago—only four or five years ago—I am not quite sure how it is by the last statistics, but the tonnage of vessels possessed by Canada stood the fourth on the roll of the national tonnage of the world. (Cheers.) Take another fact, in which the United States of America participate as well as Canada—the fact that on the great inter-lake canal which connects Huron and Superior, a greater amount of tonnage passed last year than passed through the Suez Canal in the same time. (Cheers.) These are facts which are almost, I think, unrealised, and which show the enormous interests which lie at the hands of our fellow-subjects in America as well as in Australia; and we should take, as I believe, every possible opportunity of helping them in any way that they like, thereby preparing for the time when their connection with us must necessarily be more of a friendly alliance than one of such close relationship as at present we happily enjoy. (Cheers.)

CHRISTCHURCH, NEW ZEALAND.—The first of a course of popular lectures under the auspices of the Philosophical Institute was delivered in the Young Men's Christian Association Hall on the evening of May 20th, when Mr. W. B. Worsfold, M.A., lectured on Imperial Federation. There was a fairly numerous attendance, and Professor Haslam presided. The lecturer treated solely of the Federation of the Mother Country with the Parliamentary Colonies, which, he pointed out, could be accomplished either by the latter being represented in the British Parliament, or by the formation of an Imperial Chamber to deal with affairs affecting the Empire as a whole. The obstacles to be overcome in order to arrive at Federation of this sort were not, he argued, greater than those which had been overcome in the union of England and Scotland, and in re-uniting the northern and southern States of the American Union. Those who denied the possibility of uniting Great Britain and the Colonies, and ultimately the whole British dominions, on the ground of their present physical separation, were guilty of the fallacy of pronouncing changes to be impossible to-morrow because they were impossible under the conditions of to-day. They took no account of the annihilation of time and space by the progress of modern science. After briefly reviewing the progress of the Federation movement, Mr. Worsfold pointed out the advantages to be derived from a system of Federation such as existed in the United States. The Australasian Colonies were not strong enough to maintain their independence against the aggression of the military nations of Europe, but federated with Great Britain they would add to the strength of the Empire, and would be strengthened themselves. The greatest benefits to both Mother



Country and Colonies would arise from a system of Imperial reciprocity, and a differential customs tariff for Imperial and foreign products. The Empire was now self-contained, and was its own natural market. It could now produce its own food. It would be far better for the Colonies to endeavour to improve their trade with the Mother Country in their wool, meat, grain, and other products, than to make premature attempts to establish industries. So also it would be better for England to impose a duty on outside productions and receive those of her Colonies free. Why should she encourage the development of the Argentine Republic instead of that of New Zealand? Mr. Worsfold concluded a most admirable lecture by observing that the ordinary methods of political agitation would doubtless bring about Federation, and by urging the cultivation of a sentiment of Imperial patriotism. A vote of thanks to the lecturer, moved by Professor Bickerton, was carried by acclamation, and a similar compliment to the chairman concluded the proceedings.

**EDINBURGH.**—A meeting of the Edinburgh and East of Scotland Branch of this Association was held on July 19th at the offices, 116, George Street, Mr. Comrie Thomson, advocate, in the chair. Among other business, preliminary arrangements were made for a large public meeting to be held in October next, for the purpose of promulgating the objects which the Association has in view, and of rousing public interest on the subject. A committee, consisting of the chairman, Sir Charles J. Pearson, the Revs. Robert Henderson and Donald Masson, Mr. John Henry, S.S.C.; Mr. John Usher and the secretary (Mr. James Simpson), were appointed to see the arrangements carried out. As the League is professedly non-political, its ultimate object, viz., to bind together the Colonies and the Mother Country by Federation, is sought to be established without the aid of party influence. It is expected that the proposed meeting will be thoroughly representative, and that it will be attended and addressed by prominent members of all political parties.

**MANCHESTER.**—The quarterly meeting of the Council of the Lancashire and Cheshire Conservative Working Men's Federation was held last month at the Conservative Club. Mr. W. Llewellyn presided, and there was a good attendance of delegates. Mr. J. A. R. Marriott, who was a candidate for Rochdale at the last election, delivered an address on Imperial Federation. He said nothing would satisfy the ultimate aspirations of Federationists except a complete political Federation—some form of central assembly to which should belong the determination of Imperial concerns, and in which all parts of the English Empire should be directly represented. Short of this there were important points of detail, such as the development of an organisation of common defence and the development of means of communication. A common tariff for the Empire was desirable, but he would not like to say it was essential to the scheme. The rapidity with which the question had come into prominence was due partly to the salutary influence of commercial adversity and partly to the rapid development of the Colonies. At present the Colonies had more to lose than the Mother Country by separation; a century hence it would be the other way, so for us this was a golden moment to draw closer the bonds of union. At present our exports to the Colonies were more than half our total exports, and our Colonial trade was increasing. The speaker discussed afterwards the social and other aspects of the question.

Mr. W. Plant (Altrincham) moved, "That in the opinion of this meeting the time has arrived when it is desirable that the question of Imperial Federation should occupy the earnest attention of the Constitutional party of this country, with a view to effecting the consolidation of the military, naval, and political elements of the Empire. It also congratulates the Ministry in having already taken action for the formation of a naval squadron for the protection of Australasia, and looks forward to a further development of such policy until the whole of the possessions of the Crown shall be included in a scheme of mutual defence and legislative union."

The resolution was seconded by Mr. W. W. Cunliffe (Gorton), supported by Mr. W. E. Bannister, and carried unanimously.

**MELBOURNE.**—A meeting of the Council of the League in Victoria was held on June 13th in the Melbourne Town Hall, Mr. W. T. Benson in the chair. Mr. John Nightingale, of Metropolitan Chambers, was appointed secretary, and Mr. W. T. Benson and Mr. J. V. Morgan were requested to act as a deputation to enrol new members.

### LEAGUE MEETING AT LAUNCESTON (TASMANIA).

A PUBLIC meeting was held in the Mechanics' Institute on May 30th, under the auspices of the Tasmanian Branch of the Imperial Federation League.

The Hon. W. Hart occupied the chair, and there was a very fair attendance, many leading citizens being present.

The Chairman briefly opened the meeting, saying he was not sufficiently conversant with the proposed scheme of Federation

to speak at length on it, though he believed the object to be a grand one. He regretted the unavoidable absence of Messrs. Beadon and Lucas, of Hobart, who would have addressed the meeting, but there were others present who could give them a great deal of information, and he called on Mr. Wm. Ritchie to move the first resolution.

Mr. Ritchie then moved:—

"That in the opinion of this meeting some form of federation is desirable, which, while not interfering with the existing rights of local parliaments as regards local affairs, will give to all parts of the Empire a voice in matters affecting all, and combine the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests and the defence of common rights." He said Imperial Federation had now become a familiar conception, and in its most comprehensive sense might be taken to mean the union of all the peoples of the various countries, States, and Colonies now or at any time hereafter forming constituent parts of the British Empire, for common protection and mutual advantage of these peoples in their relations with each other. The very idea of federation involved that of independence within certain limits of the people entering into the league. Perfect independence in all matters of domestic or internal concern was quite compatible with the idea of confederation of the peoples of the British Empire for most important of all purposes, viz., the common defence and protection. Not only might each confederating State or people enjoy perfect legislative independence in all matters of purely domestic concern, but to a great extent might regulate its commercial relations and intercourse with States both belonging and not belonging to the Confederacy. It would remain open for the Confederate States to adopt Free Trade, Protective or differential duties, without in any way affecting the great principle underlying Federation. The great object of the Imperial Federation League was not Empire in its vulgar sense, but the ensuring of liberty and protection to every State under its wings. The confederation of the British States would be the most important business ever undertaken since the world began. Representation in the Confederate Council, he thought, should be proportioned as nearly as possible to the contributions to the revenue. However important the confederation of the Australasian Colonies by themselves might be, it sank into insignificance when compared with that of the confederation of all the States and Colonies of the Empire.

Mr. G. T. Collins said this scheme of Federation was one which every Englishman should do his utmost to bring about, even though John Bright had termed it a dream. As Australians, he asked, were they not part of Great Britain, from whom they sprang, and who had given the Colonies to them. Some argued that as children left their parents when they became of age so nations separated from their originators when sufficiently grown, but this was but a catchpenny argument. Children were so educated to act independently because parents in course of time grew old and enfeebled, and needed protection from their children, and it was, therefore, necessary, but it was not so with nations. Was England, he asked, enfeebled, or in need of Australia's protection? Referring to an advertisement, "Australia for the Australians," he ridiculed the idea of Australia being separated from Great Britain, and said neither Sir H. Parkes nor any other statesman would have dared to utter the bombast which had been lately spoken with regard to the Chinese but for the knowledge that Australia was under the protection of England. Had they not been so, it would have been within the power of China to have taken Australia and said, "We will permit you to remain here under certain restrictions," instead of Australians restricting Chinese. Any country which grew in riches grew in danger of an attack, and but for England Australia would probably fall into the hands of some other Power such as Russia. He had much pleasure in seconding the motion. (Cheers.)

Archdeacon Hales followed, and in a lengthy speech contended that Australians and Englishmen were bound together by every tie, and that the former should endeavour by all means in their power to promote Federation so that the British should become a great governing race for the benefit of the world, Australia having representatives in the Great Council and taking her part in the affairs of the Empire. Mr. Hales's speech was of a very patriotic character, and received frequent applause.

At this point in the meeting a paper was read, written by the energetic secretary of the League in Tasmania, Mr. Beadon, who had found himself unable to be present. The paper meets so clearly and so fully the various objections that are taken from time to time to Imperial Federation that we must endeavour to reproduce it *in extenso* at an early date.

After a few remarks from Mr. Blundell, in which he said Australia was already a part of the British Empire, and the confederators meant additional taxation, to which Mr. Ritchie replied, the resolution was put and carried.

Mr. M. E. Robinson then moved:—

"That this meeting pledges itself to assist to the utmost in promoting the expansion of the Tasmanian Branch of the Imperial Federation League, and in supporting such steps as will tend to the continued unity of the Empire."

He made an able speech, following on the lines of previous speakers.

Mr. W. R. Marsh seconded the resolution, vigorously representing the dependence of Australia on English protection, and the advantages of one flag, one fleet, one policy, and a united British people. (Cheers.)

Mr. Gilmore supported the resolution, and in reference to a remark made by Mr. Blundell, humorously said if that gentleman really wished to fight, as he seemed to, he would be willing to oblige him, having been a member of the "Devil's Own" (the Inns of Court Volunteers) in the Old Country. (Laughter.) A vote of thanks to Mr. Hart closed the meeting.



## AUSTRALIA'S DESTINY.

AN INTERVIEW WITH MR. SERVICE.

(From the *Melbourne Herald*.)

AUSTRALIA has many politicians, and but few statesmen. Mr. James Service stands in the front rank of the statesmen of Australia. He has during a long and distinguished political career rendered eminent service, not only to Victoria, but to Australasia. To the Statute Book of the Colony, and to the marvellous progress of the community, he has contributed with wisdom and with vigour; and in the development of Australian feeling, in the promotion of national sentiment, and in the direction of patriotic aspirations, he has played a statesmanlike part. He has shown himself in hearty sympathy with the aspirations of native-born Australians.

Both Mr. Thomas Bent, M.L.A., and Mr. Justice Williams have recently asked what the phrase "Imperial Federation" really means, and the conductors of the *Herald* thought that public service would be done if the prevailing "haze" on the subject could be removed. They, therefore, decided to have leading public men seen on the subject. Mr. Service was accordingly waited on, and on the matter being represented to him he courteously consented to give a statement of his views. Mr. Service was asked, in the first place, for a definition of Imperial Federation.

You ask me, said Mr. Service, to give you a definition of Imperial Federation. Well, the phrase is self-explanatory. It simply means that the various members of the Empire shall be leagued together by treaty. A certain haziness on the subject seems to have arisen, from an erroneous notion that the phrase implies a state of subjection—in some form or other—of the outlying members of the Empire to the Government in London. This is an entire mistake. It implies precisely the contrary. Federation of any sort, Colonial or Imperial, assumes the equality of the parties federating. When the Australian Colonies federate, Tasmania and Western Australia will meet New South Wales and Victoria on equal terms, in order to discuss the conditions on which their federation will take place. And when Imperial Federation comes to be seriously discussed, Canada, Australasia, and South Africa will meet Great Britain on equal terms to determine the conditions on which the federation of the Empire shall take place.

The idea, therefore, that Imperial Federation implies in any respect or degree the continued supremacy or superiority of Great Britain over the Colonies that might join her in a Confederation must be got rid of. England would no more control them than they would control her. Imperial Federation implies the status of a sovereign or independent power on the part of each State joining the federation, and the very proposal to form an Imperial Federation, of which Australasia would be one of the members, would raise her at once to the position of a sovereign State, and would stamp the Southern Cross as a national flag.

Those, therefore, who decry Imperial Federation as hostile to the aspirations of Australians after a national life err either from want of consideration or from design. Persons in the former category may be excused for not having considered a question which is not yet regarded as a "burning" one; but those in the latter category must be carefully watched. There are some amongst us whose principle of action is "not that we love Australia more, but that we love England less," and with them "Separation" is the watchword in the Southern Pacific, as it is with their *confrères* in the North Atlantic.

I need hardly say that I am not a believer in the doctrine that Separation is the "manifest destiny" of the Australian Colonies. The "manifest destiny" of a nation is generally worked out by itself from an ideal of its own, to which it steadfastly adheres, and I sincerely trust that young Australia will think twice before adopting the idea that Separation is our "manifest destiny." This idea has originated on the mistaken supposition that without Separation we shall always remain in British leading-strings. This, everybody admits, would be an impracticable and absurd position; and were it shown to be true, every Australian, young or old, would become a Separationist. But it is not true. A federation of the Empire would leave every individual member of it the unfettered control of its own affairs, and England would no longer veto Australian Bills any more than Australia would veto English Bills.

As an entirely separate State, no doubt Australia would dominate the Pacific; but as the principal member of a British Confederation (which it would certainly become in time), it would dominate the world. In the one case we should be able to successfully defend ourselves against any single foe: in the other we would be safe against the world in arms. But we are looking far ahead. Separation or Imperial Federation are as yet in dreamland. Let us look to the present. Our more immediate "manifest destiny" is the federation of Australia, and to this end all can contribute, Separationists and Imperial Federalists alike. Their path is one up to this goal, which is still more or less remote. Let each discuss academically his favourite doctrines if he choose, but let all heartily unite in hastening the advent of that condition precedent to either Separation or Imperial Federation, viz., the union of the Australasian Colonies.

## OUR CANADIAN WIND-GAUGE.

THE *Penanguishene Herald* writes:—"The Orillians are a progressive people. They have a splendid system of waterworks and electric light, and are never slow in catching on to any new movement or fad. They have organised a branch Imperial Federation League with a fair membership, and held a meeting on Friday evening last in Quinn's Hall, when the Rev. W. Galbraith, LL.B., gave an address on the above subject. You are doing well, Orillia."—"There is no "fad" about Imperial Federation, friend *Herald*. That is the proper name of Commercial Union, and such things never get a hold upon Orillians. Come down to one of the League meetings, learn how it is done, and you will find plenty of excellent material for a branch in Penanguishene.—*Orillia Packet*.

THE able speech by Archbishop O'Brien of Halifax on Imperial Federation has attracted much attention throughout the length and breadth of the land. It is generally recognised as one of the ablest efforts made by any prelate since the time that Confederation became a fact. The principles of the League must commend themselves to all Canadians irrespective of politics.—*Kingston Daily News*.

WE doubt if a speech so exhaustive, views so statesmanlike, and sentiments so honourable and independent, have ever been expressed by any Canadian prelate during the past twenty years of our existence as a united Dominion. It was an address which appeals to the patriotic and manly instincts of the manhood of Canada, and which will live as a most valuable contribution to the accumulating mass of literature upon this great question.—*Halifax Mail*.

THERE is a probability of the Imperial Federationists, who seem to be changing into Imperial Commercial Unionists, being given the best possible opportunity of explaining and advocating their views, and of meeting the objections of those who disbelieve in them. Mr. Howard Vincent has a notice on the paper of the Imperial House of Commons that, "in the opinion of this House, the commercial union between Great Britain and Ireland, and such Colonies as may be willing to enter into it, is highly desirable in the permanent interests of the British Empire." The substitution of "such Colonies as may be willing, &c. &c.," for the usual "Colonies of Great Britain," indicates a suspicion that there are some Colonies that will have nothing to do with it. Perhaps Canada is one. At any rate, with such a motion before the House of Commons we shall learn what these good people really mean, and that will be something. The after-dinner conventionalities to which we have been referred for knowledge of Great Britain's intentions will not do in the House of Commons. The question must be reduced from airy nothings to palpable proposals, or it will be listened to once and then be buried. It will be a great day for the Imperial Federationists, but possibly what the *Empire* would call "another Waterloo."—*Montreal Herald*.

MR. PARTRIDGE states very clearly the position of the Imperial Federation agitation. It is an open question. Both Conservatives and Liberals are found in the ranks of the supporters of the idea. It cannot be fairly made a party question. Many Conservatives as well as Liberals are opposed to being identified with the organisation, while all Conservatives and most Liberals agree that Imperial unity must and shall be promoted and preserved. It is a question that will continue to be agitated, and many able men are committed, not only to the principle, but to action by means of organisations and active labours in moulding public opinion. It is, we believe, the desire of Imperial Federationists that the agitation shall be kept absolutely free from mixture with party politics in England, Canada, Australia, and wherever the movement has been inaugurated.—*Empire*.

IT will be evident to all who read the Constitution of the League that there is not a single principle embodied in it to which every citizen of the British Empire may not heartily subscribe. The movement is gathering in strength day by day; and will no doubt be productive of great permanent advantage to the Empire.—*Halifax Morning Herald*.

THE movement for Imperial Federation cannot fairly be described as spontaneous, widespread, or necessary. What this country most needs is to be allowed to work out her future on the lines of her present political status. If, in the course of time, events shall require us to make choice of another condition, we may trust to the good sense of our people that the choice may be a wise one. . . . The action incumbent on us may take other form than the federation which Archbishop O'Brien so eloquently espouses, and no course is more dignified, more manly, more fraught with benefits to ourselves and the Empire, than working out our destiny, developing our resources, and building up a strong and prosperous nation on the political lines of the present. So we say that, worthier though their aim, the Imperial Federationists are like the preachers of despair and the apostles of annexation, staying the progress of Canada in all that makes a people great and strong, by turning the public mind from the work at hand into regions of speculation from which no fruitful results can flow to compensate the losses thus involved.—*Montreal Gazette*.

PEOPLE may say that Imperial Federation would not involve the commercial union of the Empire with preferential tariffs in favour of Colonial produce. It is the privilege of Imperial Federationists to be able to say anything they choose regarding the principles of their scheme, inasmuch as they studiously refrain from defining them. But without a common tariff it is difficult for plain men to see how a political union could be worked.—*Toronto Daily Mail*.

SIR FRANCIS DILLON BELL's term of office as Agent-General for New Zealand has been extended three years.

THE Cape revenue for the year just ended shows a surplus of £190,000. After reducing the rates of both inland and ocean postage, and making "ample provision" for the cost of the Table Bay batteries, there will still be an estimated surplus of £7,500 for 1888-9.



### THE CONDITION OF OUR COALING-STATIONS.

THE following important letter has been addressed by Lord Carnarvon to the *Times*. That the condition of things is not more unsatisfactory even than it is, is in no small degree owing to the persistent and patriotic exertion of Lord Carnarvon himself. Nor will it, we think, be denied that the League has done much to support and enforce his lordship's warnings and encouragements.

SIR,—I have often in your columns called attention to the very unsatisfactory condition of our coaling-stations, and with your permission I now desire in a few words to state what I believe to be substantially the case with regard to the most important of them. I say substantially, because, having no official information, I may, perhaps, be wrong in some small details, which, however, will not affect the general conclusions.

These conclusions, I am happy to think, can be more favourably stated now than at any previous time; for at last, after many years of patient, or impatient, expectation, some real progress can be affirmed.

With one great exception, to be noticed later, the more important stations are being armed. Singapore is in possession of a part of her new armament, though a large and perhaps the most important portion of it is not yet mounted and available. Hong Kong is not quite so far advanced, but will soon be similarly provided. Those armaments, however, are, as I have said, numerically still imperfect, and the 10-in. guns, of which so much has been said, are wanting in both places. But, though I will not on such a subject speak with the knowledge of professional authority, I believe that the very serious risks to which we were exposed a short time since are materially diminished. In Mauritius also, the works are proceeding, though I fear that more than a year must elapse before they are complete; and I can only hope that there will be no delay in supplying the new armament, as soon as the forts are ready for its reception. Meanwhile, some guns of the old muzzle-loading type are available on an emergency. In St. Lucia—the military value of which, once great, and subsequently reduced, has now revived—both works and armament are making progress, though not so rapid as I could desire. In Trincomalee and St. Helena, positions to which the Admiralty have always attached much importance, the works are nearly, if not quite, finished; while of Aden, on whose embattled rock I looked with interest only a few weeks since, a satisfactory record may, I believe, be made.

Of the great Australasian Colonies it would need more than this brief letter to speak adequately. They put us to shame; for with smaller means they have shown an appreciation of the risks of modern war, and of the requirements of modern defence, which English Governments have been slow to understand. New Zealand, which enjoys the advantage of a most able Engineer officer as Governor, is well armed; Victoria has organised her guns, her forts, her ships, her forces, with a care and completeness which we should do well to follow, and which merit praise higher and fuller than my pen can express; New South Wales has not spared expense in guns of the newest pattern, though they are not yet placed and mounted and made as available as they should be; South Australia and Queensland are, I believe, in earnest in their preparations; and Tasmania, the least wealthy of this great group of English communities, has forts and guns incomparably better than any to which our commercial ports at home can pretend.

So far, then, we may be reasonably content with the progress now making in our coaling-stations; but there are two observations to be made:—

1. That it is only after years of ceaseless speaking, writing, and protest that this progress has been made, and that even now there is not one of these larger Imperial stations which, in the strict sense of the word, can be called complete in its military preparations—complete as Germany, or France, or Italy would require them to be.

2. That the extremely grave question of garrisons is, so far as any real action is concerned, untouched, though I presume that in official phraseology it is, like many other questions, being "considered." But so long as this subject remains undetermined, the defence of the stations, and with them the defence of our vast commerce afloat, are not provided for. It is useless to build forts at great expense, and to place modern and scientifically-constructed guns in them, unless there are also properly trained garrisons; and though there are places which I could name where marines—that "royal and loyal" corps as they have been well called—would form the best defence, this does not apply to all, or to the most important of our stations. It is not possible to exaggerate the importance or the urgency of this subject. It doubtless raises some inconvenient considerations, and it means expense; but it must be faced, and, above all, it must be viewed as a whole. It would take too long here to discuss the "how" and the "when," but it is not a question of merely providing fresh troops in all cases. I am confident that in some places a judicious re-arrangement, in others an employment of local resources, might greatly facilitate the solution of the problem.

I said in the earlier part of this letter that there was one exception to the general progress which I have recorded, and that exception is the Cape—the most important of all our stations, the half-way house between West and East, invaluable for coaling and refitting, for protecting our own commerce, and assailing our enemy's fleets. So strongly did the Commission of which I was chairman hold this opinion, that they postponed every consideration to press upon the then Government the vital necessity of placing the Cape in an adequate state of defence; and no one has ventured to deny or question our recommendations. But years have passed, and Governments have come and gone, and for the purposes of modern war the Cape is still undefended. It is right to say that the works are now in actual process of construction, and that a much better condition of affairs may be expected; but I do not believe that as yet there is a single modern gun mounted in a single modern fort. When I was at the Cape eight months ago there were

new forts without their proper armament, and new armaments expected for forts which had as yet no existence—an unfortunate, but a not very uncommon, illustration of our procedure in these matters. I much doubt whether even now there are any new guns at the Cape.

I have thought that, at this moment, it may not be without interest and value to state the actual position of our coaling-stations; and I have endeavoured to state it as impartially and correctly as I can. It is a picture of lights and shadows—of progress made, of needless and unfortunate delays, and, lastly, of much important work yet to be done. I might easily add it to the consideration of many other questions of the highest importance connected with the subject; but I prefer to confine myself to those on which I have written; and I have the honour to remain, sir, your obedient servant,

CARNARVON.

No. 43, Portman Square, July 5.

### IMPERIAL INTERESTS IN PARLIAMENT.

JUNE 28TH—JULY 17TH, 1888.

ESQUIMALT HARBOUR.

June 28th.—In the House of Lords, LORD SUDELEY rose to ask Her Majesty's Government what arrangements had been made with the Dominion Government of Canada for the defence of the naval headquarters in the Pacific, Esquimalt Harbour; and whether the plans for the fortifications and defences had been finished; when the work would be commenced, and when the armaments would be sent out; and whether the Government would state by what date the fortifications would be completed and the guns placed in position. The House would remember, he said, that in the discussion which took place a short time ago the Government had stated that, after fully considering the rival positions of Esquimalt and Burrard's Inlet, they had, on the advice of their experts, decided to keep the naval headquarters at Esquimalt. He looked, therefore, upon this matter as finally settled, and much as he regretted it, he would not say another word on the subject. It was, however, of the utmost importance now it was definitely arranged that Esquimalt was to be the permanent naval headquarters of our only naval station on the Pacific, that not a moment should be lost in putting the place, as far as practicable, in a proper state of defence, it being now absolutely undefended. There was also another point to which he desired to refer. It appeared that considerable alarm had been felt by people connected with Burrard's Inlet, as the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway, at the idea which had been conveyed during the discussion that Burrard's Inlet was not in any way to be protected. He had received information from an engineer officer of very high standing connected with the locality showing that from the mainland any attack could be easily repelled, as the attacking force would have to cross three rivers and an impenetrable forest. He hoped the Government would be able to say that they hoped to be able to place some guns at the entrance to the inlet, so that it might also be protected from the sea in the event of hostile ships passing Esquimalt and coming up to attack it.

LORD KNUTSFORD said he had to inform the noble lord that no arrangement had as yet actually been made with the Dominion Government of Canada, but the scheme of the Government, which was explained some days ago when the noble lord brought this matter before this House, had been communicated to the Dominion Government by a despatch dated the 13th of June. On learning from them that they assented to this scheme it would be proceeded with and no time would be lost. He might say that the guns and other armaments to be provided in this country were in a forward state of preparation, and there would be no delay on that score. As regards the last point alluded to by the noble lord, he thought that Burrard's Inlet might rest satisfied with the statement which he had made on the subject in his despatch of the 13th of June—a statement which had the authority of both the military and naval departments. It would be observed that the proposed scheme of defence had been drawn up more especially with a view to the direct defence of the harbour of Esquimalt. Protection was, however, at the same time conferred upon the town of Victoria. When Esquimalt had been made into a strong naval base, the danger of attempting a bombardment of Victoria, which would be fruitless of all real military result, became so great as to render such a measure highly improbable. For similar reasons any hostile operations directed against Burrard's Inlet and Nanaimo need hardly be anticipated. No naval commander would be likely to risk his vessels in the somewhat intricate navigation and the prevalent fogs which characterise the How Straits, leaving in his rear the strong strategic position of Esquimalt, serving as the fortified base of Her Majesty's Pacific Squadron. With respect to any fortifications by land, that was a matter which would receive careful consideration.

#### THE PORTUGUESE CLAIM TO THE ZAMBESI.

July 6th.—In the House of Lords, LORD SALISBURY made the following statement in the course of a discussion on the affairs of East Central Africa, raised by the Earl of Harrowby:—"It is claimed that Portugal has the right to all that zone of territory stretching from the Zambesi to Mozambique on the Indian Ocean and to Angola on the Atlantic, but the claim can only be made by some extraordinary doctrine of constructive acquisition. I believe it rests upon a decree of Pope Alexander VI. of saintly memory, but how far that can be admitted as an international ground I will not discuss. France and Germany have admitted the claim of Portugal, subject to any rights which other Powers might have. We have not admitted it; but upon that claim Portugal builds a further claim that the Zambesi is hers also, and undoubtedly if the zone territory belongs to her there would be a fair contention to that effect. There is territory beyond, however, which is not Portuguese, and with which we have some connection, and also we have interests of an undefined, though very interesting, character, with respect to those splendid monuments of British energy and enthusiasm shown on Lake Nyassa. We have informed Portugal that we



cannot absolutely admit this claim to the possession of the Zambesi. The matter is still under discussion. The local authorities attempted to exclude the supply of the necessary ammunition to those now living on the Nyassa Lake by way of the Zambesi, but I am happy to say that orders have now been given for the supply of ammunition. I do not like to pursue this theme too far, because it would be very easy for language to drop from my mouth which would retard rather than advance an understanding. But I agree with my noble friend in thinking that the possession of a vast natural highway like the Zambesi under the peculiar circumstances of its history cannot be claimed by Portugal. After all, it was discovered by Englishmen, and it is now principally used by Englishmen. It leads to settlements wherein Englishmen are conducting their operations, religious and commercial; and I think that, even according to the strictest doctrines of international law, it is a matter of the greatest doubt whether a nation in full possession of the two sides of the Zambesi river has a right to exercise any jurisdiction to bar access to territories which lie beyond. The Congo and other rivers have been declared free, and that being the case, and especially considering the very peculiar circumstances in which the Zambesi is placed, I am convinced that the opinion of the civilised world will be on our side when we say that the Zambesi must be a route open to all and not confined to one. (Cheers.)

#### TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION WITH MAURITIUS.

July 12th.—In the House of Commons, SIR E. WATKIN asked the Under-Secretary for the Colonies whether the island of Mauritius, which had a naval dockyard, and the fortified harbour of St. Louis was, like Bermuda, unconnected by submarine telegraphic cable, independent of foreign interference, with any other portion of the Empire; whether the Malagasy Government so long as three months ago expressed their readiness to assist in establishing direct communication through their territory with Great Britain by means of a cable from Mozambique, to be landed at Mojanga, and by the erection of a land line thence to the capital, and onwards to the east coast at Andevoranto, or Vatamandry, with the right to connect the same by cable to Mauritius; and whether he had come to any decision in the matter.

SIR J. GORST, for Baron H. De Worms, said:—There is no direct telegraphic communication with Mauritius, but messages are sent, as opportunity offers, by steam vessels from Aden, Natal, and Australia. The particular proposal referred to has not come under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, but various schemes for laying a cable to Mauritius *via* Madagascar have been and still are under consideration. It has not, however, been found possible to make provision for this service, and, until arrangements can be made for meeting the cost of a cable, it is not possible to come to a decision as to the particular route.

#### EMIGRANT PAUPER CHILDREN.

In answer to Mr. S. Smith,

MR. RITCHIE said: The number of pauper children whose emigration to Canada the Board have sanctioned during the year ended June 30, 1888, was 677. During the previous year the number was 286. The revised rules referred to were issued in April, 1887.

#### THE CHINESE IN AUSTRALIA.

July 13th.—In the House of Commons, Mr. ROWNTREE asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention had been called to a speech delivered by the Premier of New South Wales in the Legislative Assembly at Sydney on May 16th, 1888, on the Chinese question, in which he stated that a telegram sent to the British Government on March 31st was not answered till May 12th; whether he was aware of the strong feeling of indignation which that apparent neglect had excited in New South Wales; and what was the reason for the extraordinary delay in the reply to the telegram of March 31st.

SIR J. GORST—The Secretary of State is aware of the speech delivered by Sir H. Parkes on May 16th. It is incorrect to state that the telegram sent by the New South Wales Government on March 31st was not answered till May 12th, as on April 13th a telegram was sent acknowledging its receipt and stating that the subject was under consideration. Her Majesty's Government are not aware that there is any feeling of indignation in New South Wales on this subject. On the contrary, Lord Carrington telegraphed on April 16th that Lord Knutsford's telegram of April 13th "had been received with much satisfaction." Her Majesty's Government have further received the assurance that the Conference which met in Sydney in the beginning of June was sensible of the wish of the Imperial Government to meet the views of the Colonies. As has been shown, there was no extraordinary delay in replying to the telegram of March 31st, and there has been the greatest promptitude in dealing with this complicated subject.

#### THE RECENT COLONIAL CONFERENCE.

July 16th.—In the House of Lords, LORD STRATHEDEN and CAMPBELL, who had placed on the paper a notice to call attention to the proceedings of the Colonial Conference of last year, and to move a resolution, postponed the motion in deference, as he explained, to a request of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

LORD KNUTSFORD entirely concurred with the noble lord, and thanked him for having at his request, and on the ground of public convenience, withdrawn for the time this motion. He thought it very desirable that the full effects of the Colonial Conference last year should be ascertained before a further discussion as to the best means of more closely uniting the Colonies to the Mother Country should be raised in this or the other House of Parliament, and he was therefore sincerely obliged to the noble lord for his kindness in postponing the motion.

#### RATE-AIDED EMIGRATION.

In the House of Commons, after a long discussion, the House agreed, by 224 votes to 117, to a sub-section of clause 66 of the Local Government Bill, providing that the County Council should have power to raise money on loan to assist emigration in cases where a

guarantee of repayment was given either by a district council or by a Colonial Government.

#### THE WEST INDIAN COLONIES.

July 17th.—In the House of Commons, SIR T. ESMONDE asked the Secretary for the Colonies whether any representations had been made by the inhabitants of the West Indian Islands with reference to a reform of the system of government obtaining in those Colonies; and, if so, whether the Government intended taking any steps to meet their wishes.

SIR J. GORST: Her Majesty's Government is considering the request of some of the inhabitants of Trinidad for a modification of the Constitution of that island, and it is possible that some limited changes may be agreed to. Some of the inhabitants of other islands have also expressed a desire to have representative government, but have been informed that her Majesty's Government does not think it desirable to change the Constitutions of these islands. The education and political knowledge of the bulk of the population in the West Indian Islands are not yet sufficiently advanced to enable them to exercise the franchise beneficially to their interests.

THE West African Telegraph Company hope to have the continuation of their line from Loanda to the Cape open before the end of the year.

ENGLAND exports books to the value of more than £1,100,000 sterling per annum, the imports amounting to only one-fifth of this sum. The weight of the paper is upwards of 6,000 tons.

At a crowded meeting at Vryburg in British Bechuanaland it was unanimously resolved to petition for the immediate extension of the railway from Kimberley to Vryburg through Barkly West and Taungs, and for its continuation on to Mafeking.

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## NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

AT a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."

That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.

That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.

That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.

That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.

That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.

That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.

That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.



# Imperial Federation.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1888.



*La Belle France* (per recent cable).—"I CAN'T BEAT JOHN BULL, I ADMIT, SO I'M A-GOING TO TAKE IT OUT O' YOU, IN CASE OF WAR; YOU'RE NEARER MY CALIBRE."

*Australia*.—"WELL, MADAME, JUST GIMME A LITTLE MORE CHANCE TO GROW AND I'LL WRESTLE YOU ANY DAY YOU LIKE."

From the *Melbourne Punch*.

## "STRAINING THE SILKEN CORD."

"O OXFORD, home of lost causes and forsaken beliefs!" is the exclamation that rises naturally to our lips, as we listen to the Professor in Toronto crying to his brother Oxonian in Sydney, and calling upon him for help to withstand "the partisans of Imperial Federation," who, in M. Mercier's graceful phrase, "are becoming more and more audacious." Perhaps some of us may think that if he could see in the flesh the stripling barrister, whom he apostrophises as "an Australian . . . cautious in his expressions as becomes a statesman . . . who can speak with authority as far as Australia is concerned," and realise that a very few years back Mr. Wise was in the lecture-rooms at Oxford, and had never so much as seen Australia, the Professor might not be quite so sure of the invincibility of his new ally. But let that pass; Mr. Wise's youth and inexperience is a fault that will mend—and a fault that but for his assumption of superior authority we should never have alluded to. Perhaps, a few years hence, he will not be quite so certain as he is to-day that he is entitled to speak as the mouthpiece of all the Australasian opinion that deserves expression. We can afford to smile at Mr. Wise, but Professor Goldwin Smith is an antagonist of a different calibre. We can only regret that a voice that is recognised as one of authority in every portion of the Empire, should have given utterance from so public a platform to so many inaccurate statements and so many misleading arguments in reference to our cause. Sorrowfully we recognise not only that the League cannot command the services of a pen as trenchant as that of the Professor; but that even if it could, not one in twenty of those who have read his article will ever see our reply, and that therefore his attack must needs do us some harm. But yet we can take courage. The League has been in existence four years, and the Professor has been teaching for wellnigh a generation. And to-day there are more branches of the League in Canada than the Professor has disciples between Sydney and Vancouver. And now let us deal *seriatim* with a few of his most important points.

"Imperial Federation has but little real strength in

Canada." We have published in the last few months scores of extracts from the leading Canadian papers, and we challenge denial of the assertion that many of them are distinctly on our side, while the number of those friendly to our cause in principle is vastly larger than the number of those actively opposed to us. Last month we showed that about one-fourth of the members of the Dominion House of Commons are also members of the League. As we write, comes the news that Sir Adams Archibald, President of our Halifax branch, has been elected member for Colchester by a majority of 600. If these are not proofs of real strength, what proof does the Professor consider may pass muster as satisfactory?

But he goes on to say that lately the movement has "been exhibiting a factitious strength derived from a casual union with Protectionism." Omitting the words "factitious" and "casual," and interpreting "Protectionism" to mean a resolute refusal to accept as free trade the tariff of the United States, with its duties averaging 60 per cent. *ad valorem*, we might be content to accept the statement. When Professor Goldwin Smith further declares that "a Federationist meeting"—for it is in this incidental manner he alludes to what was admitted on all hands to have been one of the most important political meetings ever held in Canada—"held the other day in Toronto evidently owed its success to the reinforcements which it received from the opposition to Commercial Union," we are not careful to contradict him. The supporters of the Erastian heresy may, perhaps, hardly like to be told that, while a Toronto meeting in favour of Commercial Union—or perhaps on this occasion it was called Unrestricted Reciprocity—consisted of thirteen persons, including the Professor and the reporters, a meeting to oppose it numbered thirteen hundred. Sir Richard Cartwright might consider the admission undiplomatic, but at least our withers are unwrung.

Next comes this passage, which is subsequently repeated with amplifications. "The very mention of Imperial Federation has been sufficient to exasperate the French Canadians, who aspire to a separate French-Canadian nationality, and whose leader—M. Mercier, the Premier of Quebec—opened fire against our new Governor-General, Lord Stanley of Preston, upon the mere suspicion that he was an Imperial Federationist, and was coming out to propagate those convictions." Is Professor Goldwin Smith prepared to assert, as he seems to imply, that M. Mercier—more especially in this speech—represents the unanimous opinion of French-Canadians? Has Sir Adolphe Caron, for example, no following, or *La Minerve* no readers? And if they have, was it quite fair to presume upon the ignorance of the readers of *Macmillan's Magazine*, and ignore them? What Sir Hector Langevin thinks, and what we have to say in reply, our readers will find elsewhere. Further, if the French-Canadians aspire to a separate nationality, this would appear to threaten the unity, not only of the Empire, but of the Dominion. Does the Professor expect—does he possibly hope—to see the British North America Act swept away by a revolution?

Then after a little harmless pleasantry about cultivating a sentiment being the equivalent of cultivating moonshine, our opponent continues:—"The cultivation of a sentiment adverse to the self-development of each of the communities . . . may possibly lead to serious mischief. . . . The Federal Parliament will, we may presume, have extensive and important powers. . . . Whence can those powers be taken except from that which is now the domain of self-government? . . . Federation is in all cases a partial renunciation of self-government." So the British public is given to understand, on the authority of an ex-Regius Professor of History, that if Canada acquires the right to have submitted to an Imperial Senate, to which she has sent her delegates, the treaties that are now made for her by a Ministry in no way responsible to the Canadian people, she is partially renouncing her rights of self-government. If the garrisons of Halifax and Esquimalt are put under the control, no longer of a British, but of an Imperial Minister of Defence, Canada is renouncing her present independence. If the Tribunal, before which three leading Canadian statesmen have been pleading a case of Dominion *versus* Province within the last few weeks, ceased to be the Privy Council of Her Britannic Majesty, and became the Imperial High



Court of Appeal, that would be a derogation from Canadian rights.

Professor Goldwin Smith has read, we believe, the publications of the League. At least he shows a minutely accurate knowledge of the legend on their cover, and we can scarcely think that he has halted exactly at that point. So we cannot refrain from saying that it is deliberately unfair for him to attempt to mix up the work of the League with any discussion whatever as to possibilities of change in the constitution of what he terms "the now United Kingdom." If it pleases him to assert that this question "is now being debated as though it were the problem of some Chinese puzzle bought in the toy-shop yesterday" he is of course at liberty to do so, but the implication that the debate is taking place in our columns, or in any way whatever in connection with the League, is, as he should know, absolutely unfounded.

There are some further points that it is only respectful to the Professor to pass over as lightly as possible. When he declares that "your Federal Parliament would have to meet on Salisbury Plain," though he knows as well as we do that the primitive assembly of Wessex, or even of the Wilsaetas, was a more numerous body than the present House of Commons, it is best to pass over the remark in silence. The Professor is welcome to all the converts that such an argument is likely to convince. Or again, if a mere newspaper writer were to assert that it would be "necessary to have a Federal as well as a British dynasty . . . to invite Her Majesty to make her choice between the Crown of the Imperial Federation and the Crown of Great Britain," we might ask him if he had ever heard of the fact that the King of Prussia was also the head of the Federal German Empire. But we cannot ask such a question of a history Professor.

But we must conclude. Having occupied half a dozen pages in proving the difficulties of our task to be insuperable, Mr. Goldwin Smith finishes up by taunting us with the fact that in four years we have not surmounted them, for when he says that, "with Lord Beaconsfield at the head of the Government, the Imperial Federationists had power in their hands to as great an extent as they are ever likely to have it," he is really forgetting the historical sequence of events. When Lord Beaconsfield resigned in 1880, not only had the name Imperial Federation never been heard, but the very idea that it denotes was absolutely strange to the public mind. Strange as it may seem to us now, it is only a very few years that divide us from the days when the question, how best to get rid of our Colonies, was seriously discussed by representative public men. Just one point more. It is not often we have to ask what a sentence of Professor Goldwin Smith's means. But we have read and re-read these lines, "I do not see why there should not, in course of time, be an Anglo-Saxon franchise, including the United States," and failed to extract any meaning from them. Can it be that the Professor thinks, at the same time that it is impossible to draw closer together those parts of the Empire that are still happily united and that it is possible to reunite those who were separated a century back, and now stand aloof, "the scars remaining, like cliffs that have been rent asunder"? It is almost inconceivable, and yet how otherwise can we interpret the technical term "franchise"? We trust that either in our columns or elsewhere he will enlighten us.

### DEFINING OUR PROGRAMME.

WE invite our readers' special attention this month to the speech made by Sir Hector Langevin to his French-Canadian fellow-citizens, which is translated at full length in another column. We have been told that the speech is hostile to our cause. Be it so. An opponent so moderate and straightforward is half a friend already; and if once by calm discussion we can calm his fears and explain away his misunderstandings, we may fairly hope that he will become our friend unreservedly; for between the point from which Sir Hector starts and that of Professor Goldwin Smith there is a vast difference. When the latter flouts and jeers, "Your Federal Parliament will need to meet on Salisbury Plain," there lies upon us no obligation to answer him. If we proposed a Federal Council on the model of the German *Reichs-*

*rath* he would mock at it as too small; a Parliament on the model of the *Reichstag*, and he would ridicule it as too big. But when Sir Hector, speaking to and on behalf of those French-Canadian citizens of the Empire who are (so Professor Goldwin Smith assures us) Separatists to a man, proclaims his loyalty to the English Crown, and the readiness of his compatriots to take their share in "defending the British flag and the cause of the Mother Country," he has a right, we conceive, to such answers as we can give him; for to answer him, as he demanded, in black and white how Imperial Federation is to take effect is, we confess, beyond our powers.

Most of us have known parents who, when their children were scarcely out of long frocks, have made up their minds that John was to go into the church, Tom to go to sea, and Harry to be a lawyer. And parson, sailor, and lawyer, Tom, Jack, and Harry have had to become accordingly. But whether their father has gone about his work in the most judicious manner, or whether the lads are likely to rise to the top of the professions that willy-nilly they have been pitchforked into, is a different question. And so, we conceive, it is with Imperial Federation—with this difference, that the father has at least some right to dictate to his children and some power to compel them to conform to his wishes. The Imperial Federation League, were it ten-fold more influential and a hundred-fold more strong in members than it is, has no right to dictate to the fifty millions of Britons of to-day, to the hundred millions of Britons of the next generation. How "this grand Imperial Parliament that is to decide questions concerning all quarters of the Empire" is to be formed, we cannot tell. But this we can say, that it will grow and develop gradually, and not spring, fully armed and ready for instant and drastic legislation, from the head of the President of the Imperial Federation League.

But is there then nothing that we can do in the meantime? On the contrary, there is much, and much that, as it seems to us, Sir Hector should be willing to help in doing. He speaks of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and, almost at the same time that he was speaking, Mr. Goschen announced in the House of Commons that the agreement between Canada and the Mother Country for the maintenance of the mail line from Vancouver to China had been at length concluded. And if Canada and England do not take another step forward hand-in-hand to maintain an Imperial telegraph line from Canada to Australia, at least the failure will not come for want of effort on the part of the League. Again, Sir Hector speaks of the immense territories of the Canadian North-West offering to Great Britain a sure means of retaining the surplus of its population. But must the population of Great Britain always drift there fortuitously? Must the States always take five emigrants out of every six, and leave Canada but one? Is it impossible that the Home and the Dominion Governments should unite to organise emigration between them? And would not this be a true instance of Imperial Federation? Sir Hector rejoices, and we can rejoice with him, that young men, Canadians both French and English, issue forth from that splendid institution, the Royal Military College at Kingston, to receive Her Majesty's commission and to serve in the Imperial army. But there are other services of the Crown than these. Should we not have Sir Hector's sympathy if we said that we want Colonial citizens in our Colonial Office at home, that Canada should take her share in the government of India? Would Canada have to make any sacrifice to secure these results of a closer intercourse? May we not rather say that in this way Canada would "gain as a part of the Empire," and also that "the Empire would gain as a whole."

But even Sir Hector Langevin cannot resist setting up one or two Imperial Federation bogeys, mild-mannered and respectable puppets enough, we admit, compared to the terrible creatures that shriek and gibber when M. Mercier pulls the strings, but still unmistakable bogeys. Perhaps we need not trouble ourselves greatly to knock them over. Sir Hector himself would not expect us to appear very much afraid of them. Let us just notice two. Sir Hector asks to be told how the United Kingdom will modify its fiscal system so as not to force Canada to have recourse to direct taxation. Why should Canada need to change its fiscal system at all?—or Great Britain either for



the matter of that? Assuming that they each contribute their quota to an Imperial Budget, is it absolutely necessary that the two contributions should be raised in the same way? If England prefers to tax incomes, and Canada commodities, this is surely no very serious sin against Imperial unity. We manage to keep on very good terms with the Channel Islands in spite of their admitting tobacco and spirits duty free. Again, Sir Hector doubts whether England will consent to representation according to population, because the Colonies, *with India*, outnumber it in the proportion of five or six to one. But why include India? Does any one propose that India should go in next week for manhood suffrage and self-government, in order to see how long it would be before some Sikh or Goorkha Cromwell took away the bauble from a Parliament of Baboos? Leaving out India, certainly the 35,000,000 inhabitants of these islands are not likely to grudge the 11,000,000 Colonists an ample—nay, more, a generous—proportion of representation. In conclusion, when Sir Hector declares that the question cannot be decided independently of Canada, and warns us not to move in advance of public opinion, we can only suppose that he must have been perusing an advance copy of the report of our President's speech on July 31st, and that he thereupon made up his mind to side with Lord Rosebery—even though it should be in opposition to a fellow-Colonist as distinguished as Mr. Downes Carter.

### MISTAKEN IDENTITY.

MR. McNAUGHT claims, as a member of the Imperial Federation League, that we should publish the letter which appears in another column, and though, under ordinary circumstances, we might hesitate to deal with matters that are obviously outside the scope of this journal, there is perhaps at the present time an advantage in acceding to his request. For Mr. McNaught's letter shows as clearly as it is possible to do the exact point at which he and we part company. Apart from the statement, which is surely somewhat too broadly put, that the public opinion of the Colonists as expressed in the Colonial press is one of the best of all sources of inspiration as to the proper method of conducting the local affairs of the United Kingdom, and with a modest protest that we do occasionally see one or two Colonial newspapers at the League's offices in Charles Street, there is but little in the first part of Mr. McNaught's letter that we need wish altered. When he says that those who will have to pay the piper should have a right to set the tune, he is only saying what we have said to the best of our power once a month ever since this journal was founded. To discussions how this Imperial central body—call it Senate, Parliament, Council, or what you will—is to be constituted, we have at all times been ready to open our columns. We have taken it as an axiom needing no demonstration that it was necessary "to delegate to every distinct portion of the Empire a right to manage its own affairs." "But," says Mr. McNaught, "this naturally means Home Rule to the four portions of the United Kingdom."

Here we confess ourselves constrained to hold up our hands in amazement, and to ask why it *naturally* means anything of the sort. At present the United Kingdom is one distinct portion of the Empire. The Dominion of Canada is a second distinct portion. Is Mr. McNaught prepared to assert, equally categorically that the British North America Act of 1867 must be repealed before Imperial Federation can take effect? And if Mr. McNaught is not prepared—as of course he is not—to make this assertion, will he tell us why that which is sauce for the Dominion goose should not also be sauce for the United Kingdom gander? Mr. McNaught and the Scottish Home Rule Association are, of course, perfectly entitled to their belief that the different portions of the United Kingdom are so entirely separate and distinct in their traditions, their customs, their laws, and their religion, that they would be the better with four Parliaments of their own, instead of one, as at present; and it is no concern of ours to consider whether or no their belief is mistaken. But Mr. McNaught must be aware that there are a considerable number of persons in Great Britain and Ireland who think otherwise, and who believe, with conscientiousness equal to his own, that the grant of Home Rule to Ireland would be nothing

less than the ruin of the British Empire. Nor can he need to be told that among the most enthusiastic supporters of Imperial Federation are not a few persons of this way of thinking. What, then, becomes of his theory that Home Rule and Imperial Federation are the obvious and necessary complements the one of the other?

And if these things are so, and we fail to see how any one can gainsay them, we have a right to appeal to Mr. McNaught—and we do so in all confidence, knowing that he is a member of our League, and therefore must have the cause of Imperial Federation at heart—to refrain in future from mixing up together his home and his Imperial politics. It cannot help Home Rule. After all, this is a question that must be decided not by platonic resolutions of Colonial or American assemblies, but by the votes of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom themselves. And the inhabitants of the United Kingdom will decide not from considerations of Imperial but of domestic policy. As Mr. McNaught himself says, only a small proportion of the Association's profession of faith bears even indirectly upon Imperial Federation. There is, therefore, the less sacrifice in reducing the proportion in future to *nil*. But that on the other hand any attempt to mix up Imperial Federation with Home Rule can only do harm to the cause that the readers of this journal have at heart, is unfortunately only too obvious. This very charge that, as he puts it, we are a set of visionaries ready to break the United Kingdom into pieces, in the fond hope that the fragments will somehow sort themselves out again into an Empire, is one of the thickest sticks in the whole bundle that with such infinite solicitude Professor Goldwin Smith has this month gathered together from all quarters for our castigation. It is not the part of members of the League to afford the Professor even the very modest foundation of fact that he requires in order to erect his imaginative superstructure. Mr. McNaught must see that the task we have set ourselves—a task, as Mr. Parkin well says, more arduous than any that has ever yet fallen to the lot even of the constructive statesmanship of the Anglo-Saxon race, the task of welding into one homogeneous whole an Empire that has neither unity of race, religion, or history, nor yet geographical contiguity, is a task that must tax our uttermost powers. It may be that the task transcends mortal capacity, and that Imperial Federation is a dream incapable of realisation—that "it cannot be, the vision is too fair." But of one thing we can be certain, that a task that may be too great for our united efforts must be too great for a house divided against itself, or for an army that can only fight with half its forces. That those who are politicians of Great Britain first, and only afterwards Imperial Federationists, if Imperial Federationists at all, should use our noble cause for their own party ends, may perhaps be expected. But from members of the League we have a right to expect a different course of action. It has been mainly owing to the careful avoidance of all connection with party politics that our League has hitherto owed its steady and uniform progress—a progress that has been equally steady whether its President has been ranked as Conservative or Liberal; and, fortunately, there is no reason to fear that from this position we shall swerve one hand's-breadth in the future. But still it is well to appeal once more to Mr. McNaught to do nothing that might lead those who only know the League by name to mistake our identity.

IN July, 1886, Vancouver had a population of about 1,200. In July, 1887, the population was 3,000. In July, 1888, a careful calculation showed that the city had some 8,500 people within its limits. And it is estimated that in July, 1889, the population of Vancouver will be at least 20,000.

THE HON. T. PLAYFORD, Premier and Treasurer, made his financial statement in the South Australian House of Assembly on August 16th. He estimated the revenue for the coming year at £2,400,000, and the expenditure at £2,280,000, including £30,000 for the redemption of bonds. The Premier proposed no fresh taxation, but said that the conclusion of a loan of from £500,000 to £1,000,000 was contemplated for reproductive public works.

IT is an additional evidence of Lord Dufferin's foresight, public spirit, and regard for Canada, that he has determined to return with Lady Dufferin from India by way of the Canadian Pacific Railway. No doubt the route of the able and popular Viceroy will be an ovation from Vancouver to Quebec or wherever he may elect to take passage to England. It is to be regretted that the Imperial Government neglected the opportunity of sending troops over the great highway.—*Halifax Critic*.





MR. DALTON MCCARTHY, Q.C., the President of the League in Canada, is one of the leaders of the Bar in Toronto, where his home is. He represents East Simcoe in the Dominion Parliament, in which, though his professional engagements have hitherto prevented him from taking office, he is not only one of the most popular, but one of the most influential members. His recent visit to England was in order to appear professionally before the Privy Council in a case in which the respective rights of the Dominion and of the Province of Ontario were brought into question.

### MEETING OF THE COUNCIL.

WELCOME TO MR. DOWNES CARTER AND MR. DALTON MCCARTHY.

THE Council met on July 31st at 3 p.m. The Earl of Rosebery was in the chair, and there were between thirty and forty members present. The CHAIRMAN called upon the secretary to read the minutes of the last meeting.

The SECRETARY (Mr. A. H. Loring) read the minutes accordingly.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, at the last meeting of the Executive Committee we resolved to recommend the following resolution to the Council; to be moved by myself, and seconded by Sir John Colomb:—"That the Council of the Imperial Federation League desires to take the opportunity of the arrival in London of the two presidents of the Canadian and Victorian Leagues to tender a cordial welcome to Messrs. McCarthy and Downes Carter, both in their individual characters and as representing two kindred associations of such importance." We feel that it is a great privilege to the League to have the opportunity of meeting any of those who hold its principles in the Colonies, and in that way to have an interchange of views between the members of the League at home and the members of the League elsewhere; and that by that sort of comparison of opinion and interchange of information we may arrive at results which we cannot do when our horizon is too much bounded by this city in which we habitually meet. We thought it a special opportunity when we had the presidents both of the Canadian and Victorian Leagues here, and we thought it most desirable to give them a special opportunity—or rather to give our members a special opportunity of meeting them before they returned to their respective spheres of usefulness. I am sorry to say that Mr. McCarthy is not quite certain of being present to-day. He has come over to argue a case before the Privy Council, and he thought the Privy Council would have settled it by now; but we know that life is short, and the law is long in this country, and I am sorry to say that it is not certain whether it will be over in time for him to take part in this meeting. At any rate, we have Mr. Downes Carter with us, and we are very anxious to hear what he has to say about the progress of the movement in Australia, and more especially in Victoria. I will, therefore, only put this motion to you in order that you may ratify it, and I think you will feel that the Executive Committee were quite right in recommending it to you. (Hear, hear.)

SIR JOHN COLOMB: I shall have very great pleasure in seconding the resolution, and I have no doubt that it will meet with the unanimous support of those present.

The resolution was put, and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Downes Carter, I have much pleasure in offering you a most hearty welcome on behalf of the League. You must not judge of the enthusiasm of the movement by our gathering here to-day: in the first place, this is not a meeting of the League, it is the Council of the League; and in the next place, the 31st of July is a day on which, in London, it is hardly possible to obtain any assembly

at all. We trust, however, that you may have observed, during your stay in Great Britain, the very great movement which has been made in this direction, not merely among the masses, but among politicians and parties who have been hitherto averse to the movement. I trust that you will take back with you to Victoria an idea of the intense desire of all men and all classes in the Mother Country to draw much tighter the ties which connect the Colonies and the Mother Country, and the still more conscientious wish, as I believe it to be on the part of our public men, to do justice to the Colonies, both in her dealings with them and in her dealings with foreign Powers on behalf of those Colonies. I wish to convey to you the expression of our welcome and confidence.

MR. G. DOWNES CARTER: My lord, ladies, and gentlemen, it is indeed a great privilege to one who has been a long time in the Colonies to be able, on his return to his native land, to meet so many eminent gentlemen connected with its public affairs, and to hear from the Chairman the words of welcome which have just fallen from his lips. On behalf of the Imperial Federation League of Victoria I tender you my most sincere and heartfelt thanks—thanks which will be echoed by its members when I return and tell them of your kindly greeting to me to-day. It is a great honour to us, and one which is felt so strongly by me that I am at a loss to find fitting words in which to express my gratitude. I am very sorry that my brother Colonist from Canada is not present; I hope he will come before the close of the meeting; but should he not do so, as a fellow Colonist I am sure on his behalf I may, in his absence, tender you the same thanks which I now ask you to receive from me.

Some three or four years ago, taking advantage of my position as Mayor of Melbourne, I invited a few loyal gentlemen to meet me, and we arranged together to endeavour to start a branch of this League, and I am glad to say that our efforts were successful. Our bishop, Dr. Moorhouse (now Bishop of Manchester), Mr. Justice Holroyd, and several other excellent speakers were good enough to assist us, and at a public meeting of 2,000 persons in the Town Hall we formally organised the Victorian Branch of the Imperial Federation League. Having done so, we were met with what, I daresay, you have been met with here—the difficulty of having no particular programme to place before the people. We were thoroughly loyal to your views, but they appeared to me to be somewhat of a negative character. They were that we were to show through the length and breadth of the land the desirability for the unity of the great British Empire. We have gone no further; and in anything I say here to-day I wish it to be understood



MR. GODFREY DOWNES CARTER, born in Jamaica in 1830, but educated in England. In 1852 he visited the West Indies, and in 1853 established himself at Melbourne as an importer and wholesale merchant. Mr. Carter has for many years been a member of the Corporation of the City of Melbourne and of the Victorian Legislative Assembly. When Mayor, Mr. Carter proposed and organised the branch of the Imperial Federation League at Melbourne, over which he still continues to preside. He is a director of the Bank of Victoria and of several other companies. In politics Mr. Carter holds an independent position, and he has declined office when offered to him. Prior to his departure from Melbourne, it was resolved at a meeting of citizens to ask him to sit for a life-size oil-painting to be placed in the Council Chamber of the City Town Hall.



that I am not in any way professing to represent the views of my colleagues in Victoria—not that I do not believe they would agree with those views, but because they have not authorised me to speak on their behalf. I simply take the opportunity to comply with the suggestion of your honourable Chairman, that it is desirable that people of different views and opinions should express them, as by so doing little harm can be occasioned, and possibly by the interchange of different views some good may be effected. (Hear, hear.) With the negative programme at present before us it seems to me that we have a faith without a creed, we are steering a ship without a chart—in fact, Imperial Federation, by straining words, may be defined as a political agnosticism. I quite understand that in starting this League such a policy was perfectly correct; we wished the child to be born in peace, and not to be strangled in its birth, and therefore we invited no opposition; no one could say anything against us, as none but rebels would desire to do anything which would militate against the union of this Great Empire. But the time for such caution seems to me to have passed. I feel great diffidence in presuming to place any views of mine before men of much larger experience in political matters than myself, and who may see various difficulties which do not present themselves to my mind; but, as a very small grain of sand on the sea-shore of the British Empire, it seems to me that we can only form an opinion of what ought to be done now by carefully looking at the history of the past, and observing that of the present. In doing so, it appears to me that the two greatest colonising peoples were the Romans and the Greeks; but they both fell into opposite errors. The Romans went in for a strong central government, but their Colonists had no local self-government; in Greece they did just the opposite; for while each State had local self-government, there was the want of a central government. These were, to my mind, the two rocks on which both these nations split. We have at present before our eyes a great country that has avoided these dangers; the American people have in their constitution provided not only for local self-government, but also for a superior government, in which all the locally self-governed States are represented. I want to know what are the difficulties which prevent a similar course being followed by the British people? I want to know whether, because I left this country thirty-five years ago, I forfeited my right to have a vote in returning a representative who might decide whether the Imperial Government shall pursue a policy which would cause my city to be bombarded by a foreign foe or not? Did I lose that right of a Briton merely because I became a Colonist? What crime have Colonists committed? I do not say it from any desire to brag, but I suppose that people will admit that when hundreds of thousands of men left these shores in the '50's, they were not the least enterprising of the British people, they were not physically the weakest; had they been so they would not have severed themselves from their kith and kin; surely they had more enterprise than those who remained behind; and in going there what have we done? We went out into a wilderness; we have subjugated the desert, and made it blossom like a rose; and at the present time Australia, which was as nothing to you fifty years ago, is now one of your best possessions—your second best customer in the world. Is it fair, then, that we should be denied the right of representation on Imperial questions? Is it nothing to us that some foreign Minister here has it in his power at any time to plunge us in a war which we neither provoked nor sought, but in which, if we had a voice in the Imperial Parliament to vote for or against it, we should be satisfied to take our share of victory or defeat. All British men agree that under a system of representative Government, so long as they are able to express their opinion for or against any matter, they should accept the result loyally, and abide by it; but for us Colonists to remain exposed to all the dangers of war without having any voice in the matter is, I submit, unfair. Therefore I repeat that, unless you think that in leaving this country and going abroad we have done something to forfeit our then existing rights, we should have a voice in all matters affecting us as an integral part of the British Empire. There is one point in opposition to this view that might be put, and that is it may be said, "Oh! yes, but when you went away you did not take the National Debt with you; you absolved yourself from your share of the liability which your forefathers incurred"; but as I have never met a man in England mean enough to put that argument to me, I shall not raise it myself. Then there is another point, and that is, that in my short life I can remember when England, that is to say, Great Britain and Ireland, actually was the Empire; but I may respectfully point out to you that that day is past. Great Britain and Ireland are no longer the Empire, but only a portion of it, and an ever-decreasing portion. As the Colonies increase so you will decrease. Your eldest Colonial child, America, was but small, one hundred years ago; now she has nearly double your population, and there is no reason to doubt that between you and your existing Colonies there will be as great a disproportion in a similar period. I recollect a notice which was once put up at school, "That there is no standing still in religion, you must either be going backwards or forwards;" and an irreverent boy wrote, "Or sideways." Side-ways is, I believe, a favourite movement with politicians, either in

the Colonies or here; but in this particular question there can be no going sideways, there must either be a closer union between the different parts of the Empire, or the different parts will gradually be separated. I feel certain that there is an amount of independence and generosity amongst our people of Australia that would lead them rather to share your difficulties and dangers, and the expense too, and be admitted on equal terms in an Imperial Parliament, than to receive your protection for nothing at all. We want to get rid of that word, which to me is an objectionable one, that of "Colonist." St. Paul did not say he was a Colonist, he said he was a Roman; so I claim to be a Briton, not a Colonist. When I made a previous visit here, thirty years ago, Colonists were looked upon with such suspicion that when travelling in a train people when they found we came from Australia got out and went into another carriage. (Laughter.) I am glad to say that on my return on this occasion I find we have risen a little above that level, and are now looked upon more favourably. In speaking to-day I simply put before you that which I believe to be the true position of affairs, and when you give the word that we are to announce a more active programme, you will find no warmer advocate than myself. Until you do give that sanction, we shall be perfectly loyal to the present policy of the parent League; for there must not be two voices, one speaking one way and one another. But I do put this question before you for consideration, whether the time has not now arrived when we should have an active instead of a merely passive policy—whether you should not have a positive instead of a negative force, because if you do not one does not know what at any moment may happen. During the last three or four years several questions have arisen which might have tended to separate Australia from Great Britain. Whatever might be decided by an Imperial Parliament would be gladly obeyed; but without representation we feel that we are suffering an injustice. In any such reform there must be one plank, such as they have in America, namely, "No secession." That was the plank which saved the Americans in their recent war; and showed the value of their constitution when subjected to a strain to which we have had no parallel since the Wars of the Roses. Gentlemen, I think I am trespassing on your time at too great a length. (No, no.) I only wish that some one was in my place better able to express the ideas which I feel so strongly. I know what I want to put before you, but I am painfully conscious of my want of power so to do, that you might see my meaning in the same light in which I see it myself. I think the general outcome of my remarks would be that you, the parent League, have hitherto decided that we shall speak with no definite voice. We wish to advance the cause we all have at heart, but we have not your permission to say whether we shall go north, south, east, or west; and I think it would be worth your while to consider whether the time has not now arrived when we may speak more plainly. What I have stated is nothing new; for some of your own members have advocated them more plainly than is in my power. I may mention Sir Frederick Young as one whose speech I read in favour of the views now placed before you. If any secede and abandon us because we propose this plan—we are, perhaps, better without them; and as to opposition, it is what a good cause lives by; the stronger the wind the more vigorous the tree, and if the League cannot stand the wind of criticism, it had better cease to be.

My lord, ladies, and gentlemen, I thank you very much for the kindness with which you have listened to these crude remarks of mine, and I can assure you that on my return to the Colonies I shall express the pleasure it has given me to attend this meeting, and whatever may be the result of your deliberations, you may depend upon it that there will be no warmer advocate of your views in the Colonies than myself and the fellow-workers who form the Imperial Federation League of Victoria. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Perhaps Mr. Parkin, of New Brunswick, would like to say a few words.

MR. G. R. PARKIN: My lord, ladies, and gentlemen, I regret that Mr. Dalton McCarthy is not here to-day to receive and thank you for this address of welcome, and to represent the Imperial Federation League of Canada, of which he is President, and I feel myself utterly incompetent to take his place, or to say to our friends in England even a few words with the weight they would have had if coming from such a far-sighted statesman and prominent public man as that gentleman. I may perhaps mention one personal fact with regard to the unity of the Empire as shown by the meeting place which London affords, viz., that the mere point of distance in Canada has hitherto made it impossible for me to make Mr. McCarthy's acquaintance, and the few times that we have been within range of each other has been in London. I may say, however, that the pleasure with which a Canadian meets an assembly such as this, and hears an address from a gentleman from the other extremity of the Empire speaking the sentiments to which we have listened, is something intense. Canadians stand in a somewhat different relation, and in even a firmer and closer relation to Great Britain than Anstraliens. There are thousands, I might almost say tens of thousands, of people in Canada who stand in the position I myself do, of having a vein of blood in them which makes that British



idea closer than an Englishman can imagine. On the one side I am proud to say my father was an Englishman; on the other side I am far prouder to say that my mother was the descendant of the loyalists who formed Canada. When in 1776 the American Republic broke off from England, thousands of people gave up everything they had—their wealth, their farms and homes, and everything that tradition and years had made dear to them, came to what was then a wilderness, and formed Canada. Canadians have, therefore, been brought up and fed and bred on loyalty to the British Empire, and when Mr. Goldwin Smith tells us that there would be some commercial advantage in having annexation to the United States, and when he is ready to forget that for a hundred years we have lived in comparative quiet, with remarkable prosperity under the British flag, and professed during all that time the most complete loyalty to that flag; when under that flag we have obtained the most perfect freedom of popular self-government that any nation could possibly enjoy—more even, in my opinion, than the people in the United States; when, I say, Mr. Smith in face of all these facts, claims that the Canadian people will now, or ever in the future *can* break off this loyalty, and accept some trade advantage, and that, perhaps, temporary, as a sufficient substitute for a great national loyalty embedded in the hearts of the people by the life of a century, I say he misunderstands and misrepresents entirely our Canadian opinion. It is very hard to read things like Mr. Goldwin Smith is in the habit of saying, and such as the article which he has just published in an English magazine, without feeling an intense and keen sense of irritation. I have a great regard for Mr. Smith. I look upon him as one of the most accomplished writers of our language, and a most sincere man; one, perhaps, who in his way desires as earnestly as any man possibly could do what is right for the British Empire; but I want to say this, and I say it with great emphasis, because many people in England think that Mr. Smith represents Canadian ideas, and in Canada that he represents British ideas—it is a serious thing for us that we should have a man of such ability and accomplished skill utterly misrepresenting our feelings. I feel no hesitation in asserting that the best minds in Canada would agree with me in saying that he does so misrepresent us, not consciously, perhaps, but from incapacity to understand our national feelings. Even American thinkers have a truer idea of what our national feelings ought to be. I may mention that a distinguished American writer said to me some years ago, after having made a trip round the world, that any British subject who was not an enthusiast upon the matter of British unity was a Philistine of the worst kind. The American Republic is growing rapidly, and we have to look at the question of Imperial Federation very closely. My own mind has run in this direction. I hold that Imperial Federation, meaning by that the organisation as a distinct unity of our great oceanic Empire, with the object of keeping the channels of commerce in every part of the world open and free—free to all nations, is as much to the interests of America as it is to the interests of the British Empire itself. Having put that point of view as strongly as I can into an article which I have lately written for a leading American magazine, the editor has accepted it, has said that he sympathised with my line of thought, and I hope in a few months it will be in print. This shows that American people understand the matter. In that article I used this expression, when speaking of the impossibility of going over to the United States, because we should deflect from the line of national honour, that if we did allow ourselves to be annexed we should incur the deserved contempt of the people we left, and the deserved contempt of those whom we joined. From what I know of the great American people, with their strong national feelings, I am certain that they would regard with unmixed contempt a Canada which had annexed itself to them for merely commercial reasons. From this we may see what is the true relation of Canada to the rest of the Empire to-day. It is impossible with our traditions to join the United States on any merely commercial issue. When the Colonies, as I believe they will, have become the solvent which unites the feeling of the old world and the new, we may have a great Anglo-Saxon Federation, and the future of the world lies in the hands of the Anglo-Saxon race; but change of this kind must be upon the lines of national honour. There is no American who would say that we should be better if we did not follow out that line. That is the feeling of the best American statesmen on this question. There is one other point on which I feel strongly, and that is how to solve the problem of national unity. A great many people say it is impossible. But the Americans have solved the problem. They have shown that representative government may be carried on over vast areas without excessive trouble. The difficulty I find with people in this country is that they have not yet risen to consciousness of the vast difference which has come over the world through steam and electricity. They must learn to look upon London as the centre of the world, and not as the centre of Great Britain. Look how the American Federation was made, the conflicting elements out of which it was made—of the long-sustained commercial prejudices, of the different systems which they organised; and when

you consider how this was done, and the enormous prejudices which had to be contended with, can any one say that the problem before us is as difficult as that? Can any one pretend to say that there is one tenth of the difficulty connected with federating the British Empire that there was in the case of the German Empire? By long persistent struggle the task has been accomplished, and what do we see? We see one strong, clear-headed man standing, and by the force of truth and right drawing together all the conflicting elements, and Germany stands as one of the most powerful countries of the world. I say with deliberation that if we have a strong man in the British Empire—and I hope he is amongst ourselves here to-day—who would like to leave a great name in the page of history—that the one remaining work by which he would leave such a name of the very first rank in British history is in consolidating and completing the unity of the Empire which Pitt founded. May I not express the hope that we may find such a man in our chairman to-day—the President of our Federation League. (Applause.) Perhaps I have gone on too wide ground. I may only say that I myself quite believe that the more opposition we have upon the subject the better it will be for us, as I believe the principles of our Federation idea are founded on inalienable principles. I ask you to consider this. Ever since our Saxon ancestors sat down to form a parish or a hundred, up to the time when they joined together England, Scotland, and Wales, and had to consolidate a great nation like the United States, the Anglo-Saxon mind has found the political expedient which was equal to the political emergency; and if, at the present time, in the face of what I freely admit is the greatest political problem we have ever had to grapple with, we fail, let us acknowledge our failure, but still not say that it was impossible. Let us lay upon our own weakness the blame of not being able to deal with the great problem which has come upon us as the result of our national development. All I can say is, that if I have to answer for Canada, I believe the heart of the Canadian nation is true upon this question. We lately had a great deal of discussion in Canada on the question of Commercial Union with the United States. Our present Governor of New Brunswick and late distinguished Finance Minister, Sir Leonard Tilley, told me that, a short time ago, when in the midst of the agitation he mentioned the question to our veteran Premier, Sir John Macdonald, his only reply was—"Have no anxiety on that score. As soon as the Canadian people find out that Commercial Union means annexation, they will have nothing more to do with it." No man knows the real pulse of Canada better than Sir John Macdonald, and that was the confident assurance he felt. The event justified his faith. It is a matter of history that the moment men had to take their stand in Parliament on Commercial Union, meaning annexation, the idea was done for. The view in favour of Imperial Federation in Canada was never more strong than it is at the present day. The interest in it is deepening from day to day, and when I hear a gentleman from the Antipodes speaking in the clear way in which Mr. Downes Carter has spoken, I do not think I have any reason to say anything less clear and definite from the Colony of Canada. Some of the older statesmen of Canada fight shy of the subject, because of its difficulties; but they are beginning to see that greater difficulties lie in other directions. Many support it enthusiastically, and the weight of popular feeling is with them. In twenty-five years it will be impossible for the British Empire to be based upon its present lines. It is impossible to carry on permanently a system working in the way it now does. Where we have eleven million of English-speaking people in the Colonies who are far more comfortably off and independent than the average of people at home, you are not going to have a foreign policy for a great Empire decided upon solely in Great Britain, and to say that because a man happens to live in some part at a distance from England, he should not have any voice in the matter. The Anglo-Saxon idea is that a real citizen should have a direct and equal voice in the government of his country—in affairs national as well as local. The rights and the responsibilities of citizenship must be made as wide as the Empire. The Saxon is always ready to take the risks of bad or good government, if he is allowed to have a voice in the matter; but he does not long remain controlled by policies in which he has no voice. In conclusion, let me say that many of us in Canada do not feel that we are dreamers or enthusiasts when we hope that Canada is going to be the key-stone in the arch of a world-wide Oceanic Empire, firmly built together for the protection of trade, civilisation, and Christianity. Allow me to thank you heartily in the name of the President of our Canadian Federation League for this address of welcome.

SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G.: My Lord, as my name has been pointedly alluded to in the very interesting and eloquent address we have just listened to from Mr. Downes Carter, I feel that I cannot be perfectly silent on the present occasion, as I, as one of the pioneers of Imperial Federation, have long taken a deep interest in this question. I confess I have always advocated very strongly that all that should first be done in regard to it should be to endeavour to enlist the sympathies and educate the people of the whole of this great Empire



in favour of the principle of Imperial Federation. For years that was the thing to be attempted to be inculcated on the people, leaving the details to be filled in in due time. But I think there is a time when we must descend from that platform, and go more into the details of the question. I might remind Mr. Carter of this difficulty which we first had, and that is this, that there were many ideas on points of detail put forward by many of us, differing very considerably in the plans for carrying out this great national work, and on that ground alone it was exceedingly desirable that all those who held decided views upon it should agree to unite together for the sake of advocating the principle without going into details. If we had gone into such questions we should have split up, and never have been in the prosperous condition as a League in which we now are. But at the same time I do feel very strongly that the time has now come when we should consider something more definite with regard to the programme we are to put forward. I think we are very much indebted to Mr. Downes Carter for so urgently pressing us to meet that difficulty by at once taking into further consideration some plan which we should put before the country for the sake of carrying out our object. I cannot forbear paying my meed of thanks to Mr. Parkin for the extremely eloquent address he has delivered. It is very refreshing indeed to those who have strongly advocated this great question as being the future salvation of the British Empire, to hear from such opposite quarters as Canada and Australia such grand and eloquent advocates of the principle we support. I ventured, my Lord, to rise on this occasion merely to say these few words because I felt I could not keep silent. It is well known to most of you that I am a very progressive person in connection with this League, and I am one of those who want to go forward, as I do not agree with those politicians who are always hesitating and talking about it not being prudent to do this or that. On the contrary, I think we must fight energetically, vigorously, and persistently, in order to obtain our end.

MR. G. W. RUSDEN: As an old friend of Mr. Downes Carter, I may say it gives me very great pleasure to meet him here, and I am sure that I need not say anything with regard to the excellent addresses to which we have listened, as they have touched very deeply the hearts of every one present. There is no deficiency in sentiment of approval, but the question is how to work. When Mr. Forster asked me to become a member of the original League, I did so, thinking that, having had practical experience in the Colonies, I might be a useful member. Mr. Carter touched on one point which is a very practical one. He said there were advocates of Colonial Federation with a view to Imperial disintegration.

MR. DOWNES CARTER: I did not say that.

MR. RUSDEN: Something approximate to that.

MR. DOWNES CARTER: No; I attributed no motives whatever.

MR. RUSDEN: I think Mr. Carter may remember on one particular occasion that there was an advocate for Imperial Federation who had been an advocate of Imperial disintegration—that is the difficulty. (I agree that it was an extraneous condition of things)—that [if we fall into the snare of those who attempt to make the Colonies absolutely self-sustaining and independent of, or even hostile to, the Mother Country, we shall at once fall into a difficulty. We feel that the British Empire deserves to live, and that we are unworthy to be members of it if we cannot devise a means of bringing the Colonies together; but Mr. Carter may remember that when some gentlemen who have since become members of the League many years ago met together to devise something which might be of use to the Colonies, a notice of motion was put upon the proceedings of the House to denounce them: "How dare you interfere with the Government of the Colony? You are in England, and know nothing about it." That is a difficulty which Mr. Carter will feel, which the central body has to avoid, the appearance of dictation from the centre. I as a Colonist have felt—I do not use the term "Colonist" in an offensive way—but I have felt all along that if we presume to stretch forward our arm and say, "In this manner you shall go," we should at once raise opposition, and it would be impossible for you to move. I believe I first moved that there should be a general conference, and in twelve months we saw the result. An accomplished member said, "You want to go too fast—what is the use of going along so fast?" But I said, if we dictate how the thing shall be done we shall give offence to different parties. Let nothing be done without absolute consent—without, as it were, direct promotion by the people of the different Colonies. If the Imperial Federation League in London attempts to dictate to the Colonies there will be a dispersal; you must get them together; it cannot be done without getting them together, and the general consent of all when they are together. We are all in accord with Mr. Carter, and I hope we shall feel that it will be a good thing to get a conference in this great city; let them all be in touch with every portion of the great Empire. What you do with the general consent, after conference of advisers from all parts of the Empire, has indeed a chance of conducing to the good of the whole.

MR. DOWNES CARTER: I think the mistake which Mr. Rusden has made, and which I noticed in most of the speeches was made, is this—

you all seem to think we are anxious to be represented in the House of Commons or the House of Lords; but we do not wish to have anything to do with either of them. I have heard the knell sounded of one of them already, and we do not desire to become members of a moribund body. We consider that the House of Commons and the House of Lords are required for your own self-government. You can govern yourselves as you like, that is your own business. The Parliament we speak of would not contain the immense number of members which you suppose. It would be a central body which would deal with all Imperial questions, one of which would be how to keep the avenues of the seas open to the world. And if we were all united, I do not think we should need standing armies; we should, like America, be strong enough to keep the peace on shore without them. What we should want would be strong naval rather than military forces. As to the difficulty suggested against any such scheme, that we are too far off for it to be practicable, all I can say is, that when a man leaves this country time and space almost seem not to exist; we think nothing of distance; and as a matter of fact it would be easier now for a man to come from Australia to sit in Parliament in London than it was a few years ago for a man in California to represent his State at Washington. It is easier and there is less danger to a man coming from Canada to represent his State in London than it was at the beginning of the century for a man to come from Scotland to take his place in the House of Commons. These are all small points. There is no difficulty if you once made up your mind to do it; and I would like to have that quite clearly understood. I think Mr. Rusden misunderstood me. We want nothing to do with the House of Lords—that is your local Parliament. We only want to have a voice in the Imperial Parliament, and I would ask how can you coerce us if we have representation? If Britain, with thirty millions of people, had thirty representatives, the Colonies, with eleven millions, would have eleven representatives, and if we were out-voted we should accept the result, having had our say. We are not unreasonable. As soon as any decision was come to we should honestly support the majority. There is one small point which I might mention, and that is I see you ask for a subscription to this League from every member joining a branch. Now, I venture to think that is a mistake. You do not need the money, but when a branch League starts it needs all its funds. I think it is worthy of consideration whether it would not be better to enroll members of branches with or without payment to the parent League.

MR. RUSDEN: I did not talk of coercion, but meant that even a suggestion from the body here might be taken as an arrogant dictation of what should be done.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, I think we shall all agree that we have had a most interesting discussion, and that our thanks are clearly due to Mr. Downes Carter and Mr. Parkin for the able addresses which they have delivered. I make no discrimination between them. I am quite sure that no one ever had less excuse for apology than Mr. Downes Carter, and we have conspicuous reason to recognise the power of expression of our friend from New Brunswick. We also have had an agreeable experience. We have been taken to task by Australia and Canada—that is from the extreme bulwarks of the Empire—in a manner that is extremely gratifying to those so taken to task. I shall be glad to hear those rebukes daily, because they show that the spirit we wish to elicit is gaining ground in the Colonies; but it is as well that I should say a few words from our point of view. We are rebuked and told that we ought now to come forward with a scheme, and that unless we do something startling the energies will rather be taken out of our more remote fellow-subjects, and that the League cannot exist on a system of political agnosticism. I do not agree with that expression. The position of the League may be defined as a system of political enthusiasm, but not of agnosticism. Agnosticism is the acknowledged ignorance of the problem you have to deal with. Now we perfectly know what the problem is we have to deal with, but we have one or two considerations which prevent our going faster at present. In the first place, I deny that we have not done anything. I have already had the opportunity of stating this year, at the general meeting, the enormous progress that has been made, and I went so far as to say that, practically, we have Imperial Federation already; we have the germ so strongly established that it only needs development. I take this as my starting-point—that axiom of confidence to which allusion has been made this afternoon. I deny, I say, that we have done nothing, and I am doubtful of the suggestion that we should do more at present. I am speaking with my tongue tied; but we have political difficulties of a peculiarly acute kind at this moment which are not wholly dissociated from the question in hand. You must understand that if we wish to keep the League together we must be very "kittle" (as the Scotch say) of suggestions that the House of Commons is only to transact certain business and careful not to embark on any great constitutional scheme for the regulation of the affairs of the Empire. Everybody knows what I mean, and therefore it is as well not to cross the t's or dot the i's. The situation, complicated as it is, may offer



unexpected facilities for solving the problem; but, on the other hand, it offers immense obstacles to the present discussion of any plan on the part of the League. That is the main difficulty which we have to face. It is an obstacle so important that we have to pass it by and leave it on one side. That being so, let me say one word on another point. Mr. Rusden has said very justly that suggestion on our part to the Colonies on this question would not be, in all probability, favourably received. I confess, from my experience of the Colonies, that I agree in that opinion. My view very strongly is this: that we at home have started the organisation idea; we have displayed the spirit; we have shown, I hope, welcome to the idea; but if the proposition is to be carried into a practical scheme, depend upon it you must have a greater impulse from the Colonies than we have as yet experienced. I am aware there are branches of the League in every part of the British Empire; I am aware that they are thriving and successful. But that is not exactly the point. What we really want to fortify us, and to place the movement at a stage when new schemes could be developed, is not merely the formation of Leagues in the Colonies, but the formulation of some express and definite wish for union of this kind from the Legislative or representative bodies of the Colonies themselves. I by no means despair of that occurring; perhaps in a shorter time than many might suppose possible. Some do not consider this practicable, but some consider it much nearer than I do; and I am inclined to look between these views, and to think there are events quite conceivable which might bring that idea more within the range of practical politics than it is now supposed to be. On the other hand, I think if the people who have the regulation of the movement in this country begin to rush forward too precipitately and attempt to force the movement, which is already proceeding with due acceleration, beyond its natural pace, you may defer the realisation of your hopes to an indefinite future. That is the prudent, politic aspect as the case is presented to us. I do not recognise in the speech of either of our two friends any definite proposition which they have to lay before us. I think if we had to formulate the ideas presented to your minds to-day, they would be found to lie less in the direction of Imperial Federation, strictly so called, than in that of some system of delegations for common Imperial purposes such as exists in Austria-Hungary. That is a view of the question which deserves consideration. But knowing, as I do, the jealousy on the part of the Colonies of anything which looks like central and Imperial interference with the local management of their own concerns, and knowing the sluggishness of the population at home to act on new ideas, I think we are pursuing a wise though perhaps not brilliant course in adhering to the policy of cautious vigilance which we have laid down for ourselves.

\* \* \* *In order that the Journal may be a complete record, we insert all matter bearing on Imperial Federation, without reference to the quarter from which it may proceed, but it is hardly necessary to remind our readers that party politics, whether at home or in the Colonies, are wholly alien to the League in any shape or form, and that the League is in no way responsible for the opinions stated therein.*

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### SCOTTISH HOME RULE AND IMPERIAL FEDERATION

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

51, HANOVER STREET, EDINBURGH,  
August 3, 1888.

SIR,—My attention has been directed to a paragraph in a recent issue of your publication on Scottish Home Rule and the principles of Imperial Federation, and perhaps you will kindly allow me, who, besides being a believer in the great plan of Imperial Federation, am also a member of the League, to make some observations thereon.

I do not know from what source the League draws its inspirations as to the mode and manner in which it desires to accomplish its object, but it is evident it does not avail itself as largely as it might do of one of the best of all sources—the public opinion of the Colonists as expressed in the Colonial press, or else the views stated in that paragraph would not have been so broadly expressed. The paragraph in the Statement of Scotland's Claim for Home Rule to which you refer is one of the paragraphs in that Statement which has given the Colonial press the greatest satisfaction. The Colonists recognise the fact that there cannot be any true Federation unless it is a Federation in substance as well as in form. Portions of the Empire are not going to incur responsibilities for the whole of the Empire, through the actions of other portions of the Empire, without having as complete share in the control of the affairs of the Empire as any other portion of it. All parties must have a common voice in the control of the naval and military forces, in the shaping of our foreign policy, in the guidance of our diplomatic intercourse with other nations, and in the entering

into of treaties with other Powers, before there can be a universal responsibility. This can only be done by an Imperial Parliament for Imperial purposes alone, exclusive of everything else, and in which all portions of the Empire must be represented. There never can be any complete Federation until this is obtained; and how is it to be obtained? This is a question, I think, that admits of some discussion, and might be profitably discussed with some advantage to the objects of the League. A large portion of the Colonial press, who have studied this question of Imperial Federation, and seen our Statement, a small portion of which only bears indirectly upon Imperial Federation, is of opinion, with many Home Rulers, that this could be best obtained by delegating to every distinct portion of the Empire a right to manage its own affairs. This naturally means Home Rule to the four portions of the United Kingdom.

The four nationalities of the United Kingdom, viz., England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, are more separate and distinct in their traditions, their customs, their laws, and their religion, than are the five Colonies on the Australian continent, and one would therefore naturally conclude that self-government would be as beneficial to them as to those Colonies. Ireland clamours for Home Rule, Scotland demands it, Wales needs it, and England would not refuse it. Each naturally would then manage its own domestic affairs in accordance with the desires of the majority of its representatives. The Imperial Parliament could then be reconstituted, into which representatives from all the various portions of the Empire would enter. There would then be a Federation in substance as well as in form.

A platform somewhat similar to the above would, I am certain, do much to advance the scheme of Imperial Federation both at home and in the Colonies.—I am, dear sir, yours faithfully,

THOS. MCNAUGHT, S.S.C.,  
Honorary Colonial Secretary of the Scottish  
Home Rule Association.

## THE MAGIC OF A NAME.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—Please accept the assurance of my heartiest sympathy, and the advice to avoid by all means the fate of Æsop's miller. Maintain your present position; leave it to your critics to invent a name for a citizen of the United Kingdom. Meanwhile no such person will disclaim the title of "Englishman," and every Colonist should be proud of being a Briton.—I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

A SCOT (by place of birth, and therefore an Englishman),  
a CANADIAN (by residence), and a BRITON.  
Hôtel Métropole, August 21st, 1888.

## RESTING ON OUR OARS.

(FROM OUR TORONTO CORRESPONDENT.)

MOST of the members of our League in Canada, as everybody else who can do so, are simply resting on their oars, but still, I hope, recruiting their energies for active work in the fall. The reports that have reached us of the banquet in London in honour of the coming of age of the Confederation are gratifying in many respects to our members. The announcement by Sir Charles Tupper that he will do all in his power to promote any legislation tending in the direction of Imperial Federation, and that he looks upon it as the grand idea ahead of us, is a point of the first moment; and it is not less pleasing to observe the utterance of Mr. Mowat, the Liberal Prime Minister of Ontario, in expressing the hope that, as the question of the relations between the Mother Country and Canada is approached, it may be dealt with by Englishmen who love Canada, and by Canadians who love England, and his belief that whatever changes take place in our political status, it will be in the direction of closer relations with the Mother Country. As to our own President, it was, of course, to be expected that he would express his belief in the success of our movement, and there is no man that can more accurately voice the sentiments of the English-speaking Provinces of this country. In his own Province, where he is best known, he is, I think, with Sir John and Mr. Mowat, the best beloved of her public men, and he has not to encounter the spirit of hostility with which a certain portion of the people there have been educated to regard the Premier of the Dominion. The only thing that can be said against our President is that he has been too busy a man to give sufficient attention to public affairs, and we all most heartily wish that he may soon see fit to abandon the heavier duties of his profession and take hold, in earnest, of public life, for he is eminently well qualified.

Mr. Macmaster, another of the speakers at the banquet, is not a member of our League, but I think his heart is with us. Over ten years ago he supported the writer in a discussion that took place in a literary society on the question of Imperial Federation, and he then expressed the opinion whatever were the difficulties we had to meet we had the public sentiment of the people with us. It was gratifying again to note the testi-



mony of Mr. A. F. MacIntyre, that the idea of Imperial Federation was making rapid headway. Mr. MacIntyre is a pretty pronounced Liberal at the capital, and I have generally understood that he was rather inclined to be against us. We shall be pleased to welcome him to our ranks.

The motion introduced into Parliament last session by Mr. Marshall, and on which Mr. McCarthy made a very able speech, has fairly introduced to the people of Canada a policy that is likely to create much interest and enlist popular favour, and which has been styled Imperial Reciprocity. It is interesting to note the views of our Government on the subject as I find them expressed in an old return made to the Canadian House of Commons, from which I send an extract. The question arose out of a despatch received from the Colonial Secretary, Lord Kimberley, stating that he had information of negotiations going on between Canada and Jamaica, looking to special commercial arrangements with that Colony and the British West Indies generally, in the direction of reciprocal concessions in the reduction of import duties, and it is added that the Governor of Jamaica is "entirely right in his assumption that Her Majesty's Government could not sanction any arrangement which would involve the creation of differential duties in favour of Canada."

Upon receipt of this the Privy Council of Canada made the minute that is given below, and at the present time it is worthy of your readers' attention. Germane to this subject, and bearing upon the return recently made to the Imperial Parliament, 1888, No. 8, it is also deserving of notice that the Canadian Government, as appears by another portion of the return above cited, in 1881-2, through their High Commissioner, made application to the Home Government for steps to be taken by which Canada should be relieved from the provisions of the treaties with Belgium and the German Zollverein, in which there is a provision that German and Belgian produce shall be admitted to the British Colonies on the same terms as to duty, &c., as produce of British origin or of the United Kingdom. Application was accordingly made in this direction by the Home Government to the foreign Governments in question, but the latter were unable to entertain it without abrogating the whole of the treaties in question, which was considered inopportune. It is to be hoped, however, that, either of its own motion or on request of Canada, the Home Government will, now that the subject has again come up, take steps to put an end to the treaties in question, while she may express to the Governments in question her willingness to renew all the other provisions of the treaties if they desire it.

Mr. McNeill's speech at Paris, Ontario, has at last been published, and some copies are sent to the League office in London. The speech made at Joliette by Sir Hector Langevin, the senior French Canadian member of the Dominion Cabinet, it will be noted, is very guarded, and not altogether friendly, though it makes it perfectly clear that proposals to be acceptable to the French Canadians must be very definite; and, as there are many Colonies in a similar position to Canada, England should consider whether, upon their becoming more closely incorporated in the Empire, and assuming liability for contribution to Imperial defence, some advantages should not be given them over foreign countries, or at least over foreign countries that maintain hostile tariffs against the Empire, since this is the most obvious if not the only way in which the Mother Country contributes to their development and make them feel the advantages of British connection.

In conversation with the Hon. Mr. Taillon, the Opposition leader in the Quebec Legislature, he expressed himself as favourable to a policy that would "resserrer les liens entre la grande Bretagne et les Colonies," though he did not see the practicability of Imperial Federation. He appeared favourable to a system of tariff discrimination in favour of British produce in the several countries of the Empire, provided it could be done without serious derangement of our fiscal responsibilities.

MANU FORTI.

EXTRACT FROM A RETURN TO THE CANADIAN HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1883, No. 89, RELATING INTER ALIA TO TRADE WITH JAMAICA.

The Earl of Kimberley to Marquis of Lorne.

Downing Street, July 29, 1882.

MY LORD,—I have received from the Governor of Jamaica a despatch in which he states that he has learned from unofficial, but trustworthy, sources that the Government of Canada desires to enter into special commercial arrangements with that Colony, and the British West Indies generally, in the direction of reciprocal concessions in reduction of import duties.

The Governor of Jamaica further understands that the duties which the Canadian Government are willing to reduce are those on rum, sugar, and fruit in return for which Jamaica would make adequate reductions, particularly on flour, fish, and lumber.

I need scarcely say that Sir A. Musgrave is entirely right in his assumption that Her Majesty's Government could not sanction any arrangements which would involve the creation of differential duties in favour of Canada.

Before I can express any opinion upon the suggested arrangement, I should wish to learn the view of your Ministers upon the subject, and the nature of any proposals which the Canadian Government may desire to make.—I have, &c.

KIMBERLEY.

Governor-General Right Honourable Marquis of Lorne.

Sir W. J. Ritchie to the Earl of Kimberley.

Ottawa, October 28, 1882.

MY LORD,—In reply to your Lordship's despatch of the 29th July last, relative to special commercial arrangements with Jamaica and the British West Indies generally, in the direction of reciprocal concessions in reduction of import duties, I have the honour to forward herewith, for your Lordship's information, a copy of an approved Report of a Committee of the Privy Council, embodying a report by the Minister of Finance on the subject.—I have, &c.,

W. J. RITCHIE.

The Earl of Kimberley, &c., &c.

Certified copy of a Report of a Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council in General in Council, on the 26th October, 1882.

The Committee have had under consideration a Colonial Office despatch, dated 29th July, 1882 (confidential), on the subject of special commercial arrangements with Jamaica and the British West Indies generally in the direction of reciprocal concessions in reduction of import duties.

The Minister of Finance, to whom the confidential despatch, dated the 29th, was referred, reports that certain unofficial communications have been received from parties in Jamaica expressive of the desire that special commercial engagements should be entered into for increasing the trade between the two colonies, but that nothing in the nature of negotiation has taken place, nor is the Minister prepared to submit any basis for discussion at present.

That the despatch states that the Governor of Jamaica understands that the Canadian Government are willing to reduce the duties on rum, sugar, and fruit, in return for which Jamaica would make adequate reduction, particularly on flour, fish, and lumber. Upon this the Minister desires to remark that the duties on rum are so intimately connected with the excise system of the Dominion that any interference with them would be attended with great difficulty. As regards sugar and fruit, they might certainly form the subject of future negotiations if they were desired. But it is understood to be doubtful whether the finances of Jamaica would permit any material reduction of duties upon flour and fish and lumber, thereby rendering it absolutely necessary that the form of compensation to Canada should be through an augmentation of duty upon those articles when imported into Jamaica from the United States or other foreign countries.

This view seems to have been present to the mind of Sir A. Musgrave, and his assumption that Her Majesty's Government could not sanction any arrangements which would involve the creation of differential duties in favour of Canada, is stated by Lord Kimberley to be entirely right.

The Minister further observes that, although the Canadian Government are not at present prepared to propose any plan for a commercial convention with Jamaica or the West Indies generally, they feel it necessary to record their dissent from the principle hereby laid down, that, as between portions of the said Empire, no duties discriminating in favour of British as against foreign industry can be sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government.

The Minister further observes that this principle formed the subject of a protracted discussion with Her Majesty's Government in 1860—61, upon the proposal made by Canada, prior to Confederation, to have free interchange of products with the Maritime Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, maintaining duties on the same articles against the rest of the world. A reference to this correspondence will show that the point was finally conceded by Her Majesty's Government, and the policy desired by Canada acquiesced in.

That in accordance with this precedent, the Canadian Government claim that it is competent for any of the Colonies possessing representative and responsible Governments to enter into mutual agreement for either partial or absolute free trade with the Mother Country or with each other, or with both, discriminating against other countries.

The same principle should also apply in the Crown Colonies; but as their action must be through Her Majesty's Government, it is evident that their wishes cannot be carried into effect without the sanction of the Imperial Executive.

Negotiations with such Colonies do not seem to promise any beneficial results until this principle be conceded: That trade should be rendered as free as practicable between the various portions of the Empire, having regard solely to their own interests, and unfettered by any obligations to treat others with equal favour.

The Committee concur in the foregoing Report of the Minister of Finance, and they recommended that a copy of this minute, when approved, be transmitted to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State of the Colonies.

JOHN J. MCCEE.

Receipt of the above without comment was acknowledged on the 7th December, 1882.

MESSRS. PHILIP and SON have issued separately the portions of the *Handy Volume Atlas of the British Empire* which relate to Australasia and British North America respectively. The *Athenaeum* recommends them as likely to form very useful little volumes for intending visitors or emigrants to those Colonies.

The May number of *Imperial Federation* is a more than usually interesting one. It is a pity that the Journal of the League is not more widely read in the Colonies. Copies are to be found, it is true, in most or all of the public reading rooms of this Colony at any rate; but so cheap and withal so useful a publication might well find its way into more private houses. Members of the Tasmanian Branch might do good service to the cause they have at heart by taking the journal and lending it about among their friends and neighbours. The more the real objects and methods of the Imperial Federation League are known and understood, the more surely will the cause of national unity win its way. There are no better, and certainly no more authentic, means of diffusing this information than the official organ of the parent society.—*Hobart Mercury*.



## NOTICES.

THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

The annual payment of Five Shillings ensures inscription upon the Register of the LEAGUE, and the receipt of the JOURNAL of the LEAGUE monthly, post free.

The annual payment of One Guinea ensures inscription upon the Register, and the receipt of all the publications of the LEAGUE (JOURNAL included) as they are issued.

The annual subscription to the JOURNAL may begin with any number, to cover twelve months from that date. It will be sent post free the world over for the subscription of Four Shillings, payable in advance.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be obtainable through any bookseller. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining it, the SECRETARY of the LEAGUE should be communicated with, when the matter will be at once attended to.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire should become members of the LEAGUE, and promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves and introducing it to their friends.

The JOURNAL can now be sent at the 2 oz. rate.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London, W.

## Imperial Federation.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1888.

### NOTES AND COMMENTS.

It is an old story that all great movements are unnoticed at the beginning, and our London contemporaries have no intention that the inauguration of a system of Imperial Defence shall be any exception to the rule. Perhaps we could hardly expect, when room had to be found to chronicle the bags of grouse that were made on every moor from Sutherland to Yorkshire, that much space could be spared to record the fact that the Imperial Defences Bill had received the royal assent. But at any rate such has been the case. The *Morning Post*, as far as we have seen, furnishes the solitary exception, and recognises the vital importance of the new departure. Perhaps it is well, and the infant that was born on August 13th may grow all the stronger for having been free from coddling in its cradle.

THE *Toronto World* reads us a lecture of a kind that it cannot be said we often receive from our Colonies. It tells at length the tale of Croesus, King of Lydia, how he showed his treasures of gold to the sage, and how the sage replied, "Know, O King, that he who has more iron will one day be master of all this gold." Nor does it hesitate to point the moral, for it declares point-blank: "It is very doubtful, indeed, whether the making and saving of money, which JOHN BULL is apt to regard as the chief end of man, is compatible with an adequate provision for the national defence. . . . If JOHN BULL would keep his gold safe, he must spend some of it on iron." As we have said already, this is not a lesson that the Colonies have often preached to us, but, perhaps, it is not the less wholesome for that, and, perhaps, too, now that Greenock has been bombarded and Liverpool itself held to ransom, it may fall on ears somewhat less deaf than usual.

THE Bow of Ulysses may be unstrung, but at least the winged words of MR. FROUDE have entered deep and

rankled bitterly in the hearts of the negroes of the upper classes in our West Indian islands. In Grenada—which, by the way, strange as it may seem, is rich and prosperous—MR. THOMAS has for many months past been refuting MR. FROUDE by weekly instalments in the columns of the *Chronicle*. His departure for Europe has now forced him to discontinue the series, but he informs his readers that "the articles are being revised with scrupulous care, and arranged methodically, to be issued in a compact volume as a systematic rejoinder to the silly and ill-intentioned ravings of a man whose mental fame alone makes him worthy of notice, as his book, considered in any serious sense, is below critical contempt. The cunning weaving of words together being the only forte of that writer, the consideration of his facts and opinions disclosing, as it does, so much dishonesty and silliness, cannot fail to relegate it to its true place as a wicked and futile literary abortion by a political Balaam dubious about God and defiant of the truth."

THE *Daily Sun*, published at St. John, New Brunswick, has a striking article on "Canada Comes of Age." Mere material progress is the least of the triumphs recorded, though even that is remarkable enough. Twenty-one years back the Dominion comprised an area of 400,000 square miles, and the largest city within its borders could not reach a population of 100,000. Even of towns of 30,000 there were but three. To-day the area of the Dominion is 3,000,000 square miles; one city has a population of 200,000; another of 130,000; the figure of 30,000 has been passed by seven more. But beyond and above this, "No one whose memory goes back to the union will dispute that the community of sentiment has come. . . . Our status in the Empire, which had hardly changed in the half-century previous to Confederation, has very greatly changed in the past twenty-one years. The fact is recognised that the people of this country are, as much as those in England, determining the doctrines of the Empire." The United States have awaked to the consciousness that Canada is a dangerous rival—"a fine compliment from a nation which celebrated its centennial a dozen years ago." We have offered our congratulations on the anniversary already; nor need we add more, except to say that, the daughter having come of age—in these days of women's rights the metaphor will be pardoned us—it is high time the mother took her into partnership in the old firm.

It would be affectation to deny that the rejection of the Fisheries Treaty by the Senate of the United States is matter for regret. It would be difficult to express what is probably the common English view on the subject more accurately than in the temperate words of the *Toronto Mail*:—"It has been the Canadian view from the beginning that the treaty conceded far more than it secured, but Canada was disposed to accept it, hoping to terminate the bickerings with the United States." Nor is it desirable, that in discussing the action of the lawfully-constituted Government of a friendly Power, we should go one word in advance of the criticism of the American journals themselves, which say that "the treaty was rejected not on its merits but by a strict party vote," and that "its rejection is perhaps the most remarkable instance of narrow partisanship in the treatment of a great international question ever known" in the history of the United States.

PERHAPS the least happy comment on this subject in the English press is to be found in the columns of a contemporary which shall remain, as far as we are concerned, anonymous, as we are sure from the sympathetic tone it usually adopts in all Colonial matters, that the words can only have been written through inadvertence. Our



contemporary says:—"A puerile party triumph has preserved to the United States a trumpety grievance which we would thankfully have settled at a slight sacrifice of Canadian susceptibilities, and we are not likely to fight over that." On the other side of the Atlantic, we are able without hesitation to award the palm to the *Toronto Globe*. "What does it all teach?" writes that Journal. "Surely, that the Dominion Government should insist upon managing their fisheries business without British intervention. . . . Canada must either lose her fisheries or sternly protect them." Apparently, for this occasion only the *Globe* doubts the temper of its readers, and thinks it best to leave its Commercial Union hobby quietly in the stable. But we cannot but regret that the *Globe* has failed to specify the method in which the stern repression required will be applied by five millions of Canadians to their sixty million neighbours in the United States. If we could be quite certain that the method would be efficacious, we in England should feel ourselves freed from a considerable responsibility.

By the time these pages are in their readers' hands the Fisheries Question will very likely have taken a fresh development that at present it is impossible for us to foresee. The surprising action of PRESIDENT CLEVELAND has been caused, so our contemporaries tell us, by a desire to score a party triumph. Though we must admit we have no more plausible explanation to offer, we must refuse to accept this, or to believe that an honourable man, such as the President of the United States has always shown himself, would embitter the relationship between a hundred millions of Englishmen for the sake of four more years of office, or desire to visit Canada with pains and penalties to console himself for the party virulence of his own fellow countrymen. Meanwhile, there is one point quite clear that if the United States desire to develop the Canadian national sentiment, they are taking the most effective possible means to attain their ends.

THE memorial to MR. FORSTER in Westminster Abbey was unveiled on Friday, July 27th, by LORD KNUTSFORD. LORD ROSEBURY, SIR JOHN COLOMB, MR. O. V. MORGAN, SIR DANIEL COOPER, SIR FREDERIC YOUNG, and many other prominent members of the League were present on the occasion. In the course of his address LORD KNUTSFORD referred to the eminent services MR. FORSTER had rendered to his country, in that he had always taken a keen and vivid interest in all Colonial questions, and had been alive to the importance both to the Mother Country and the Colonies of the maintenance of the connection between them. "He pursued," said the COLONIAL SECRETARY, "with untiring industry the investigation of the question how the links between England and the Colonies could be strengthened. His great ambition was to become Secretary of State for the Colonies; and it is certain the position could not have been filled by any one more worthily, or by one who would have worked more for the interests of the great British Empire." It was not to be, but in the days to come, when Englishmen yet unborn make reverent pilgrimages from their homes beyond the ocean to the great Abbey—

"Where lie the mighty bones of ancient men,"

there will be few spots in all that hallowed cemetery that will have better right to attract their notice than that which is marked with the medallion of WILLIAM EDWARD FORSTER.

REPORTERS are really too careless sometimes, especially after dinner. If anybody ought to know what the Premier of Ontario said—or at least meant to say—it surely should be the *Toronto Daily Mail*. And this is how it

summarises MR. MOWAT'S speech at the recent Canadian banquet in London:

The relations of Canada with the Mother Country could not always remain as now. A change must take place, but the Canadians shrink from Imperial Federation. No practical plan had been shown which would satisfy both peoples. The difficulty was enormous. Our young people had growing enthusiasm and wanted independence, whilst older men felt they could not be an independent people yet, and must not think of it now. Whatever the solution of the difficulty might be, he rejoiced to see the growing affection of the Canadian people for Canada.

What can be said, then, for the *Canadian Gazette*, which professes to give MR. MOWAT'S actual words, and reports them as follows?—

We are proud of this Canada of ours. (Cheers.) We are very hopeful of its future. We know its teeming resources. And this patriotic spirit should be encouraged and cultivated. It is a natural and proper sentiment. At the same time, our love for the old land is not lessened. (Hear, hear.) We remember—we never cease to remember—this country as our home. We talk of it as our home. It is our Mother Country, our Fatherland, our parent, the birthplace of our fathers, the home of our ancestors for generations untold; we know its splendid achievements, we know what it has done for the liberty of the world—always foremost in the ranks of civilisation, always furthering the cause of mankind; fostering religion, the fine arts, literature, and everything that is good. It is impossible not to be proud of, not to love, our country. Various are the changes proposed by which to improve our relations with the Old Land. But I rejoice to think and feel that, whatever reform is finally adopted, it must and will be in the direction of strengthening the bonds which binds us to the Mother Country. (Loud cheers.)

The *Canadian Gazette* should really call upon its reporter to explain how, if he was so badly placed as to be unable to hear more distinctly than this, he ventured to give what purports to be a *verbatim* report of MR. MOWAT'S speech.

WE are almost equally unwilling to discuss and to ignore the extraordinary attacks upon our cause that have appeared recently in the *Spectator*. On the one hand, it is impossible to deny the position to which the *Spectator*, by its honesty and ability, has deservedly attained. On the other, we can hardly be expected seriously to answer an argument like this: "The so-called Federation of the Empire would be . . . about as hopeful as an attempt to co-ordinate from London the notions of a horse in England, a buffalo in Canada, a kangaroo in Australia, and an ostrich in South Africa." This simile scarcely seems to move quite freely; perhaps we might say that it advances somewhat kangaroo fashion. But letting that pass, and making the best of a bad simile, we should prefer to say that, having got such a very scratch team to drive, it is surely wise to train them to pull together. If the writer proposed to turn the ostrich, and the buffalo, and the rest of them out of the paddock, and reserve the whole of the grass for the domestic horse, we could understand him. But he does not venture to make any such suggestion. Nobody that we know of has ever thought that co-ordinating kangaroos and buffaloes was likely to be an easy task even for the most skilful zoologist. At the same time, it can hardly be very rash to say that, if the task has to be attempted here and now, it would be as well to import a few specimens of the creature for the benefit of the London comparative anatomist.

WE told our readers last month a good deal about the Australian Natives' Association. Here is another interesting episode in their recent history. DR. PINNOCK, of Ballarat, who holds the rank of surgeon in the Victoria Defence Force, has been for ten years a member of the Association. As soon as it was decided that no one should be required to stand up when the QUEEN'S health was drunk, DR. PINNOCK promptly resigned, giving as the reason not only his own personal feelings, but also the fact that he had as a soldier taken a special oath of allegiance to HER MAJESTY. A députation which waited upon him repudiated any sympathy



with disloyalty, and requested him to withdraw his resignation. DR. PINNOCK asked for a few days for consideration, and wrote laying the matter before the Minister of Defence. The reply was unmistakable, "SIR JAMES LORIMER does not consider that you, as an officer of the Defence Force, should take part in any such proceedings, but thinks that you should do your best to discourage and discountenance them." DR. PINNOCK thereupon once more tendered his resignation, which was accepted with regret. Certainly, if it be true that the desire of all sensible Colonists is to cut the painter, they have an odd way of showing it.

APROPOS of the somewhat similar demonstrations of disloyalty that have taken place in Sydney, a Colonist, one of the few Australian statesmen with a European reputation, writes as follows:—"The Sydney anti-Imperial demonstrations need not be taken *trop sérieux*. In all the Colonies there is the usual boyish disposition to magnify their importance and to anticipate the period of their majority; but the sober-thinking people are mostly Imperialists, and by judicious education I hope all things will eventuate as we desire." If we needed confirmation for this common-sense view, we might surely find it in the attitude of Queensland at the present time. That extremely juvenile Colony, with the population of the parish of Lambeth, a seaboard of two thousand miles, and two gunboats, one torpedo boat, and several tugs to defend it with, is talking at the present time of setting up house for itself.

THE *Hobart Mercury* has a sympathetic leading article on the League's deputation to LORD LANSDOWNE, in the course of which it expresses the opinion that his Excellency's reply is the more significant because he is one of those who at one time showed considerable scepticism as to any useful or practical result flowing from the action of the League. The *Mercury* considers that his words should be an encouragement to those whose hearts sink because they see no immediate results of a large or a startling nature from the action of Imperial Federationists. On the special question of intercolonial reciprocity it writes as follows:—"The particular question of increased commercial facilities between Canada and Australia is one of which much will be heard in the course of the next few years. The Pacific Railway affords the first half, so to speak, of the new chain of communication. The Pacific cable, which will, undoubtedly, be laid before very long, will be followed, even if it is not preceded, by direct lines of steamers; and this double link lying side by side will complete the chain.

THE *Times* of Natal, too, has a leader on this subject which finds in the proposal sufficient evidence "that in Canada the idea of Imperial Federation has taken deep root, and is likely to prosper." The writer, who is strongly in sympathy with the idea, urges the necessity of caution, each step preparing the way, and smoothing the path for the next. It is only, he thinks, on the basis of "mutually favourable trade relation" that a federated Empire can be built up. The conclusion of the article we must quote at length, only expressing our hope that the many advocates of Imperial Federation in Natal will unite ere long to establish there a branch of the Imperial Federation League:—"We have no doubt that the proposal will find many supporters. In our own small Colony, for instance, although much mud is flung at the proposal in certain quarters where every noble or great idea is reviled, Imperial Federation has many advocates, and meets with general sympathy. And we have no reason to think, from the reports which have reached us, that other Colonies will not also be in harmony with the Canadians. But before any proposal can be made to the

Home Government, it will be necessary for representatives of the various Colonies to meet and discuss a workable scheme. If such a meeting was held in London the delegates might be empowered to agree to the scheme on behalf of their various countries; but we think the best plan would be to submit it to the Colonies and obtain their approval, particularly as there is no necessity for haste. The Canadian Legislature have fairly launched the idea of Federation. If they continue to take the lead they will find themselves committed to a difficult task, but its accomplishment will bring them renown, and earn them the cordial thanks of the Empire."

THE interruption of telegraphic communication has been by no means without its advantages for the Australian Colonists. They seem to have had something not very unlike a modified "scare," and to have realised for the first time that, after all, Australia is not inaccessible to the rest of the universe. Moreover, Victoria has seized the opportunity to test the quality of her defensive arrangements and find out their weak points. Not only this, but the inconvenience of putting all one's eggs into the same basket has been brought prominently forward. That the Canadian Pacific cable scheme has received a strong lift forward is undoubted. And intercolonial cables and intercolonial reciprocity will not in practice be found entirely disconnected.

WE publish the telegram that follows in the hope that some of our readers may be able to tell us what it all means. Where was the Cabinet? How did the French-Canadian leaders get into it? How long were they confined? And how did they get out? We are glad to think that MR. DALTON MCCARTHY was on the Atlantic at the time, and so cannot be suspected of any share in the plot. Any reader who thinks that he has found the correct solution of the riddle is recommended to apply to the Exchange Telegraph Company for a prize.

OTTAWA, Aug. 10.—The meeting of the French-Canadian leaders in the Cabinet is at an end. It is everywhere announced that they could not support Imperial Federation. From information gained it shows that French Canada is almost united against Federation.

### A SOLDIER'S VIEW OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

WE have received from General Tottenham—a member, we believe, of the well-known Irish family of that name, who, after long service in India, has now retired and settled in Tasmania—two pamphlets dealing with the subject of Imperial Federation. As General Tottenham mentions that as long ago as 1871 he inserted advertisements in the *Times* and the *Scotsman*, and sent to every member of Parliament and to every Colony an appeal "urging the formation of such an association as that now existing in England"—and not by any means in England only, we are glad to say—"for the discussion of the possibilities of Imperial Federation," no one, we think, is likely to question his right to be heard in the matter. At the same time, we frankly confess that the General's scheme is much too "cut and dried" to suit our taste. If the question is, to use his own words, one that must "be presented for votive decision to the whole body of electors throughout the British Empire," it is surely premature for any man, or even any body of men, whether in Tasmania, or in Vancouver, or even in London itself, to formulate a complete scheme worked out into detail, and expect that without previous interchange of ideas, and a mutual acceptance of the principle of give and take in a large-hearted sense, it is likely to be received on all hands as satisfactory. With this initial protest, which we should equally feel called upon to make even if we agreed ourselves with every one of his proposals, we will lay the scheme very briefly before our readers.

"The first point . . . is the absolute necessity for a Federal Parliament entirely free of the local trammels of



the present legislative bodies. No member of the Federal Parliament should be a member of his own State Legislature as well, as, the duties being distinct, the persons entrusted with them should be so also." It may be so. The great Mother of Parliaments may be forced some day to step down from her pride of place, and become a mere provincial legislature. Certainly the "Flood of British freedom," which, as Wordsworth sings, "from dark antiquity, Hath flowed with pomp of waters unwithstood," has shown some signs of late that it is likely in "bogs and sands to perish." But at least the time is not yet. General Tottenham's scheme for the supersession of the Imperial Parliament at one stroke by a brand-new Federal Council of 100 members and a Federal Assembly of some 250, would, at the most sanguine estimate, put off Imperial Federation for half a generation. And who shall say that there would then be a British Empire left to federate? Further, supposing the scheme carried, is there so vast a reserve stock of statesmen of the first rank that General Tottenham's new Self-Denying Ordinance can be enforced without injury either to Imperial Assembly or to local Parliament? Was the French determination, in 1791, that members of the Constituent should not become members of the new Legislative Assembly so conspicuous a success that General Tottenham can draw much encouragement from this example? With the natural instincts of a soldier, General Tottenham, though providing for an Imperial Ministry, makes much of the Crown and little of its Ministers. For example, he would decree that "for the first two years from the date of the Federation being formed, the powers of the Upper House, or Federal Council, shall be exercised by the Sovereign alone;" and, again, "the Imperial veto or casting-vote might rest with the Sovereign in cases of less than two-thirds majority." Powers these, both of them, that quite conceivably might be well exercised by a German or Austrian Emperor or by an American President, but incompatible, surely, with the position of a Sovereign who can do no wrong, and never acts except on the advice of her constitutional advisers.

The second pamphlet contains an Address on Imperial Federation, with a note stating, "The author intended to have delivered this address in Sydney, but was prevented by circumstances from carrying out his intention." In one respect, we think this was not altogether a misfortune. General Tottenham broadly accuses all the New South Wales statesmen of opposing, by fair means or foul, in season and out of season, even the very discussion of the question of Imperial Federation. He bases this very sweeping assertion mainly, it appears, on the fact that they have not yet seen "their way to join with the majority of the other Colonies in carrying out the provisions of the Australasian Federal Council Act." Much as we ourselves may regret this, it is impossible to ascribe their action to mere provincial and local jealousy. Still less is it possible to accuse the Colony that in a wild outburst of popular enthusiasm despatched a regiment to our assistance in the Soudan of selfish indifference to the fate of the Empire as a whole. Nor can anything be gained by describing Sir Henry Parkes and his colleagues as "mushroom-like politicians of the hour." At the same time, we can only be grateful to General Tottenham when, in his attempt to rouse the Australian democracy to the necessity of being prepared if necessary to fight for their homes and their liberties, he says:—"As a soldier and an earnest student of my late profession . . . it has been my lot to see and appreciate many, very many, indications of the paramount necessity for thorough preparation of all parts of our Empire for defence at a moment's notice. . . . Far be it from me to disparage the defensive efforts of Australians, New Zealanders, Canadians, and many other Colonists; but the knowledge of war and its history forbids us to hope that these independent forces can effect with divided commands and counsels very much more than their own efficient destruction before the forces of an antagonist whose means of offence are worked in unison under an undivided authority served with anything like rhythmic zeal and ability."

We trust that General Tottenham will turn his special attention to this point. Colonists absorbed in peaceful industry at the other end of the world are scarcely to be blamed if the wars and rumours of wars in this old Europe

of ours "fall upon their ears like the echoes of a vanished world." They need to be convinced that, though ignorance may now be bliss, to be wise too late will be worse than folly—it will be madness. Let General Tottenham, with his military experience giving him a right to speak, impress upon the Australian working men that the Bosphorus, and the Persian Gulf, and the Hindoo Koosh are all but so many side roads leading down on to the great highway running from Sydney and from Melbourne to London and to Liverpool—aye, and to New York, and to Antwerp, and to Hamburg—and that it sorely taxes, and may well overtask, the strength of England to guard these roads unaided. Selfish the Australian working man may be, though we see no signs that in this respect he is worse than the rest of us; self-centred and self-sufficing he is, and from the circumstances of his position, isolated amid new and strange surroundings, is bound to be; but a fool his worst enemy has never accused him of being. And a fool he would be, if, when once convinced that his commerce—or, in other words, his livelihood, his very existence—was at the mercy of a stranger whom he had no reason to believe to be over-friendly, he consented to remain in that perilous position a single day longer than he was absolutely obliged. If Australian Federation is proved to his satisfaction to be necessary for Australian security, Australian Federation he will have within a twelvemonth; and if that is not sufficient to guarantee the safety of the Empire and of the Imperial commerce, he will go a step further, and heedless of personal objections and local jealousies, caring nothing, too, whether Parliaments or Cabinets crumble to pieces beneath the pressure, demand some large measure of Imperial Federation. Towards informing and guiding public opinion in this direction General Tottenham might, and, we are persuaded, will do much.

#### SOUTH AFRICA.

THERE are so many different threads of South African history unwinding themselves simultaneously that we must be content—for this month, at least—to chronicle the facts, and leave to a more convenient season any special comment that we may have to make on them. The point of most immediate, though certainly not of most permanent, importance is that the outbreak in Zululand is practically at an end. Somkeli surrendered some weeks back. That Dinizulu has abandoned his position in the Ceza bush, that all resistance has ceased, and that the levies have been (or are in process of being) disbanded, is certain; beyond that, the reports that have reached us by telegram are conflicting. Dinizulu was said to have fled to Swaziland; then we learnt that he had surrendered; later news said that he had escaped and taken refuge in the Rebombo Mountains, where Lucas Meyer has gone in pursuit with orders from the authorities of the New Republic to arrest him alive or dead. As we write comes word that their purpose has been accomplished. Further north, for good or for evil, another native chief and his territories are definitely on our hands. Commander Grobelaar's entry into Khame's territory has compelled the Government to give form and substance to our hitherto somewhat shadowy protectorate. Sir Hercules Robinson has been instructed to inform President Krüger that the Matabele, Mashona, and Makalaka lands, and the northern portion of Khame's territory as far as the Zambesi, are solely within the sphere of British influence. On the other side of their country, we have also been brought into contact with the Transvaal Boers. In response to the invitation of President Krüger, Her Majesty's Government have declared that it is not their intention to buy or acquire the Portuguese Delagoa Bay Railway, or to interfere with the scheme of Colonel MacMurdo. A similar declaration has been made on behalf of the Cape Government; while the Transvaal Government, in return, not only promise to abstain from attempting to acquire the railway, but also undertake that no exceptional rebates of Customs duties shall be given on goods entering the Transvaal by this route.

Natal appears to be in a condition of leaping and bounding prosperity; the problem how to improve the harbour of Durban is believed at length to have been successfully solved, and it is expected that in two years time it will be able to accommodate the largest vessels with safety. Meanwhile, and in preparation for the accession of traffic that this will bring, the Natal railway system, which already pays five per cent. on its cost, is to be extended on from Ladysmith through the coal districts to Coldstream. Nor has the Colony any distrust of its own capacity. Mr. Robinson, whom our readers will remember as a warm advocate of Imperial Federation, has once more, now that the affairs of Zululand have to be settled for the fifth time within eight years, given notice of a motion which we may assume will be carried in the Legislative Council: that the only satisfactory solution of the question is to be found in



handing over the administration of Zululand to the Government of Natal.

The Parliament of the Cape Colony is also equally clear that it is for the interests not only of the Colony but of the Empire at large that the High Commissioner who administers the native States of the interior should continue to be the Governor of the Cape Colony. A unanimous resolution to this effect has been passed by both Houses and sent home to the Colonial Office. The Cape Parliament has adopted the Government programme of railway extension, and sanctioned the extension of the present lines from Kimberley to the Vaal, and from Colesberg to the Orange River. In another direction the Government was at first less successful. The Customs Union proposals, having passed the Lower House, were rejected in the Upper Chamber by eight votes to seven. Parliament has accordingly been prorogued, and invited to re-consider the matter, and as we go to press we learn that the Customs Union Bill has been passed, and Parliament once more prorogued.

Two other points we may notice in conclusion. Sir Henry de Villiers and Mr. Hoffmeyer having declined to stand, Chief Justice Reitz has been elected as President Brand's successor. In Walfisch Bay there has been some risk that the English subjects who occupy the town would be attacked by the tribes of the neighbouring country, who are nominally under the control of Germany. A correspondent of the *Times*, who appears to write from familiarity with his subject, urges that we should surrender Walfisch Bay, which is valueless to us without the country behind it, to Germany, and endeavour to obtain compensation elsewhere. But here, too, the difficulty is, what would the Cape say?

### THE REFORM OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS FROM A COLONIAL POINT OF VIEW.

(FROM A CANADIAN CORRESPONDENT.)

THE reform of the House of Lords is a subject which has of late seriously engaged public attention, and leading British statesmen have expressed themselves regarding it in such a manner as to show that it is now within the sphere of practical politics. It has heretofore been considered mainly from an English point of view, the Upper House being of course regarded as a part of the Parliament of the United Kingdom. The House of Lords does not, however, seem to be indispensably necessary for the good government of the British Isles, and surely a legislative body of such antiquity, dignity, and stability, is fitted for a far higher purpose than merely confirming the decisions of the House of Commons. The "expansion of England," and the multiplication of Colonial communities owing allegiance to the British Crown, are gradually demonstrating the necessity for some Imperial representative body, in which their various sentiments and interests might find expression and protection. The present seems, therefore, to be a proper time to discuss the subject from a Colonial standpoint, and to ascertain whether the House of Lords might not, with advantage to all concerned, be so re-constructed as to become the Parliament of the British Empire. There is no reason why, in matters concerning the British Isles, the House of Commons should not be relieved from the necessity of having all its measures expressly sanctioned by a House of Lords. It would even seem practicable for it to send a delegation to that House in the event of its becoming the Parliament of the Empire, so as to exercise its proper influence on the management of Imperial affairs.

One of the chief objects which the Imperial Federation League has in view is to induce common action among the members of the British Empire with regard to its defence and the protection of its shipping. Sooner or later some system must be adopted, either by an Imperial duty on foreign importations, or by special contributions, for meeting the necessary cost. Whatever arrangements may ultimately be come to among the various parts of the Empire for contributing their share, it seems impossible that such can long continue without provision being made for their representation in an Imperial Senate. "No taxation without representation" is a political axiom which seems at the present day to be universally accepted. Besides, it is unfair that Imperial concerns should be managed by an English Ministry, the creation exclusively of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom. It is unjust that Colonists who may have to suffer severely in time of war should have nothing to say as regards the conduct of foreign affairs upon which the continuance of peace or the outbreak of war depends. This consideration is one which received a good share of attention at the time the Imperial Federation League was formed in England, and the late Mr. Forster expressed himself regarding it in the following words:—"If we ask the Colonists to tax themselves for defence against possible attack from foreign powers, if we remind them that it is not just that we at home should bear more than our fair share of the cost of protecting them from invasion, we must confess that their demand for some participation in Imperial foreign policy will gather strength, and therefore again we come to the conclusion that,

if the Empire is not to be broken up, there must be an organisation for mutual defence, and for common control of foreign policy." Mr. Forster also addressed himself to the discussion of the proposals which had been made for the Parliamentary representation of the whole Empire, and his views should certainly be made the starting-point for considering the problem of an Imperial Senate. He says (for, although dead, he speaketh): "There are two proposals for Parliamentary representation":—

"(1) The admission into the House of Commons of members for the Colonies, and probably, at the same time, an addition to the House of Lords of Colonial peers. (2) The formation of a new and paramount representative assembly, which shall bear the same relation to our Parliament at home, and also to the Parliament of the Dominion and of the other Colonies, as that which Congress bears to the American State Legislatures, or the German Reichstag to the Prussian or Bavarian Landtags.

"In the one case the Colonial representatives would sit in a house which would discuss and attempt to solve, not only all Imperial questions, but all those affecting the internal government of the United Kingdom; and in the other case they would be members of an assembly which concerned itself with Imperial questions only."

In discussing these two alternatives, Mr. Forster arrived at the conclusion that a representation of the Empire in the House of Commons was an impossibility. Indeed, to propose Colonial representation in it would be almost as unreasonable as to give the United Kingdom representation in the Dominion Parliament. An Imperial Senate should not be subject to disruption and dissolution at the will of any local political party in England or elsewhere. Mr. Forster further regarded the formation of an uppermost Imperial Parliament as an undertaking of the most extreme difficulty. This is a view similar to that of Sir Charles Tupper, who could not see much hope for Parliamentary federation in our day, because it seemed to involve the creation of a supreme Parliament over the present Houses of Lords and Commons. If such a new creation were indeed indispensable, we Imperial Federationists should indeed have a terribly difficult task before us. But it would be well to ask whether this is really the case. Would not the necessity for the invention of a completely new uppermost house disappear if the present House of Lords could be utilised? The idea of representing the Colonies there has been put forward by another of the leaders of the Federation movement, Lord Rosebery, in the following words:—"As regards a tentative experiment in the direction we are seeking, I may be considered to be a person of one idea on this subject, but I do believe it might seriously be considered by the House of Lords if delegates from the Colonies might not be admitted to sit as do delegates in the Senate of the United States." There is no doubt that this idea points out the right direction in which to work for the realisation of a scheme of Imperial representation. It is true that the House of Lords has again declined Lord Rosebery's proposition for inquiry, but it has also given frequent proofs that it knows when to yield, and it may yet be prevailed upon to reform itself and become a useful and truly Imperial institution. Why should it be gradually deprived of every sphere of usefulness? Why should it not rather enlarge the sphere in question, and become the Parliament of the British Confederation? The difficulties in the way of such a reform would soon disappear if the House of Lords would consent to re-construct itself, provide for the abolition of hereditary membership, the election to it for life of the English peers, and the representation in it of all parts of the Empire. This seems the least difficult way in which to create an Imperial Senate. It may seem absurd to make such a proposition in view of the fact that the total abolition of the House of Lords has been suggested. Still, no one dreams that this can be done without their consent. The Upper House is not likely to commit political suicide, and any other course would be revolutionary. To speak of abolition is, therefore, worse than useless; but it would not be impertinent to ask that the House of Lords should so change its constitution as to become the highest legislative body in, and representative of, the whole British Empire.

When, however, the representation of the whole Empire is spoken of, it must speedily be acknowledged that anything like representation by population is out of the question. India, with its 250 millions, very effectually prevents anything of that sort. It must also be admitted that anything like representation by counties or divisions is utterly impossible. A much more concentrated system must be employed, otherwise the Imperial Senate would be too unwieldy; and yet we must have something broader than a Federal Council, such as that of Switzerland, or such as was the old German Diet. Perhaps the Imperial Senate would have to be representative of parliaments rather than peoples, of governments rather than of individual electors. In such a Senate the United Kingdom would need to have the weightiest voice, but such as would not drown those of the Colonies. The most the latter could demand would be such a representation as would enable each Colony to bring forward and urge its views on any question in the hearing of the



collective wisdom of the Empire. Nor could they reasonably ask an influence out of all proportion to the amounts they might contribute for Imperial purposes. In fact, these amounts ought to be the measure of such influence, and the joint-stock principle might very well be applied in determining the composition of an Imperial Senate.

Supposing, for instance, that the various parts of the Empire were to contribute in the shape of a certain amount of duty on their foreign trade, they would probably have to be represented in proportion to something like the following percentages :—

United Kingdom	...	...	...	...	89.5
India, &c.	...	...	...	...	4.5
Canada, &c.	...	...	...	...	3.5
Australasia	...	...	...	...	1.4
West Indies, &c.	...	...	...	...	0.7
British Africa	...	...	...	...	0.4
<hr/>					
					100.0

It can be maintained that such a basis as this would be perfectly fair, and preferable to any scheme of representation according to population, wealth, or extent. If these proportions were adopted in transforming the House of Lords into an Imperial Senate, and assuming that the latter would consist of 500 members, then these would be distributed throughout the Empire as follows :—

United Kingdom	...	...	...	...	448 members.
India, &c.	...	...	...	...	22 "
Canada, &c.	...	...	...	...	17 "
Australasia	...	...	...	...	7 "
West Indies, &c.	...	...	...	...	4 "
British Africa	...	...	...	...	2 "
<hr/>					
					500

The Lords, spiritual and temporal, at present number 540. Deducting the princes and the bishops, there remain 512, of whom 16 are Scotch elective and 28 Irish life peers, besides 89 Scotch and Irish lords sitting and voting under English titles. Deducting these also, there remain 379 English peers who are members by hereditary right, the great majority of them taking very little part in the business of the House. It surely would not be too much to ask the English peers to be represented—as the Irish peers are—by a certain number of themselves, elected by themselves, for life. In this way it would be possible to make room for members from the Colonies and Dependencies, as well as from the House of Commons and the various Colonial Parliaments. It would probably not be too much to provide that the latter should make up one-fifth of the Imperial Senate, and that they should be nominated by the various Executives in power from time to time in the different parts of the Empire. In a Senate of 500 members, this would leave 400 to represent the princes and aristocracy of the United Kingdom, the native princes of India, and men who have attained distinction there or in the Colonies. In the opinion of many people it would be a great misfortune if the utter divorce of Church from State were to be consummated everywhere in the British Empire, and therefore it would be only wise to retain the representatives of the Church in the Imperial Senate. The proportion of such in the present House of Lords is 5 per cent., but in order to provide for the representation of other religious bodies besides the Church of England, it would probably be necessary to increase this to 10 per cent. There would thus remain 360 life-members, whose distribution, according to the percentages just suggested, would be as follows :—

United Kingdom	...	...	...	...	324
India, &c.	...	...	...	...	18
Canada, &c.	...	...	...	...	12
Australasia	...	...	...	...	4
West Indies, &c.	...	...	...	...	1
British Africa	...	...	...	...	1
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					360

Under this scheme the number of British life-peers entitled to sit in the Imperial Senate would be reduced by about one-third. Deducting the princes, and the Scotch and Irish representative lords, there would remain 276 members to be elected by the English peers, who at present number 468, including, of course, the Scotch lords sitting under English titles. These would constitute the permanent nucleus of the highest Parliament of the Empire; and it would seem that in such a reconstruction of the House of Lords, in order to increase its influence and its usefulness to the whole Empire, the rights of its present members would not be unnecessarily or unreasonably interfered with. As regards the 18 members from India, it would probably be right to leave to the Indian Government their selection from among the native princes or Anglo-Indians of distinction, the actual appointment to be by the Crown. In a similar manner, it might become the duty of each Colonial Government to recommend to Her Majesty's representative men of position and character in the Colonies as life-senators, regard being at the same time had to the representation of the Provinces constituting a Colony. For instance, those from Canada might be distributed as follows :—From Ontario, 5; Quebec, 5; Lower Provinces, 3; North-West Territories and

British Columbia, 1. It seems unnecessary further to discuss the details of the composition of the proposed Imperial Senate, or indicate the manner in which the Christian Church might be represented in it. Such particulars could readily be adjusted if the main features of the scheme were approved. It will be sufficient to recapitulate the proportions of the proposed representation :—

#### LIFE MEMBERS—

English peers and princes	...	...	...	...	280
Scotch peers	...	...	...	...	16
Irish peers	...	...	...	...	28
Senators from India	...	...	...	...	18
Do. Canada	...	...	...	...	12
Do. Australasia	...	...	...	...	4
Do. West Indies	...	...	...	...	1
Do. British Africa	...	...	...	...	1
Church representatives	...	...	...	...	40
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					400

#### MEMBERS HOLDING SEATS DURING THE EXISTENCE OF THE PARLIAMENTS, OR MINISTRIES APPOINTING THEM—

From the House of Commons	...	...	...	...	89
„ India	...	...	...	...	4
„ Canada	...	...	...	...	3
„ Australasia	...	...	...	...	2
„ West Indies	...	...	...	...	1
„ British Africa	...	...	...	...	1
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					100
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					500

Provision would probably require to be made for changing the composition of this highest Parliament from time to time, as variations took place in the amounts of the contributions to the Imperial Treasury.

By giving this Federal Senate the exclusive control of Imperial concerns, the House of Commons, at present overburdened with work, would be able to give thorough attention to the affairs of the United Kingdom. Although no confirmation of the acts of the House of Commons by any higher body would be required, the Crown would nevertheless possess the right to veto any of its measures, just as it has this right at present, as well as the power to disallow Colonial legislation. By removing the consideration of Imperial affairs to an Upper House, these would not escape the control of the House of Commons, since the contingent from it would form nearly one-fifth part of the Imperial Senate. By this arrangement such a division of the labour of legislation would be effected as would contribute very materially to the usefulness of both Houses.

The jurisdiction of an Imperial Senate should, of course, extend to all matters concerning the Empire as a whole. All legislation affecting the army and navy, and all inter-colonial affairs, would be for the consideration of this highest Parliament. Commercial treaties with foreign nations would also be under its control, in order that the interests of India and the Colonies, as well as of Great Britain, might be properly considered. At present certain politicians in Canada are disposed to manufacture a grievance out of the circumstance that the Dominion does not possess the treaty-making power. This, as the lamented founder of the League wrote, "is making a demand which implies disunion," and the best answer to it is that such treaties should be discussed in an Imperial Senate, and carried out by the Imperial Executive. Foreign affairs being federal affairs, it would follow that the ambassadors and consuls would be Imperial officers. The expense of carrying on the new House of Lords would be a federal expenditure, and this would probably be the case with many of the expenses of royalty. Another function of the Imperial Senate would be to devise measures for transferring systematically the superabundant labour of English cities to the untitled and unoccupied lands of the Colonies. The unemployed thousands of the United Kingdom, heretofore accustomed to work in mines and factories, at furnaces and forges, would have to be gradually trained to agriculture. To turn these thousands adrift in backwoods, or on prairies, or to attempt to employ them with advantage on bush farms or sheep runs, unprepared for and ignorant of the circumstances of the life before them, frequently results in hardship and disappointment all round. Hitherto the Colonies have been settled by people who paid their way, and were possessed of stout hearts and willing hands. At present the unemployed classes of the Mother Country have neither the means nor the ability to become settlers, and have not the mettle of the men who hewed farms out of our forests thirty and fifty years ago. For such unemployed, and in the interest of the whole nation, a system of State-aided emigration must be inaugurated. Than this no more beneficent legislation could occupy the attention of an Imperial Senate, and no better field could be found for the exercise of the administrative abilities of a Federal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

With the establishment of an Imperial Senate a Federal Executive would become necessary, the construction of which might be accomplished in the manner usual in such cases. The Sovereign would have to appoint an Imperial Premier to form a Federal Ministry, consisting of members of the re-constructed



House of Lords, and possessing its confidence. This Ministry would have the direction of Imperial affairs, and be entirely separate from the Cabinet of the United Kingdom. The Imperial Ministry would, of course, consist of the Ministers having charge of Imperial concerns, and might possibly include the First Lord of the Imperial Treasury, the Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs, the Colonies, India, and War, as well as the First Lord of the Admiralty. There are probably other matters which might be brought under the control of an Imperial Senate and Executive, but it seems unnecessary at present to follow the subject further. Enough has been said to gain for the present proposal some consideration on the part of thoughtful men. It may hereafter be found to be a subject for deep regret should a reform of the House of Lords be now attempted and carried out without providing for the adequate representation in it of the whole British Empire. The establishment of an Imperial Senate on the lines above indicated seems perfectly practicable, and the resulting House of Lords would probably so develop in course of time as to far surpass the old Roman Senate in fame, dignity, and power.

Ottawa, May 12, 1888.

UNITED EMPIRE LOYALIST.

### THE FRENCH-CANADIAN POSITION—SPEECH OF SIR HECTOR LANGEVIN.

THERE was a grand Conservative picnic at Joliette on the 7th of August. Sir Hector Langevin, Sir Adolphe Caron, and M. Chapleau were present as representing the Cabinet, besides a large number of other prominent Conservatives both in and out of Parliament. In the course of his speech, in response to an address that was presented to him, Sir Hector spoke as follows. We translate from *La Minerve* :—

"Let us go back fifty years, and see where we were then. The country was divided, the people were disunited, our nationality was proscribed. It was enough that a man had only been a few months or a few days in the country, and straightway he was a great man, a man of power, a public servant who regarded the natives of the country—the French-Canadians—with contempt, and treated them accordingly. All our great cities were filled with English soldiers, and blood flowed—sometimes on the field of battle and sometimes on the scaffold.

"How is it with us to-day? The people are united. English, Scotch, Irish, German, we all march side by side: while, at the same time, we preserve our language, our traditions, and everything that is dear to a nation. To-day we form but one people. We have a country larger than England, larger than the United States of America; it is prosperous and happy; we enjoy all possible liberty. England has withdrawn its troops, and has entrusted to our honour and our loyalty the maintenance of order in all parts. Newcomers are no longer set over our heads, we choose for ourselves our own public servants, our officers, and our Ministers; our fate is in our own hands, we spend our money as it seems good to us, and no one has a word to say to it. We have become a State which has its place in the world of finance, of literature, of art, of industry, of manufactures, and of politics. We have done for the Empire, while at the same time we have served ourselves, that which no other dependency of England has done before. We have completed a railway which, uniting the Atlantic to the Pacific, gives to Great Britain an easy, safe, and rapid road to defend its possessions in the Pacific and in Australia, while at the same time it gives it an equally easy, safe, and rapid outlet for its productions; to say nothing of the fact that our immense territories of the North-West afford to Great Britain a sure means of retaining the surplus of its population by offering them fertile and cheap lands under the protection of the British flag.

"Is there in all the world a country and a people more free and more happy than ourselves? Such is our liberty that we have the power to tax the products even of Great Britain the same as those of other countries, and yet I hear men, sensible, reflective, and patriotic, forget themselves to the extent of wishing to imperil all this liberty and all this happiness simply for a question of sentiment. They tell us that we must have Imperial Federation.

"Gentlemen, there is no one more loyal than I am to the Crown of England, to that gracious Sovereign who for more than fifty years has ruled over the greatest Empire in the world; to that great Queen who during her long reign has set an example of all the domestic virtues, and has been the model of queens, of wives, and of mothers. This loyalty we have displayed as a people, every time that the chance of defending the British flag and the cause of the Mother Country has presented itself; we displayed it at the time of the Crimean War, as De Salaberry and his followers displayed it at Chateaugay; we displayed it when our *voyageurs* of every race that inhabits Canada went to Egypt to lend their support to the English army; and do we not see every day the young men who issue from our splendid institution, the Royal Military College at Kingston, take their place in the English army to defend the cause of the Empire? It is only the other day that, amongst

many distinguished young men speaking English, we saw several French-Canadians, such as MM. Casgrain, Joly, Panet, leave that college with distinction and depart for the United Kingdom, there to take service as officers. Be sure, gentlemen, that those young men will do no dishonour to their country; they will give a good account of themselves, and will hold high the name and the reputation of Canada. There is, then, no danger that our country and our people will not do their duty when time and place serves. But when people wish to entangle us in the new road of Imperial Federation without consulting us and without our consent, there I must draw the line. Sentiment is all very well, and it is all very well to gild the pill; but for my own part I prefer reason to sentiment. Let them show us in black and white how this Imperial Federation can take effect without destroying our existing liberties; let them show us what voice we shall have in this grand Imperial Parliament, that is to decide questions concerning all quarters of the Empire; let them show us how the United Kingdom will modify its fiscal policy so as not to force us to have recourse to direct taxation. Further, let them tell us: will our representation be based on population? I doubt it, gentlemen, seeing that in 1886 the population of the three kingdoms was 35,153,780, while the Colonies and Dependencies had no less than 213,918,000 inhabitants. The fact is that this question has not been carefully considered. People think that they have only to cry out Imperial Federation, and that then we ought immediately to clap our hands and plunge head-foremost into the new order of things. For my own part, I say with Lord Lansdowne: take care not to press these proposals too strongly and too hurriedly, lest in so doing you find yourselves in advance of public opinion. If the proposal is a good one, it ought to be put before us in set terms. Let them tell us what are the sacrifices that we shall have to make; what will be the new position that we shall gain as a part of the Empire; and what the Empire will gain as a whole. Let them not confine themselves to generalities, and suppose that a question of this importance can be decided independently of us, and without our support. And meanwhile, gentlemen, I tell you, as I tell all Canadians, no matter of what race: we know what we have got, let us preserve that; it has cost sufficiently dear that we should not desire to make a change but for the better."

### THE AUSTRALASIAN FEDERATION LEAGUE.

THERE appeared a month or two back in the English papers a telegraphic report of the formation of the Australasian Federation League. After formulating its principles, which, as far as we are concerned, seemed to be entirely neutral, it adjourned for some time, with the intention, so it was said, of seeing whether Mr. Service would consent to become the first president. This hope has apparently been disappointed, as Mr. Oliver Goodwin is now announced as chairman of the League. Directly, of course, Australasian Federation is no concern of ours. It is, we conceive, a local affair, which must be left to the local Parliaments. As far as our sympathies go, if Sir Henry Parkes is right that Australasian Federation is a necessary preliminary to the Federation of the Empire, we are for it. If, on the other hand, it is to take the line of throwing down what Mr. Bright calls the tariff walls between the different Colonies, and using the bricks to build higher than ever the tariff wall against all outsiders, the inhabitants of Great Britain included, then we are against it. But it is only in this indirect manner that the question can be said to touch us at all. Still, the Australasian Federation League has been spoken of in several quarters as though it must necessarily be hostile to us, and as it is not unfrequently the case that movements are only partially described by their names, our readers may like to know what its leaders are really aiming at; so we give an account of a public meeting held in the Congregational Hall, Russell Street, Melbourne, on the evening of July 9th.

Mr. Oliver Goodwin, the chairman of the League, presided; and in his opening remarks he used these words :—

He would like it to be distinctly understood that the main principle of the League was the Federation of the whole of the Australasian Colonies, and that it was far removed from the scheme to entertain any idea of separation. The time was immature yet for the consideration of Imperial Federation, and what was at present sought to be done was to crystallise the thoughts now in solution, and to bring into one volume the streams of ideas and theories upon this important question of Australasian Federation. (Applause.)

He then introduced the lecturer, Mr. Mirams, member of the Legislative Assembly. After speaking of the importance of a telling phrase in introducing a new movement, and alluding to his recollection of the "No Popery" cry, and the "International Free Trade" cry, Mr. Mirams went on :—

Next came the cry of Federation of the Colonies, and this was talked about for some time, but the people found that it was not broad enough to give full play to their great energies; the platform was not extensive enough, and they expanded it so as to comprehend the larger question of Imperial Federation. This even reached the absurd limit of a proposition to have seats in the House of Lords given to Agents-General, as if they could do much even for England there, let



alone the Colonies. (Laughter and applause.) But now public opinion had come down to the understanding that the most important question for the present time was the Federation of the Australasian Colonies, which was modest, reasonable, and eminently desirable. He agreed that there was much that was fascinating in the idea of federating all the Colonies into a new Empire. There was a source of pride and gratification in thinking what the parents of to-day were doing for their children, in preparing for the future of these grand southern lands, in building up the civilisation of the new Empire with a constitution based upon and improved from the civilisation of the old. It was a subject worthy the highest flights of the poet, the noblest exertions of the politician, the statesman, and the philanthropist. (Applause.) And yet upon this important subject, why was the interest taken so slight? Why was public sympathy so little excited that when a public address upon the subject was announced, only so small an assemblage met to hear it? Why, to hear the electioneering address of a candidate for a seat in the City Council, the place would be crowded—to hear a man who only sought to look after their roads and drains. Yet this subject of Federation was immeasurably more important, and should be more largely discussed.

The reason for this indifference he found in the fact that Federation at present had only an academic interest for an Australian audience. How would it practically touch them? There were only two ways in which it could be practically brought home to the mass of the people, for postal communication was too insignificant a subject. The one was that the Colonies should be forced to unite for self-defence, to repel the invasion of a foreign foe, from which might Heaven preserve them; the other a Customs union which would draw the Colonies together for mutual commercial benefit as dealing with the rest of the world. As a Protectionist, he would advocate the union being on a Protectionist basis; but a Free Trader, while agreeing on the means of union, might argue that it should be on a Free Trade basis, so that was a matter for discussion. Further on in his speech Mr. Mirams used these words:—

At present there was no real feeling in support of Federation, and there never had been. When the Federal Council Bill was passed by the Service-Berry Government, it was passed on the mistaken assumption that there was a popular feeling for it. Out of the forty-three public meetings held only four ever said anything in relation to Federation. All the rest confined themselves to the two other questions mixed up with Federation at the time for giving it life, viz., the question of the annexation of New Guinea, and the question of the recidivists; and yet upon that flimsy foundation the Colonies were led to believe that there was a great demand for the Federal Council. The history of the Council since showed that there was no enthusiasm for it. He believed that the question of a Customs union would take a long time to settle, and must be a matter of careful growth, as there were six or seven Colonies and no two tariffs alike.

There is nothing else that we need notice unless it be the lecturer's expression of belief that there was no evidence that the people in New South Wales were at all prepared to federate with the people of Victoria. We have, we conceive, said enough to show not only that the Australasian Federation League is no enemy of ours, but even that if it were, it is not, on the showing of its own supporters, a body of such overwhelming influence, that we should necessarily be crushed beneath the weight of its hostility.

### THE AFFAIRS OF ZULULAND: DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE House of Commons had a prolonged conversation, for it can hardly be said to have risen to the height of a debate, on the affairs of Zululand on July 23rd. It is impossible to summarise a discussion that has neither definite beginning, middle, nor end, or to ask our readers to follow the intricate details of the "war of kites and crows" between Dinizulu, Usibepu, Undabuco, Humulana, and the rest of them. All we can do is to reproduce the salient points of the speeches that were made, and, while acknowledging the ability and knowledge of the subject displayed by Sir J. Gorst, to join in the universal expression of regret that his engagements in connection with the Sugar Bounties Convention made it impossible for the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies to be in his place on the Treasury Bench. "Sugar, sir, sugar!" said the elder Pitt on a famous occasion, drawing himself up to his full height with a dramatic gesture, and fixing his eagle eye on an unfortunate member who had dared to smile at this unaccustomed exordium, till he turned crimson beneath that haughty gaze; "let me see the man who ventures to laugh at sugar." And so too now, when we are given to understand that sugar is of sufficient importance to preclude the Parliamentary head of the Colonial Office in the House of Commons from being in his place for a discussion in which the most vital interests of the South African Dominion are involved, we trust every one will appreciate at its proper value this wholesome, though fattening, article of food.

The discussion was opened by Dr. Clark, who went back to the "deluge of blood" in Cetewayo's time, and impartially condemned everything that had been done by everybody since. He thought it was very necessary to appoint a commission of inquiry into the affairs of South Africa. "If they could get some trustworthy information the Government might be able to solve the difficulties of South Africa, which was now the only place where such troubles existed."

Sir John Gorst, in reply, declared that if there was one subject on which neither side of the House could reproach the other, it was the affairs of Zululand. It was not Her Majesty's Government that had

invented Usibepu, though the hon. member really talked as if they had. It was true that Dinizulu had been in the New Republic and the Transvaal endeavouring to obtain recruits and adherents for his intended resistance to the British Government. But he was glad to say that neither the Government of the New Republic nor the Government of the South African Republic lent any heed whatever to his proposal. Both those Governments had acted in perfect loyalty to the British Government, and had given no countenance whatever to the disturbances. Although there might be an odd filibuster or two in Dinizulu's camp, they were merely independent and isolated personages, and had received no encouragement, direct or indirect, from the Government of any Republic in South Africa. After promising that the rebellion should be put down without severity, he continued: It must, however, be distinctly understood that from the duty of asserting the sovereignty of Great Britain over Zulu territory the Government would not go back. Having once undertaken the government of that country, it was impossible to tolerate any power setting itself up against the authority of Great Britain, and any attempt to negotiate with persons while actually in armed resistance to our power would be the most cruel thing, and would cause a great deal more destruction and bloodshed than a short, sharp engagement. In mercy to the Zulu people themselves it was imperative that armed resistance should be immediately put down, and that the inhabitants should be made to know that Her Majesty's Government intended to maintain the sovereignty they undertook two years ago. So far as the conduct of the local officials was concerned, he admitted at once that the restoration of Usibepu was unfortunate, but he thought he had a very strong claim to be allowed to go and enjoy his own territory, and he thought he had shown that at the outbreak of hostilities Usibepu was not concerned. He hoped, now that it was known distinctly that Her Majesty's Government would not surrender the sovereignty of Zululand, and intended to reduce the country to a state of order and obedience to the law, this temporary outbreak might speedily be put down. He was afraid, however, he would be too sanguine if he were to say that this was the last the House would hear of Zululand. He hoped that the direct responsibility the Government had now undertaken might at least lead to a more settled state of affairs in the country, and that ultimately the task which this country had been compelled to take upon itself of governing Zululand might be accomplished with honour and success.

Mr. Osborne Morgan thought that the tripartite division of Zululand last May was, as he had said at the time, making the best of a bad business. He was glad to learn that the authorities in the Transvaal and the New Republic were behaving loyally, but he doubted their power to hold in their people, and the death of Sir John Brand he looked upon as an incalculable misfortune.

Sir George Baden-Powell said that no mention had yet been made in that debate of the Colony of Natal. He wished to emphasise the fact that they ought to pay the greatest attention to the opinion of that essentially English Colony. Proposals had been made in Natal that they should relieve the British Government of all anxiety with regard to Zululand by taking it over and ruling it themselves. That was a proposal that ought to be treated with great respect, but from his observation he might say that he did not think Natal at present sufficiently advanced in power or wealth to enable them successfully to undertake it. While recognising the loyalty of the Boer Republic, he pointed out that the existence of hundreds, possibly thousands, of the class of adventurers described by the third portion of the title of a recent book named "Boers, Blacks, and Blackguards" constituted a serious danger to South Africa. There was another point with regard to the administration of Zululand that he wished to mention. Careful inquiry in Bechuanaland had convinced him that if he had set up a permanent administration there at a cost of £10,000 or £15,000, we should have avoided an expedition which cost the country over a million sterling. He hoped that a similar mistake would be avoided in Zululand.

Mr. John Morley thought that such remains of the Zulu nation as had escaped destruction by the disastrous policy of Sir Bartle Frere were following Dinizulu, and asked if the Government intended to insist upon his removal.

Sir Roper Lethbridge would have supported the motion for a commission of inquiry had it not been for Dr. Clark's speech, and Mr. Pickersgill declared that the absence of Baron Henry de Worms was not respectful to the House, and scarcely showed on the part of the Government that regard for the interests of our Colonies about which they so loudly protested. Sir R. Fowler thought the whole matter might safely be left in the hands of the present Secretary of State. It would be admitted on all hands that no one holding that office had had so much previous experience as his noble friend; and he knew that the noble lord would carefully consider what course we ought to pursue.

Mr. Chamberlain emphasised a point that had been more than once raised by other speakers. He asked what was the moral of these continual lessons which they were having with regard to South Africa, and especially with regard to Zululand? That debate, and other debates on the same subject, had been conducted without the least reference to party divisions in the House, and there seemed to be a general agreement of opinion that the difficulty in which they were placed arose from an erroneous interpretation of the situation by those in authority in South Africa. This had always been the case. Our officials advised the Government wrongly in the first instance when the original war took place, and he thought that they had advised the Government wrongly ever since. He did not want to say a word against those gentlemen, who no doubt were perfectly loyal and very able men. But when he found that again and again the advice which they gave had been wrong, he thought that the time had come when they should consider whether their places could not be taken with credit and advantage to the country by others. It was recorded that Peter the Headstrong said that he hated most of all "unfortunate great men." Our great men in South Africa had been very unfortunate. They had led successive Governments into war, and into the most grievous expenditure of life and treasure. He did think that under these circumstances, and now



at this moment, when they were suffering from a similar want of correct information, the Government ought, he would not say to remove these gentlemen, but at all events to consider whether they should not supplement them by some fresher intelligences, by whom the Government would be kept more accurately informed of the true state of things.

Mr. Edward Stanhope said that everybody was agreed that it was absolutely necessary in the interests of the natives themselves to put an end to the present state of things, and to enforce peace and order as quickly as possible. When that was done he would promise that the Government would reserve their decision as to the future till they were in possession of the fullest possible information.

Mr. McArthur feared that we had lost the confidence of the natives by our past policy, and he earnestly hoped we should avoid the mistakes which we had committed in the past. If we were to maintain our hold on South Africa, it must be by a different policy from that which we had carried on in the past.

Dr. Clark, in reply, explained that the Commission he desired to see appointed was for South Africa in general, and not for Zululand in particular, but he begged leave for the present to withdraw his motion. Leave was accordingly given, and the subject dropped.

### OUR CANADIAN WIND GAUGE.

WHILE there may be almost insurmountable difficulties in the way of its accomplishment, as Mr. Laurier once said about Commercial Union with the United States, the idea of Imperial Federation has taken a firm hold upon the minds of a great many thoughtful people, not only in Ontario and Quebec but in the Maritime Provinces. The Imperial Federation movement is of recent growth; it is not the party cry of any particular set of politicians, and we willingly give editorial space to-day to our correspondent's letter descriptive of its progress throughout the Empire.—*Moncton (New Brunswick) Daily Times*.

THE *Gazette* holds that this Canada of ours, and more particularly our own Province of New Brunswick, is among the fairest spots on God's footstool. It believes that in time Canada is destined to become an important part of the mightiest Empire the world has ever seen. It believes further that the constitutional form of the Government of England and Canada is the best in the world, and the Union Jack the flag that is most respected from the equator to the poles. Thus it concludes that the person or persons who would sell their birthright of blood-bought freedom to link the fate of this new-born nation of Canada with a foreign Power are traitors to the best interests of their country.—*St. John (New Brunswick) Gazette*. (From the prospectus of its new issue as a daily paper.)

THE *Paris-Canada*, the organ of the French-Canadians in Paris, ridicules the scheme of Imperial Federation, and says that although the idea was at first flattering to the national vanity, public opinion in Britain is now firmly opposed to it. It adds, moreover, that the Imperial Government is wholly hostile to the proposal, and is fully alive to the dangers of so fantastical a conception. After quoting the objections of Lord Lansdowne and the *London Spectator*, the article concludes by stating that the Federation project is now practically dead.—*Toronto Mail*.

ACCORDING to the cable reports the Imperial Government, while favourable to the proposal for a second Colonial Conference, are of the opinion that the Canadian Government should take the initiative in effecting its organisation. There is already a good precedent for the organisation of such a Conference. The results which the former Conference achieved have surpassed the most sanguine expectations. . . . It discussed a proposal in favour of making moderate tariff discriminations in trade between the various portions of the Empire, but the proposal was left for more careful consideration, no definite action being taken. Since then the idea has taken a strong hold on the statesmen and people of Great Britain and all the Colonies, and the proposition for a second careful consideration is, therefore, very opportune. It is a question which should be kept outside of party politics and dealt with on its merits, and if this is done there do not seem to be any insurmountable obstructions in the way of consummating the scheme of the commercial union of the Empire, and that before long.—*Kingston Daily News*.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION in a commercial sense is totally impracticable. We believe the Colonies as a whole are loyal, because mixed with the pride in their liberty and independent governments, there is mingled the gratitude to the Mother Country, who granted that liberty and independence, and we cannot help thinking it is the best wisdom to "leave well alone." There has been a good deal of talk of the gradual drifting of the parts of the Empire into separation; but if this were so—of which we see no important signs at present—it would arise from circumstances which it would be impossible to control, and any attempt so to do would, we believe, but hasten the disruption. If any tangible plan is set forth, we will be prepared to consider it; but speeches, however eloquent, which seemed to be uttered in order to denounce annexation, and to form meetings into mutual admiration societies, do not throw any light upon the subject.—*Montreal Insurance and Finance Chronicle*.

WE shall, whenever we allude to the question (Imperial Federation), continue to point out the difficulties which beset it. The action of the Government of New South Wales in regard to Chinese immigration typifies a class of obstacles which may at any time arise in one shape or other, and are, as Lord Carnarvon, we think, indicated, more likely to arise as the proportion of European-born Colonists diminishes and that of native-born Colonists increases. The very point here indicated shows how little England has it in her power to offer the Colonists any material advantage, and how probable it is that local interests and Imperial policy may at any moment conflict. In which case it is pretty certain that the former would prevail over the sentiment of Imperial nationality.—*Halifax Critic*.

### PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

*Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.*

HARROGATE.—On Monday, July 23rd, Mr. Sebright Green, Organising Lecturer of the League, gave the first of a series of lectures on "Our Glorious Colonies," at the Albert Hall. The Rev. R. W. Fawkes, Vicar of Christ Church, occupied the chair, but unfortunately there was a very poor attendance. In the course of the lecture, which was illustrated with magic lantern views, Mr. Green sketched the expansion of the Empire, pointing out that the fifth of the earth's surface which belonged to us included all the best of the unoccupied lands of the globe. He dwelt on the fact that our Colonies were our best customers, and urged that even from the commercial point of view Federation was desirable, for it was impossible to maintain the present transitional state of affairs much longer. He maintained that the successful passage of the Naval Defence Bill through the Australian Parliaments was satisfactory evidence that the Colonies would not refuse to bear their share of the Imperial burdens.

Commenting on this lecture, the *Harrogate Advertiser* writes as follows:

"Harrogate has not responded in the manner we had hoped it would to the invitation of the Imperial Federation League to listen to the claims of the association, as explained by one of their lecturers, Mr. Sebright Green. This gentleman, as reported in another column, has been eloquently lecturing upon this most important subject at the Albert Hall this week, and though supported by the mayor, Rev. R. W. Fawkes, Mr. N. Carter, J.P., and other gentlemen, he has not been successful in attracting large audiences. We regret this, for the question of Imperial Federation is not only an important, but a pressing one; and all who care for the supremacy of the British Empire should support this League in its endeavours to bring about Imperial Federation. It is our intention, commencing next week, to publish a short series of articles on this question, written by one of the leaders of the movement."

WOLVERHAMPTON.—On Tuesday, August 14th, at a meeting of the Heath Town Mutual Improvement Society, Mr. Henry Thomas presiding, there was a good attendance of members and friends to hear the reading of an essay upon "Imperial Federation," by Mr. George Cranage, who was furnished by the secretary to the Imperial Federation League with sufficient literature to enable him to cope with so great and important a question. The essayist, in a few introductory remarks, pointed out the advisability and necessity of speedy action in the direction of Federation, and explained, during his exposition, the manner of its practicability, and the effects, commercially, upon our combined interests. An interesting discussion ensued. It was deplored that so great and vital a question was treated by Englishmen with such indifference.

### THE AUSTRALIAN SEPARATOR:

A STUDY FROM LIFE.

IN the chatty column of the *Sydney Morning Herald* that is headed "As you like it," the vivacious author—strictly speaking we should, we believe, say "authors"—quotes some words of Professor Hearn, which we published in our columns in January last, in which that great lawyer exposed the shallowness of the theory that sooner or later Separation was inevitable. He continues, "To Messrs. J. P. Abbott, and R. B. Wise, M.P.'s, I humbly commend them for serious consideration during the coming recess—to the former, a Separatist Protectionist, because he is a rather rough, but unready specimen of the Irish lawyer politician; to the latter, a Separatist Free-trader, because he is a University-raised specimen of the city lawyer politician; to both, because in spite of much vagariness and doctrinalness they are neither of them perhaps utterly irreclaimable." The next paragraph shall be given at length; or our readers may like to have jocular confirmation of the fact, which is stated in another column in all seriousness by a leading Colonial statesman, that the Separation talk need not be taken in too great earnest on this side.

It is not often that any of us can get the opportunity of exchanging opinions with an avowed Separator, or Separatist, and one reason for this seems to be found in the fact that the thing called Separation is not at present within the working field of the political telescope—not even when we use the instrument wrong end foremost, and apply it to those opaque human substances which now and then manage to get between us and the light, and, as political distortionists, do a little harlequin business just to keep the pot boiling. But when you do get face to face with a Separator you will, in ninety cases out of a hundred (supposing for the sake of my example that there are a hundred cases in the class), find your man an intellectual scarecrow. The ten exceptions will turn out to be cases either of unappreciated genius from the other faction, or of cases caught too late to be made anything of by any faction. As a rule, the Separatist is one who has spent (some people would say



misspent) his life in a variety of Bush townships, as a legal or journalistic "carpet-bagger." He may not be a bad sort of fellow at bottom, only you have to take off so many unsavoury folds in order to get at the bottom, that it is not worth while to make the experiment. You will nearly always find that your specimen has never been out of this Colony, or, for wider range, the Australian Colonies; and in them has always made it a chief article of faith never to rub elbows with his betters. In many cases his only title to express an opinion is derived from ignorance of his subject, or sheer inability to speak or write grammatical English. The vespertal "Organ" of his little party is, of course, the object of his worship, not so much because he is in sympathy with it, as out of gratitude for giving him an occasional corner wherein to empty himself of certain exhalations which would otherwise have no outlet. A little genuine instruction and a trip to Europe, preferably to the United Kingdom, or to America, would be a mental and moral detergent to the man, and the Government might do worse with some of the money it means to wring from the propertied classes than ship off a few selected specimen Separators (not too senile) for separate treatment in that nation from which they are braying to be separated, not knowing, the poor imbeciles, what they are braying for.

The writer continues, with a good deal of good-humoured chaff of the Colonial preparations against attack in consequence of the sudden interruption of cable communication:—

On the whole, is it not better to recognise the fact that we are only children still? . . . Just suppose, for a moment, that an enemy were really to bear down upon us, and that we had renounced our relation with our tyrannical old parent. . . . It is, of course, an awe-inspiring fact that the electric light is "searching" across the Port Phillip Heads for any approaching hostile vessels; but I wonder what the Victorian fleet would do with any of these interesting curiosities, if it should chance to find three or four well-developed specimens. Would they hand them over as a fit subject of debate? the Australian Natives' Association, or, if the visitors should happen to be Chinese, levy the poll-tax and fine the captains for carrying more than the proportion of Chinamen allowed to the tonnage by the Act?

There is, it appears, a derelict vessel with a cargo of petroleum floating bottom upwards off the port of Newcastle. Discussing how she may best be got rid of, the writer goes on to say:—

And yet one cannot help lamenting that perhaps in a few hours the opportunity of a Federal naval attack on what may turn out to be an enemy approaching us bottom upwards, out of pure cussedness or purer guile, may be lost for ever to us, or at all events for many a long year. Our Premiers may never again have such a chance of "bleeding" their young navies. The so-called derelict was anchored—perfidiously stationed, no doubt—right in front of our chief coal port, like the wooden horse before Troy, its entrails probably crammed with Russians, or, worse still, Chinamen. And we in our guilelessness were going to tow the thing into Broken Bay. . . . The right thing would have been for Sir Henry Parkes to telegraph to the other Colonies to send up their respective navies. We would have contributed the *Wolverene*, two mud-punts, and the Naval Brigade—well, at all events, the Naval Artillery, if there did not happen to be too much sea on. "Westminster Abbey or Victory!" would have been the cry as we went into action—anyhow, those who weren't sea-sick. Shot and shell would have hurtled and hissed, &c. &c.

We need hardly say that, in quoting all this, we have no wish to pour contempt upon the Colonists and their laudable, though not perhaps grandiose, efforts to perfect their own defences. But when we in the Old Country are bidden to stand aside, and leave the manhood of Australia to defend itself with its own strong right hand, we may be forgiven for pointing out that not the least shrewd of the observers on the spot are ready to put their tongues in their cheek, and utter the single but expressive word "blow."

### COMMERCIAL COERCION.

THE extracts that follow should be read with interest at the present moment. Though both the documents are some months old, they may help to furnish a key to the present situation. Here is an interview with the new President of the Canadian Pacific:—

"Americans want our natural products? Of course they do. We want their manufactures? Nonsense. We are doing well enough by ourselves. Take one fact: in 1882, 87 per cent. of all the articles used to build this road came from the United States; in 1886, 2½ per cent. came, and these were mainly sleepers. There are more than a thousand articles manufactured in Canada to-day that the Canadian Pacific Railway uses that were not manufactured in 1881, although we have had to keep a stock of all sorts of things to supply our boarding camps for the construction of the works, from hoopskirts to pig iron. Commercial Union would just take the guts out of Canada."

"But how do you account for the fact, then, that there are so many able men, and at least three newspapers of Canada advocating it?" "There are not so many," was the reply; "there are just three; and as for the newspapers, I should call them newspapers in Canada, not Canadian newspapers."

"How would commercial union affect Canadian manufacturers?" "It would simply ruin them. Not one of them in ten could compete with the United States for years. They are improving fast, for we now get our passenger and freight cars built in Canada; but for high-class work, like our sleeping cars,

on each of which we pay 4,500 dols. duty, it is necessary to have trained generations of workmen. As for our manufacturers competing with the United States, I never heard of a Canadian tool or implement being used in the United States during the reciprocity period. In fact, American manufacturers bewail that Canada would be such an excellent dumping ground. A Chicago manufacturer told me the other day that he had a surplus of 2,500 machines which, except for the duty, he could have disposed of in Canada below what they could be produced for."

"But in view of Canadian cheap labour, abundant lumber, and vast water power, would not the American manufacturers come here?" "Not they! How long would it have been, do you suppose, before Coates of Paisley would have established manufactories in Connecticut and Canada except for the tariffs? or before Singer would have made his sewing machines here, if they could ship machines from the States, and they are just building big works in Montreal now to employ a thousand men? What would become of the big Hamilton Bolt Works, if the parent works at Cleveland, Ohio, could send their stuff here? Why, they would shut up shop in two days. Everywhere in Canada there are offshoots of American work that would not have been here except for the tariff."

"But is not the future of Canada very dark, Mr. Van Horne?" "Good Lord!" was the reply, "show me a State in the Union so prosperous as Ontario. Do you see any signs of anybody doing badly there? Quebec is different—nothing makes much difference to them, and the west end of that is prosperous enough. I can't for the life of me see any sign of commercial or financial depression!"

And here an extract from a petition to the United States Senate by a prominent railway manager, Gen. J. H. Wilson:—

"Back of these more obvious reasons is the question: Shall we live in such relations with the Dominion of Canada and the British Maritime Provinces as to encourage them in their allegiance to the British Crown and their political union with the British Empire, or shall we so manage our affairs as to force them ultimately to a political union with us? He would not hesitate to declare that many of our best and most thoughtful citizens were coming to look upon the existence of Canada and the allied British possessions in North America as a continuous and growing menace to our peace and prosperity, and that they should be brought under the constitution and laws of our country as soon as possible, peaceably if it can be so arranged, but forcibly if it must. The Dominion has 10,773 miles of railroad, all of which has been built under British subsidies, and most of which has been specially located so that it can be used for military purposes against our entire northern frontier. It was well known that while the right of free navigation had been conceded to us under the treaties all vessels, whether British or American, carrying freight destined for points in the United States, were compelled to pay higher dues than those carrying freight for transshipment from Canadian ports to Europe.

"Upper and Lower Canada offered advantageous bases in great number for military operations against our most populous interior towns and cities. The Dominion of Canada contained a population of 4,324,810 souls, whom we might justly disregard as a public enemy, but at the end of 25 years it would probably contain 20,000,000 souls whom it would be exceedingly difficult to expel from an armed invasion of our border, and impossible to prevent from inflicting enormous damage upon our people and possessions. It was more than common precaution for us to lay down a policy now which would make it perfectly plain that we are aware of the danger which threatens, and that there can be no reciprocity or Commercial Union between us, except under the law and constitution of the United States. It was self-evident that if we give the Canadians all they want of us, without compelling them to come into the Union, they would be sure to stay out of it so long as Great Britain would pay their bills, lend them money, subsidise their enterprises, fight their battles, and distribute titles and honours to their leading men."

### IMPERIAL INTERESTS IN PARLIAMENT.

JULY 17TH—AUGUST 13TH, 1888.

FISHERY TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

July 17th.—In the House of Commons, SIR T. ESMONDE asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether Her Majesty's Government expected the ratification of the Fishery Treaty between the United States and Canada, and, if so, when.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: Her Majesty's Government are not able to express any opinion with reference to the progress of a measure which is before the Legislature of another country.

### AN ANTARCTIC EXPEDITION.

MR. COCHRANE-BAILLIE asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Government had ever received any representations from Australia with the object of sending out an expedition for the exploration of the Antarctic Seas.

MR. W. H. SMITH: Yes, sir; but I regret to say that after



communicating with those best qualified to advise on such matters, Her Majesty's Government were not convinced that either the commercial or the scientific results of the expedition were likely to be such as would warrant any Imperial contribution towards the expenses at a time when so many more urgent demands had to be provided for. (Hear.)

#### CHINESE IMMIGRATION INTO AUSTRALIA.

July 19th.—In the House of Commons, MR. W. REDMOND asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention had been called to the following, which appeared in the papers of yesterday:—"The London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* hears that the Foreign Office has decided not to open negotiations at present with the Pekin Government for a settlement of the question of Chinese immigration into Australia. The Government will probably first check the emigration of Chinese to Australia from Hong Kong and Singapore, which are the centres of the trade, and then will induce the Australian Governments to pass a measure dealing with immigration in general, which will be free from the objection to the present laws that they discriminate against Chinese only;" and whether it was true, as above stated, that the Government had decided not to enter into negotiations with the Government of Pekin; and, if so, whether Her Majesty's Government would reconsider the matter and endeavour to procure a treaty from China, as suggested by the Colonial Conference on the question of Chinese emigration to Australia.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: Her Majesty's Government are in communication with the Government of China on the subject.

#### NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERIES.

July 23rd.—In the House of Commons, MR. GOURLEY asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether it was correct that two French vessels, the *Virginia* and *Amazon*, had been seized and confiscated, and the masters fined 200 francs each, for alleged infringement of the Anglo-French Newfoundland Bait Treaty; if so, whether he could state the extent of the infringement, and by what ship the vessels were seized, and whether, if true that the masters had been fined, it was intended to restore the ships to their owners.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: No information respecting the seizure of any French vessels has reached Her Majesty's Government.

#### ARMING OF NATIVES IN ZULULAND.

July 26th.—In the House of Commons, SIR J. SWINBURNE asked whether Her Majesty's Government would employ any armed natives of Africa in suppressing the unhappy disturbances which had arisen in Zululand.

MR. STANHOPE: Basutos and friendly Zulus have already been employed, and the General in command has full discretion to employ them in the suppression of these disturbances. It is desirable, as far as possible, to relieve the white troops from the danger to health inseparable from the climate in Zululand.

SIR J. SWINBURNE asked whether horrible atrocities did not take place in the Transvaal, including the brutal murder of women and children, through the employment of native levies.

MR. STANHOPE said there was no use in going back to that time. The General in command would now be responsible for the conduct of the levies.

#### THE OUTBREAK IN ZULULAND.

July 31st.—In the House of Lords, the EARL OF KINGSTON asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Government were in possession of any information showing that the Chief Usibepu had been in any way to blame for the outbreak in Zululand; and, if not, whether the Government would take steps to protect him and the loyal Zulus from further attacks by the Usutus. He further wished to know what would be done in Zululand after the disloyal chiefs had been conquered.

LORD KNUTSFORD said he could hardly at that time enter upon the general question; and with reference to what should be done in Zululand when Dinizulu and Undabuko had been conquered, he thought it would be unwise for him, even if he were able, to offer a decided opinion. There was no reason to doubt that the general principle upon which the Government had acted was sound, namely, that within tribal limits the authority should as much as possible be left to the chiefs of tribes, but that all intertribal disputes or quarrels or difficulties should be referred to and settled by Her Majesty's representative. As to what arrangements should be made subsequently, whether it would be better to remove Dinizulu and Undabuko from Zululand, or to leave them there with shorn powers, he could not give any opinion at present. He could inform the noble lord that he hoped very soon to present papers to Parliament which would practically answer his question, and would show, he thought, that the Chief Usibepu had not been to blame for the last outbreak in Zululand, unless it were that his return had increased the distrust and suspicion of Dinizulu and Undabuko. With reference to the second part of the question, the noble lord would see that the steps the Government were taking to put down the two rebellious chiefs mentioned, and to secure that peace and order which were absolutely necessary for the interests and welfare of the Zulus, were undoubtedly steps in the direction of protecting Usibepu and the loyal Usutus.

#### ZULULAND.

August 2nd.—In the House of Lords, in answer to EARL GRANVILLE,

LORD KNUTSFORD said: I am glad to say that last night I received a telegram from Sir A. E. Havelock confirming the telegram which appears in the newspapers this morning in reference to the state of affairs in Zululand. The telegram is as follows:—

"August 1st.—Colonial Secretary sent by east coast road reach Umfolosi River without opposition. Somekele, chief of that locality, has voluntarily and unconditionally surrendered to authorities. Other chiefs expected to surrender. Native followers who had come to Dinizulu from beyond Zululand are said to be dispersing. I am not without hopes that Dinizulu himself will surrender. Situation much improved."

The same telegram was also read in the House of Commons in answer to a question by Mr. Chamberlain.

#### GIBRALTAR.

August 3rd.—In the House of Lords, VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH, in rising to ask Her Majesty's Government whether it was intended to construct a first-class dock at Gibraltar, and to move for copies of correspondence and reports (if any) that had been addressed to the Admiralty on the subject, said that since the opening of the Suez Canal the commerce in the Mediterranean had enormously increased, and he had been told by those who had held high command at Gibraltar that the number of vessels passing that place had increased to a very great extent, and that five-sevenths at least of that shipping belonged to England. With regard to the accommodation for our men-of-war, we had literally nothing in the event of war time to provide for repairing them at Gibraltar. The docks at Malta were all they had to depend upon; while Cyprus also seemed to many naval men to hold out a prospect of a fair dockyard. Our naval establishment at Gibraltar was of the very smallest, considering the importance of the position with regard to our political relations, as shown during the last war, and to the fact that since then our commerce had increased tenfold, and that there was every reason to believe that as long as the Suez Canal was open it would not only remain in its present greatness, but would materially increase. During the operations of Lord Nelson and the blockade of Toulon, the British ships had been able to remain at sea for several months at a time; but the ships of that day did not require so much repair, and they could also be careened at Gibraltar. At the present day not only men-of-war, but also the large merchant steamers, were liable to accidents to which the old wooden ships had not been liable, and it was impossible to repair them without the assistance of docks. Since he had first considered the propriety of calling their lordships' attention to this matter he had communicated with several gallant friends, at least four of whom were highly distinguished admirals, and had asked them as to the necessity for docks at Gibraltar. They had one and all recognised the importance of the question. One of them, who had been in command at Gibraltar, and another, who had been commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, stated that it was of the utmost importance to this country that there should be a dock at Gibraltar, and he knew that he could appeal to the opinion of the noble and gallant field-marshal who had addressed their lordships that afternoon. It might be said that there was no site for a dock which would be free from the danger of shelling from the land side; there were, however, four places which were mentioned as possible sites. He would not attempt to give an opinion on this point; some of them seemed undesirable, but one or two appeared to be places in which a dock might be constructed at an expense of not more than £250,000. He trusted that the noble marquis, who he knew had paid much attention to the question of the defence of this country, would give his personal attention to this matter. He had recently heard from gentlemen who were connected with Gibraltar in a commercial way, and they told him that the need of such accommodation was so strongly felt by the commercial classes there that, once the dock was under construction, the Government would receive unanimous support from the inhabitants of the colony. In conclusion, he begged to ask whether any communications had been received on the subject, and to move for papers.

LORD NAPIER OF MAGDALA said that he could entirely support the views of the noble and gallant lord who had brought forward this motion. No one could have lived at Gibraltar for any time without being aware of the great necessity for having the means of repairing ships. Regarding the several places named for the construction of docks, he would deprecate any construction on the north front, as it would take away the best defence—a clear plain; but on the side of the Mediterranean there was a place that might be suitable—Rosea Bay, which would be safe from land attacks, and open only to the attacks to which every place on an open coast was liable—attacks from the sea, from which the fortifications above it would defend it.

LORD ELPHINSTONE said that Her Majesty's Government fully recognised the advantage that would be derived from the fact of having a dock at Gibraltar. Many schemes had been from time to time submitted to Her Majesty's Government, and recently they had had five; but of these only two had been accompanied by a detailed plan, while of these two one had not been for the construction of a dock so much as of a pier for coaling purposes. The consideration of these various schemes had been delayed pending the receipt of plans and other details which had not yet been received. With regard to the question of sites, no survey had been made by Her Majesty's Government, and the only scheme with a detailed plan was that submitted by Sir W. Reid. There was another scheme suggested by Lloyd's, and two engineers had been sent out for the purpose of examining the proposed site, but they had had no communication with them since last April twelvemonths. No correspondence whatever had been addressed to the Admiralty. There had been an amount of correspondence between various parties and Her Majesty's Government, but it was not considered desirable to lay it on the table. It was incomplete, and no object would be served by producing it. He hoped, therefore, the motion for the papers would not be pressed.

The motion was withdrawn.

#### THE REV. JOHN JONES'S CASE.

August 6th.—In the House of Commons, MR. JOHNSTON asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he was able to give any further information concerning the expulsion by the French of the Rev. John Jones from Maré, one of the Loyalty Islands; and whether there were any papers respecting the case which he would lay upon the table of the House.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: I regret to say that the French Government adhere to the position they have taken up, and there is no hope of their readmitting Mr. Jones to Maré. They have the right, if they please, to expel a foreigner. It should be stated that nothing has been proved to the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government in any way affecting the character of this gentleman, who, they believe, has carried on a



Christian and meritorious work. Papers on the subject will be given if the hon. member chooses to move for them.

#### ALASKA FISHERIES.

MR. GOURLEY asked whether it was correct that four captured British sealing schooners had been brought to Port Townsend by a United States tug, and that they were to be put up for sale on the 22nd of August; and whether any arrangement was likely to be arrived at with the United States Government and that of the Dominion of Canada for the purpose of preventing illegal fishing and the indiscriminate destruction of seal fish by Canadians in Alaskan waters.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: We have heard that four British schooners seized last year in Behring's Sea are being taken from Sitka to Port Townsend for sale by the United States Marshal. Her Majesty's Minister at Washington has been instructed to request the United States Government to postpone the sale pending a settlement of the question as to the legality of the seizures. Negotiations are in progress for the protection of the seal fisheries.

#### NORTH BORNEO, SARAWAK, AND BRUNEI.

In answer to Mr. F. Stevenson,

SIR J. FERGUSSON said: The question of a British protectorate over the three States referred to is the subject of negotiations which are not yet completed. It is distinctly held by Her Majesty's Government that the Treaty of 1824 between Great Britain and the Netherlands has no application to Borneo.

#### CANADIAN REMOUNTS.

August 7th.—In the House of Commons, on the motion for adjournment,

MR. BRODRICK said: I desire to correct a statement which I made in Committee of Supply on Saturday last, in reply to a question relating to the purchase of horses. I stated that no horses at the present moment were being bought outside the country, but I find that as regards Canada the Secretary of State for War has authorised for the present year the purchase of a limited number of horses, not exceeding one hundred, in view of keeping open that market in case of emergency. I make the correction now, so that the House may be in possession of the exact facts. (Hear, hear.)

#### STATE COLONISATION.

August 9th.—In the House of Commons, Mr. KIMBER asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether his attention and that of the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been drawn to the fact that the Colony of Natal had accepted the principle of the mode of State Colonisation suggested in this House last Session, communicated to the Colonies by Government despatch in September last—namely, of the funds necessary to be raised for the purpose being guaranteed as to the interest by the co-operation of the Colonial and Imperial Governments, the former undertaking and guaranteeing the administration of the capital and the collection of the interest from the settlers, and the Imperial Government lending its guarantee by way of endorsement of the Colonial security, to enable the money to be raised at the lowest possible cost—and to the fact that the said Colony had made a definite proposal based thereon, offering 200 acres of land (already surveyed, and recommended by the Immigration Board of Natal) and £200 in money advances for each of 72 families or groups of five persons each; whether they were aware that this offer involved a liability on the part of the two Governments of £432 per annum only, and this secured by 14,400 acres of land with 72 homesteads and the industry of 360 persons upon it, working with a capital of over £10,000; and whether the Government would accede to the request of the Natal Immigration Board that steps be taken forthwith to ascertain the number of immigrants of the classes desired which the Colony could obtain on the basis of the above proposal, having regard to the fact that the Board had expressed their opinion that such immigration "would prove a success and benefit to the Colony."

MR. W. H. SMITH: My right hon. friend and I have seen the replies from the Colony of Natal. These replies were to a circular sending over the hon. member's scheme for Colonisation, and were the only favourable replies from the Colonies that have answered. It cannot be said that the Colony of Natal has as yet given its approval to the proposals of the hon. member, though the resolutions of the Land and Immigration Board are favourable, and Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to pronounce an opinion in favour of giving the necessary guarantee. Her Majesty's Government do not propose at present to take such steps as are indicated in the third paragraph of the question, and for this reason—that a further scheme containing the proposals of the Colonisation Committee of both Houses of Parliament has been forwarded to Natal, as well as to the other Colonies, and that the replies from Natal or the other Colonies will be awaited before anything further is done. It is thought desirable to learn how the further scheme is received before dealing with an isolated case, like Natal, under the scheme of the hon. member. It is the intention of the Government to move for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the question of State Colonisation, and opportunity will then be afforded to my hon. friend for discussing the whole subject.

#### CHINESE IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

SIR G. CAMPBELL asked the Under-Secretary for the Colonies whether he could say whether a pamphlet purporting to contain the speech of Sir H. Parkes, Premier of New South Wales, in moving the second reading of the Chinese Restriction Bill, and a preface by that gentleman, was genuine; whether he had noticed that Sir H. Parkes used the following words in his speech, and set them forth again in his preface:—"Neither for Her Majesty's ships of war, nor for Her Majesty's representative on the spot, nor for the Secretary of State for the Colonies, do we intend to turn aside from our purpose, which is to terminate the landing of Chinese on these shores for ever, except under the restrictions imposed by the Bill, which will amount and are intended to amount to practical prohibition;" also that Sir H. Parkes distinctly avowed that "the Government had been acting illegally in refusing to allow the Chinese to land;" whether the Bill so proposed was passed,

and contained an indemnity for the illegal acts committed by the New South Wales Government; whether the Act so passed had been assented to by the Governor, acting for Her Majesty, not being reserved for Her Majesty's pleasure; and whether the Secretary of State satisfied himself that the refusal to allow the Chinese to land in New South Wales and the provisions of the Bill are in accordance with Her Majesty's treaties with the Emperor of China, and with our amicable relations with that Power, before he allowed the Governor to give the Queen's assent to the Act.

SIR J. GORST: The Secretary of State has no reason to doubt the authenticity of the pamphlet referred to by the hon. member; and he has seen the two statements quoted, which are explained in the preface. The Bill has passed, and is understood to contain a clause preserving to any person who feels aggrieved the right of redress for losses in courts of law, but indemnifying the members of the Ministry personally. The Bill has been assented to, but without prejudice to Her Majesty's power of disallowance should its provisions be found inadmissible. The Act has not yet been received, but its provisions will be carefully considered. I may add that laws imposing restrictions on Chinese immigration have been in force for many years in the Australian Colonies.

#### CANADIAN PACIFIC MAIL ROUTE.

August 10th.—In the House of Commons, SIR S. NORTHCOTE asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the terms of the contract for the conveyance of the mails between Canada and Hong Kong had been finally agreed upon between Her Majesty's Government and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company; and, if so, when he proposed to lay the contract before the House.

THE CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: Yes, sir, the terms are practically agreed upon, but the contract cannot be signed in time to be presented to Parliament before the autumn Session.

#### CHARGE ON LETTERS TO INDIA.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON asked the Postmaster-General whether it was in contemplation to reduce the charge on letters to India and the East from 5d. per letter to 2½d., the latter amount being charged from France, Germany, and other continental countries to English possessions in India, &c.; and whether it was his intention to give English and Indian correspondents the benefit of the £100,000 saved on the Indian mail contract this year.

MR. RAIKES: I am very glad to see my hon. friend back to his Parliamentary duties, and that he has signalled his reappearance by giving notice of a fire of questions. In answer to this question, I have to say that it is not in contemplation to reduce the postage on letters to India and the East in the manner suggested in the first part of the hon. member's question. The saving referred to in the second part of the question is not a profit, but merely a reduction in the amount of a heavy loss. I may refer the hon. member to the reply which I gave on the 14th of February last to a similar question asked by the hon. member for Oldham.

#### THE MAILS TO AND FROM AUSTRALIA.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON asked the Postmaster-General whether the contract for the conveyance of mails to and from Australia had been signed; under what terms were the mails being conveyed now, and what payments were being made to the steamship companies; when would the contract be submitted to Parliament for approval; was the proposed contract entirely distinct from the Indian contract; and had the Australian Governments remonstrated against the days fixed for the departure of the mails from Australia, and with what result.

MR. RAIKES: Contracts for the conveyance of mails to and from Australia by the Peninsular and Oriental and Orient Steam Navigation Companies have been signed; and these are entirely separate and distinct instruments from that which regulates the India and China service. The Australian Governments are not at present entirely satisfied with the arrangements made for the departure of the mails from Australia; and it is because there are the weightiest reasons against making in those arrangements the alteration demanded that the instruments referred to have not yet been laid before the House of Commons. It would be premature to submit to the House contracts embodying an arrangement which the Colonial Governments may after all wish to repudiate; but as soon as I am assured that the hesitation of those Governments as regards the carrying out of the arrangements has been overcome, the contracts can at once be submitted to the House. Meanwhile the mails are being provisionally carried under the terms of the contracts; and payments on account are being made to the Companies without prejudice to the provisions of the contract relating to the ultimate approval of the House of Commons.

#### IMPERIAL DEFENCE BILL.

August 13th.—In the House of Lords, on the motion to read this Bill a second time,

THE EARL of KIMBERLEY complained that the second reading of a Bill which was not on the paper, and with regard to which noble lords had no information whatever, should be moved. But as the Bill was one of great importance he would offer no opposition.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said that it was absolutely necessary that this Bill should pass, and he would appeal to his noble friend's generosity to allow it to go through to-day.

The Bill was then read a second time, the Committee stage negatived, and the Bill read a third time and passed.

#### AFFAIRS OF ZULULAND.

In the House of Commons, MR. BROADHURST (for Mr. A. M'Arthur) asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies if he could give the House any additional information respecting the state of affairs in Zululand.

SIR J. GORST: According to our last information from Zululand, dated yesterday, the police station at Ivuna has been re-established. Dinizulu left Ceza on the 7th, accompanied, it is said, by 1,000 men. It is supposed he has proceeded to a locality on the bank of the Pongolo river in Transvaal territory.



# Imperial Federation League.

30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London, W.

## President.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ROSEBERY.

## Vice-President.

THE RIGHT HON. EDWARD STANHOPE, M.P.

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SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G.  
(Vice-President Royal Colonial  
Institute).

## NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

At a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

- That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."  
That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.  
That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.  
That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.  
That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.  
That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.  
That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.  
That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.



# Imperial Federation.

OCTOBER 1, 1888.

## PANSLAVISM, PANTEUTONISM, AND IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

THE German *National Zeitung*, in an article entitled "*Pan-germanismus und Alldeutschthum*"—the latter phrase, at least, is untranslatable—has something to say on Imperial Federation, and says it, in the opinion of the *Morning Post*, in "somewhat truculent" tone. For our part, we have no wish to find any special fault with the article, which is written from a point of view, mistaken no doubt, but natural enough for a foreigner. It is true, the writer considers that the idea of a Greater Britain must remain without practical result. But when he thinks he sees "the thread that holds Australia to England daily growing thinner and thinner," and Canada, "rich in the promise of its future," already, "from an economic point of view, wholly in the power of its colossal neighbour," we can afford to smile, and to say calmly, that even in Berlin—"metropolis of intelligence" though it be—they don't know everything, and that the writer is mistaken. It would be strange if we here in London, in what is, not only socially and intellectually, but also politically, the heart and centre of Greater Britain, with innumerable opportunities of contact with Colonial politicians and political life, did not know more of the trend of Colonial opinion than any outsider can know. And we think that Englishmen in the Colonies would bear us out in saying that our Berlin friend's information is somewhat out of date. Ten years ago it was true that the ties that united England and her Colonies were growing thinner and thinner. The Colonies were becoming stronger and less in need either of protection from outside or of restraint within. To-day these tendencies—centrifugal they doubtless are—are still at work; but to-day there is a counteracting force acting in the opposite direction. The British Empire is a vast mass, and the blood pulsates slowly to its most distant extremities. Hence it comes that the feeling of national unity, that quickened Italy and Germany into life half a century back, has but recently become active in Greater Britain. That this feeling now exists no man can deny. That it already is powerful enough to outweigh the centrifugal tendencies of which we have just spoken—and Mr. Wise, the other day, gave testimony, all the more valuable in that it was involuntary, to the strength of it—many of us firmly believe. This, at least, we can say in all confidence, that, judging by its growth in the last few years, we have a right to expect that the future will be still more conspicuously on our side than is even the present time. Hence, as we say, our Berlin friend's information is out of date.

But not content with the declaration that "the prospects of *Pananglismus* are by no means hopeful," he goes on to object that the thing is not only unattainable, but objectionable. And here, we think, he is misled by a false analogy. Imperial Federation—for we may safely leave out of the question what Mr. Goldwin Smith calls "an Anglo-Saxon franchise" to include the United States—has nothing in common with the Pan Slavism or Panteutonism with which he classes it. Panteutonism would mean the annihilation of the Austrian Empire, the disruption of Switzerland, the absorption (we may presume) of Holland, possibly also of Flanders and of the Scandinavian Kingdoms. And not only this, but it would practically mean the permanent subjection of these scattered members of the Teutonic family to the great central mass of the present German Empire. And, similarly, Pan Slavism would mean the advancement of the Russian frontier, not only to the Adriatic and the Ægean, but across the Prussian border almost up to the gates of Berlin itself.

Even Pangallicism would imply a *révendication*—to use the ingenuous French phrase—of Brussels and Geneva, to say nothing of St. Heliers. Against such a reconstruction of the map of Europe we should be prepared to fight as energetically as the *National Zeitung* itself. To use its own words: "Every attempt to shift the landmarks of European States is an adventure of which the risk is enormously

greater than any possible advantage that can be gained thereby." By all means, and long may it so continue. But how does this touch us? What European landmark have we proposed, or can we wish, to remove? Or, for the matter of that, what extra-European landmark either? What, we may ask, does the Berlin Foreign Office know of Sir John Macdonald or Sir Henry Parkes? If a German subject is wronged in Montreal or Sydney, it is not to them, but to Lord Salisbury, that Prince Bismarck will address himself. As far as foreign Powers are concerned, Queen Victoria, with the Parliament and the Privy Council of the United Kingdom, remains just as much as Queen Elizabeth "over all causes and all persons, as well ecclesiastical as civil, within these her dominions supreme."

Why, then, should Germany concern herself with our domestic arrangements? If Hamburg resigns its position as a free port, and becomes part of the *Zollverein*; if Bavaria were to give up its separate postal system; if the Czar of Russia were to cease to reign in Finland merely as Grand Duke—what right of interference or of protest should we in England possess? And are we not justified in claiming for ourselves the same freedom in our internal affairs that no one would ever dream of denying to Germany or to Russia? But we might go further, and remind our friend of what the action of his own Government has been. Our self-governing Colonies have demanded before now to be represented in the Conferences of the Postal Union; and the answer that has been made to them has uniformly been that they were not nations, but dependencies of Her Britannic Majesty's, and that therefore their interests were already represented by the English delegate. Though it is true that, in consequence of this decision, both England and her Colonies have got very much the worst of the bargain in all postal matters, still, we cannot but be grateful to the European Powers for recognising so publicly and emphatically that the British Empire is one and indivisible, and that arrangements between England and her Colonies are purely matters of local concern. At least, it is on this principle that the English race throughout the world may be trusted to act. Neither of the Emperor of Germany nor of any other European potentate shall we ask permission, when next we think fit to hold an Imperial Conference in London. Imperial Federation, in its fullest sense, will not come just yet, may, perhaps, even never come at all; but one thing is quite certain, that any attempt on the part of European Powers to interfere between England and her Colonies would bring it into existence to-morrow. But the *National Zeitung* is not likely, we take it, to urge its own Government to adopt such a policy, however great might be the consequent benefits to the Imperial Federation League.

## THE HIGH COMMISSIONERSHIP OF SOUTH AFRICA.

A BLUE-BOOK, consisting of only two-and-twenty pages, illustrated, moreover, with a very tolerable map—*o si sic omnes*—has just been published, containing "Correspondence relating to the High Commissionership in South Africa." More than half the whole book is occupied by a letter addressed by Mr. Mackenzie to the Colonial Secretary, as long ago as February, 1887, urging on the department, not by any means for the first time, the separation of the office of High Commissioner from that of Governor of Cape Colony. To that communication, which we need not comment on, as the substance of it has since appeared, not only in "Austral Africa," but also in the admirable summary of the whole question which Mr. Mackenzie contributed to our columns in July last, a very brief reply was sent. It was to this effect: "Sir Henry Holland has read your letter with attention and interest, but is not prepared to recommend the assumption by this country of the great amount of interference in, and direct responsibility for, the details of extra Colonial affairs in South Africa which your letters appear to advocate." A copy of the letter and the reply was then sent in due course to Sir Hercules Robinson, and there the matter rested for more than a twelvemonth. But on June 4th of this year Mr. Chamberlain asked in the House of Commons that Mr. Mackenzie's letter might be laid on the table, and he was



promised that it should be produced as soon as Sir Hercules Robinson had had the opportunity of making any further reply that he might, in view of the question having been re-opened, now consider it desirable to make. Sir Hercules accordingly, having been communicated with by telegram, sent a reply, which was received in London on July 3rd; and in the course of that month several supplementary despatches and telegrams followed from the Cape. We may assume, therefore, that now we have before us all that Sir Hercules and the Cape Ministry have to say on the subject.

For our own part we must confess that it does not appear to us that their case is a strong one. When Sir Hercules Robinson himself puts in the forefront of his argument the critical question, "Where is the new High Commissioner to reside? . . . If in a British Protectorate he would be isolated and inaccessible." [In fact Shoshong is only about 150 miles either from Kimberley or Griqua Town, both of which places are connected by telegraph with the rest of the Empire. But let that pass.] "If, in the Cape Colony or Natal, he would in either of those Colonies occupy an inferior position to the Governor; while in the Cape Colony the puisne judges of the Supreme Court would, by law, take rank before him." When, we say, an experienced statesman produces this difficulty as the first and, presumably therefore, the most important objection to Mr. Mackenzie's proposals, we instinctively feel that those proposals must at least have some strong points in their favour. Again, it almost excites a smile when we are invited to reject a policy which men like Mr. Forster and Sir Charles Warren have declared to be vital to the fortunes of native South Africa, with its millions of inhabitants, and its hundreds of thousands of square miles, on the ground that as "suitable premises could not be rented," it would require "an original capital outlay of not less than £50,000" to provide the High Commissioner with "a furnished residence and offices for himself, his personal staff, and his clerical establishment." Nor can we affect to congratulate the Cape Ministry on the tone of their minute of June 18th. They have thought fit to place on record the fact that "they regard Mr. Mackenzie's letter as an ordinary expression of opinion of a gentleman possessing only a limited knowledge of the subject treated, and unqualified by any sense of responsibility on the part of the writer, and not of itself of sufficient importance to justify ministers in entering into a discussion of the different points raised. . . . A long experience of public affairs has taught ministers that it is dangerous to try experiments in South Africa, especially in opposition to those whose qualifications to give advice are of the highest character." Who these highly qualified persons may be ministers do not inform us. Certainly, with the evidence of this minute before their eyes, the English public will not have much inducement to include Sir Gordon Sprigg and his colleagues in the category.

Still, unanswered certainly—therefore, unanswerable presumably—as Mr. Mackenzie's arguments may be, we are hardly prepared to go as far as a good many of our contemporaries, and demand that the Colonial Office shall decree the full execution of Mr. Mackenzie's reforms forthwith. Whatever the abstract arguments may be on the one side, it cannot be denied that the practical arguments on the other side are of very considerable weight. When the Governor, the Ministry, the Parliament, and (as it now appears) the Press, at the Cape are unanimous in objecting to the change, it certainly would be a strong measure to carry it through merely by administrative order from home. The matter is, of course, no mere question of local Cape politics: it is a matter of Imperial interest, and one in which the people at home have a perfect right to a determining voice. If the people of England thought one way and the people at the Cape thought another, we should not hesitate to say that the will of the majority ought to prevail. But it is impossible to claim that there is any widely diffused and intelligent opinion on the point at home. This being so, the Colonial Office may well hesitate to encounter the very serious opposition that it would unquestionably have to face. May there not, however, be a way out of the difficulty? Leaving names and titles as they are, and leaving Basutoland, possibly even British Bechuanaland, under the administration of the High

Commissioner-Governor of the Cape, can we not entrust the newer territories beyond to an administrator responsible directly to the Colonial Office? It is difficult to see what objection either Sir Hercules Robinson, who has offered to show how best to get out of these territories, or the Cape politicians who have never had anything to do with them, could reasonably offer to such a proposal. Somewhere there must surely be a limit, even in the opinion of the Cape authorities themselves, to the natural sphere of Cape influence. And if that limit is not to be found at the Orange River, at least it can hardly be carried forward from the Molopo to the Zambesi. Cape Town can scarcely claim the indefeasible reversion of all the territories in South Africa that now and henceforward may be annexed by Imperial proclamation, and organised by Imperial magistrates and police, at the sole expense of the British taxpayer.

### IMPERIAL FEDERATION AND HOME RULE.

THE National League having received somewhat bountifully of Mr. Rhodes's halfpence, there has fallen to our share in return for Mr. Rhodes's platonic professions of affection not a few kicks from more than one impulsive Unionist. In this category we are almost constrained to include the distinguished author of "Elementary Politics." Writing in the September number of the *Liberal Unionist*, on "Imperial Federation and Home Rule," Mr. Raleigh begins by remarking very wisely that "the problem of federalising the United Kingdom is in no way simplified by mixing it up with the larger problem of federalising the British Empire;" but he then goes on, not as might naturally be supposed, to leave Imperial Federation, with which, as he has just explained, he and his readers have nothing to do, to be dealt with by those who wish to solve the larger problem, but to say "Let us look separately at the two questions which Mr. Rhodes has chosen to regard as one."

Coming, then, to Imperial Federation, in nineteen lines and a half Mr. Raleigh weighs in the balance the various solutions that have hitherto been proposed of "the larger problem of federalising the British Empire," and finds them all wanting. But it will not exhaust our readers' patience to peruse the whole of his tractate *in extenso*. This is what he writes:—"It is very generally admitted that our self-governing Colonies ought to have some regular and recognised means of influencing the decision of the British Government in regard to those matters in which they are directly interested. It is believed that the Colonies are willing to co-operate in any well-judged scheme of Imperial defence, and to bear their share of the burden which such a scheme would throw upon them and us. To this extent the movement so powerfully promoted by Mr. Forster has been a success, and a benefit to the Empire. But there is no reason to suppose that any Colonial Legislature is prepared to resign its powers of taxation and legislation, either in whole or in part, into the hands of a central body. On this rock all schemes of Imperial Federation as yet propounded have gone to pieces: they all depend for their success on an Imperial Customs union, or on some arrangement equally incompatible with local independence. We may, in the dim and distant future, have a Congress, exercising some limited authority over the Empire at large. We have now a Parliament exercising full authority over the United Kingdom and an adequate measure of authority over the rest of the Empire. Are we to sacrifice the substance for the shadow?"

Mr. Raleigh will scarcely expect us to answer this. We might, however, just ask how, if the Colonies are to co-operate in Imperial defence and to bear their share of the burden, we can avoid the creation of some new form of federal authority to control the joint defences forces. And we might add that many schemes of Imperial Federation have been proposed in no way dependent on the creation of an Imperial Customs Union or any similar arrangement. In one sense of course an agreement to afford the imports from Germany most-favoured-nation treatment, might be said to infringe the local independence of Great Britain; but it would be only in this sense—in the sense of an obligation deliberately contracted between equals—that the local



independence either of Canada, of Victoria, and of England would need to be encroached upon.

But Mr. Raleigh at least acknowledges that our movement has to some extent been "a success and a benefit to the Empire." We should have received still harder measure at the hands of "Nemo" and "An Irish Liberal," in a correspondence that under the heading of "Imperial Federation" has been carried on for many weeks in the columns of the Irish journal, the *Union*, had it not been for the gallant defence made for us by our friend Mr. Fetherstonhaugh. In the opinion of "Nemo" our schemes are nothing better than a mouthful of moonshine, though as they are likely to reduce England "from being the head of such a confederacy to having the centre removed from London to Calcutta, Melbourne in Australia, or elsewhere;" it would seem as though the moon possesses a capacity of stimulating rapid growth that is commonly believed to belong only to sunlight. It is not, however, of one political party only that we have to complain. Mr. Raleigh sends us about our business in nineteen lines and a half because we seem to have been in company for a moment with a Home Ruler. Canon Malcolm MacColl, on the other hand, enlists us bag and baggage under the Home Rule flag with no more ceremony than might be observed by the leader of a press-gang. "Imperial Federation," he writes, "of course is impossible without Home Rule." So said Mr. McNaught a few weeks back, and we then invited him to tell us whether the dissolution of the Dominion of Canada was also an essential pre-requisite to Imperial Federation. To that question Mr. McNaught has hitherto not replied. If Mr. MacColl will consent to take up the cudgels on his behalf, we need not say with how much pleasure we shall open our columns to so distinguished a disputant.

### CANADA AND THE STATES.

To attempt to give Canadian opinion on the retaliation policy with any fulness would be neither more nor less than an endeavour to produce a *précis* of all the Canadian journals for the past six weeks. Apart from its impossibility, this seems fortunately unnecessary, and for two reasons. The one that the Canadian Press is practically unanimous; the other that, as we write, it seems probable that the Senate will refuse to entrust President Cleveland with the powers that he has asked for. The following extract from the *Boston Herald* is a sufficiently accurate and impartial summary of the Canadian position:—

"The retaliatory policy encouraged by the leaders of the two great political parties in this country is provoking, as was to be expected, considerable warm feeling in Canada. The Canadians are incensed—and, as it seems to us, with some cause—at the idea that they should be made the victims of electioneering devices in this country. So far as concerns the question of discriminating charges at the Welland Canal, they are clearly in the wrong; but this is a subject which, upon fair representation, would readily lend itself to adjustment. But in the matter of the fisheries, the Canadians having offered to settle such differences as may exist by treaty, arbitration, or otherwise, they cannot, naturally, see with what justice the other contending party, who will not agree to leave the question out to some disinterested arbitrator, should assume a position of extreme hostility. Canadian pride has evidently been roused—a circumstance which may render a final adjustment of matters all the more difficult."

One Canadian utterance on the subject shall, however, be given—an extract from the speech of the veteran Premier himself. Here is what Sir John Macdonald told his audience at the opening of the Kingston Provincial Exhibition on September 11:—

"You all know what is going on across the line, but we Canadians have a good country, and we are satisfied with it. (Loud applause.) If Canada is excluded by any other country, then we can trade with ourselves. (Applause.) The attempts made across the line to cripple our resources furnish no cause for dismay, as such attempts will daily again illustrate what was shown when Reciprocity died after the war, that Canada could do without the trade if deprived of it. However, I do not believe that such will be the result of the present agitation. We can afford to wait in calm dignity and with self-respect for the action of our neighbours across the border. (Applause.) If they shut their doors against us we can remain outside, but if they let us in we can go on trading as we are at present, thus proving that Canadians are as independent a people as are in the world."

As for Senator Sherman, with his prophecies and his fraternal proposals, which would be insulting if it were not so evident that he has no wish to be offensive, it is difficult to know how to deal with them. It reminds one of the old story of Voltaire, who said coffee must certainly be a slow poison, as it had taken seventy years to kill him. So, too, annexation has been the manifest destiny of Canada for well-nigh a century, and in September, 1888, Mr. Macleod Stewart, Mayor of Ottawa, writes to the *Times* as follows:—"Having resided in the capital of the Dominion all my life, and knowing as I do nearly all the leading public men of Canada, I have been able to feel the pulse of thought for some years, and I am bound to confess that never in the history of that country has the national feeling been so strong and as truly genuine as it is at the present time. If I discern the sentiment of the Canadian people—and I think I do—'Canada will never be detached nor England's girdle of the world broken' by any action on their part." Perhaps the best way to persuade the Senator and his friends to spare us the pain of rejecting his fraternal proposals would be for the English Government to anticipate them by inquiring at Washington on what terms the United States Government would be willing to sell Alaska and that inconvenient wedge of Maine, that English statesmen so heedlessly let pass into American hands a generation or so back. A hint could also be given that Portland might be included in the deal if the price was strictly reasonable.

*\*\* In order that the Journal may be a complete record, we insert all matter bearing on Imperial Federation, without reference to the quarter from which it may proceed, but it is hardly necessary to remind our readers that party politics, whether at home or in the Colonies, are wholly alien to the League in any shape or form, and that the League is in no way responsible for the opinions stated therein.*

### CORRESPONDENCE.

#### A BRITISH BAD HABIT.

TO THE EDITOR OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—May I beg a little space in your journal for a word or two upon a matter which I confess only very indirectly concerns its object? I venture to put it before you because—although it may seem so very little a matter in the eyes of many—it is in reality one of those things which, inasmuch as they are the means of begetting a soreness towards us in the hearts of our Colonial brothers and sisters (who number among them some of my dearest friends), do, I think, somehow touch one of the sides of the many-sided question which it is your object to advocate.

This grievance of theirs is this—that people who come out from England treat them with such contempt, and otherwise so seriously misbehave themselves whilst dwelling with them. I first went out to the Cape as a clerk to a bank, and I remember that in that institution—a large one—the one or two fellow-clerks who happened to have been born in the country were regarded by most of us as so many interlopers (an idea which by right they had much more reason for entertaining towards us); and, generally, outside the bank, the "damned Colonials" were habitually regarded as miles beneath us. Upon every occasion when we deigned to associate with them we snubbed them mercilessly and outrageously. And as it was with us so was it with all the English people; almost as a rule they held themselves altogether apart. I myself was sent up-country for a year or two, and there I had very few besides "damned Colonials" (Dutch people mostly) to mix with. Naturally, I changed my opinion; and from boastfully proclaiming my nationality, I was more inclined, from what I heard and saw, to be ashamed of my countrymen. Why I want to write to you is to say that I certainly think it would be worth the while of every one who takes an interest in Imperial Federation to strive by every means to circumvent this most dangerous national characteristic; to impress more upon young intending Colonists and others the fact that their happening to have been born in the Mother Country makes them no whit superior to those who are native to the country whither they are going.

This may seem a very little thing—as I said before—but this behaviour is so widespread (at the Cape, at any rate), and rankles so in the breasts of honest Colonials. They want to know why these persons—who have (presumably) come to their country because they could not find a living from whatever cause in their own—should set themselves above them on a pinnacle, and look down upon them and their beautiful land from that height, and treat them always as persons infinitely inferior, as persons of



absolutely no account. They want to know how there come to be four degrees of comparison in the peoples of their country: first, the gods, represented by the emigrated English; second, the coloured natives, who are "interesting creatures;" third, the "Colonials," who are not worthy of notice; and fourth, the Dutch, who are almost dust beneath the foot, or, at any rate, persons to be insulted. They go on from such queries (which enter into the conversation of almost all the Colonials you meet) to inquire how much the English people "at home" (they always lovingly call it "home") have done for *them*, how much they ever think of *them* or care about *them*.

I don't, of course, mean to say that South Africa would be willing to separate herself from us for such reason as this; but it certainly gets the temper of her people up against England and the English, and it goes to swell the list of larger grievances they have against us.

Apologising for trespassing so greatly upon your space,—I am, sir, your obedient servant,  
Hull, August, 1888.

W. S. HUNT.

## AUSTRALASIA OR GREATER BRITAIN? HOW IT STRIKES A NEW ZEALANDER.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—Shortly before the scheme of Imperial Federation was first mooted in the Colonies, and before the League was started in England, I wrote and forwarded to leading statesmen several letters in the Tasmanian and other Colonial newspapers under the signatures of Anti-Secesh and various *nomis de plume*, advocating Imperial Union as being of far greater importance to the Australian Colonies than the Australasian Colonial Federation that was at the time the only Federation spoken about. Colonial Federation is good, but not so good for us as the Imperial Union which we now possess to some extent, and need only to strengthen in order to render it more useful and permanent to the great increase of peaceful power in our Empire, and the vastly improved conditions of safety, peace, and happiness of our people resulting therefrom. Many individuals are now thinking over the means that are necessary in the near future to bring our divided settlements into closer political union for Imperial purposes. It may possibly, therefore, be now of advantage to discuss amongst ourselves the best, safest, and quickest way to gain the end that we all have in view, and for that purpose I should propose as follows, not, however, expecting that what is here stated will be adopted in its entirety—it would be vain and foolish to think so—but still amongst many men are many minds, and it is only needed to set the thing moving, and then the best way to do it will the sooner be found out.

I would propose that a consulting Parliament of 200 members for the Upper House, and 600 for the Lower (800 altogether), should be called together to discuss the matter fully, and, *if possible, to firmly erect the first portion* of the Federation scheme, but the results of their deliberations not to be necessarily binding upon their respective Colonies until the consent of those Colonies shall have been first obtained through their legislative assemblies, as was done when the United States were first federated. To make up the 200 members of the Upper House, I would propose that one hundred be elected from amongst the peers of Great Britain and Ireland, in a similar manner to that of the election of Irish peers to sit in the British Parliament. The remaining hundred would consist of various British and Colonial judges, Agents-General of the Colonies, Generals of the Army, and Colonial Senators, &c.; and the composition would be thus:—

- 100 Peers of the realm and some of the Royal Family.
- 50 selected British and Colonial judges, the Agents-General of Constitutional Colonies, Generals of the Army, &c.
- 50 Senators, elected by the Colonial Upper and Lower Houses of Parliament while *sitting together* in the Colonial Parliament for the purposes of these elections.

Total, 200 Senators for the Imperial Upper House.  
The members of the Lower House of the Imperial Parliament would be 600 in number, composed thus:—

There would be seventy-six permanent seats belonging to the home countries and various Colonies and territories independent of the number to be allotted according to the varying populations of each Colony, viz.:—

- 20 for Great Britain and Ireland.
- 5 " British North America, or perhaps 7.
- 5 " New South Wales.
- 5 " Victoria.
- 5 " South Australia.
- 5 " New Zealand.
- 5 " Cape Colony and Natal. [loyalty.
- 1 " Channel Islands on account of their usefulness and
- 5 " Madras, and no more to be elected.
- 5 " Calcutta, ditto.
- 5 " Bombay, ditto.
- 5 " Central India, ditto.
- 5 " Punjab ditto.

76 permanent seats.

The sole qualifications necessary, to be able to speak English and be of decent character.

Five hundred and twenty-four seats to be divided amongst the various *constitutional* Colonies and the Mother Countries in proportion to the numbers of the European and the *Europeanised* populations of the various places; the number for each constitutional Colony to be rearranged by the Imperial Legislature every twenty years in proportion to the then existing population, as shown by census. Each Colonial Parliament to be informed by the Imperial Parliament, at the end of each twenty-year period, as to how many members each Colony shall be called upon to send during the ensuing decade; the Colonial Legislatures and that of the Mother Country shall then distribute their allotted seats amongst their various electorates in accordance with their various systems of election—elections to be for every five years. The Colonial Legislatures to pay for the travelling expenses of their members sitting in London; but after those expenses are satisfied it shall be left for each Colony to decide as to how much honorarium, if any, is to be given. Perhaps it would be best to arrange it so that all the Crown Colonies and large fortresses shall send one member with a vote to the Imperial Legislature, to act as mouthpieces for their districts; but in the case of India the larger number mentioned above should be allowed, for the purpose of not only acting as mouthpieces, but also as a compliment to their large and often intelligent populations, and for the purpose of attaching the natives firmly to the British Empire if possible, and educating them in English governmental ideas at the same time. I have been witness of the great success that has attended the introduction of the Maori members into the New Zealand Legislature; that simple expedient has, I believe, done more to bind the Maories to our institutions than any other single circumstances connected with them; the Parliament of New Zealand is no longer the Pakeha Council only, but it is also the great council of New Zealand, belonging to the Maori as well as the white man. So will it be in India eventually if we in the present generation can manage to act with friendly prudence to the natives of that vast country in the matter of floating the Imperial Federation Parliament, proving to them that under Her Majesty's Government they are looked upon as friends as well as subjects, and thus lead them to expect that as they advance in European ideas and improvements they will be always fairly treated, although their mere barbaric numbers will *never be allowed* to sway the Imperial Councils to the prejudice of our institutions.

They, in their hearts, approve of much of our doings in their country, although at times they naturally feel opposed to those things, but in spite of caste and religious prejudices English law is carrying the respect of their people, and for the sake of their people more than for ours we should endeavour to still further lead them in the paths of European ideas. They have grasped the advantages of railways, telegraphs, &c., and now cannot even if they would return to their old ways, and if we give them a friendly hand now we shall be able to always rely on India as a district of friendly workers and warriors who will be proud to be firmly allied to the British Empire.—Yours,

L. S.

## THE NECESSITY FOR ACTION.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—The lamented founder of the League wrote as follows in 1885: "Ideas now realise themselves in a year as fully as they used to do in a century." The events of each day bring forward new proofs of this truth. Each issue of IMPERIAL FEDERATION is a gigantic stride forward in the march of thought on the subject. The last number not only teems with animating ideas, but is brimful of matter suggesting the necessity of action.

Foremost in importance is the speech of Sir Hector Langevin, and the editorial comments upon it. The admirable tone of the latter will, however, go but a short way towards satisfying the demands of the French Canadian leader for more light. His opposition is bred of distrust. Imperial Federation is to him suspicious from its vagueness, and it is plain that, if the fears of his fellow-citizens are to be removed, the authorities of the League must announce a more definite programme.

The necessity for some step of this sort has also been expressed by Mr. Downes Carter, and a convincing proof of its urgency is afforded in the language of an eminent Canadian member of the League. Principal Grant, of Queen's University, was one of the most eloquent speakers at the inauguration of the League in Canada; but not long ago he expressed himself as follows, in an essay entitled "Canada First":—"The weakness inherent to political organisations that have no definite work to do is seen in the difficulty that has been found in forming and maintaining in existence branches of the Imperial Federation League. I am a member of that League, but it is evident that it will soon vanish into thin air, unless some scheme of commercial or political action is agreed upon, for the carrying on of which its members may work."

The Imperial Federation League was not formed one moment too soon, for influences, which need not be specified, are at work in some of our Colonies which will make the



consolidation of the Empire the more difficult of accomplishment the longer it is postponed. There never was a case in which it could be said with greater truth that delays are dangerous, and never one in which the time for positive action was more opportune than at present. In a speech in the House of Lords, not long since, the noble President of the League made use of this very word "opportunity;" and just as he then urged reform on his colleagues, so may action now be urged upon the Executive Committee of the League in the very quotation Lord Rosebery made use of:—

"Miss not the occasion; by the forelock take  
That subtle power of never-halting time,  
Lest the mere moment's putting off should make  
Mischance almost as grave as crime."

Of course, it is incumbent upon those who urge action to indicate the direction it should take. Accordingly, I venture to suggest the following programme of practical measures for consolidating the Empire, which might with advantage be adopted at the present time:—

a. Obtain an *Imperial revenue* from a duty of ten per cent. *ad valorem* on all foreign imports into every part of the Empire, over and above all local tariffs.

b. Place this revenue in charge of an *Imperial Ministry*, separate from that of England, to defray the cost of defending the Empire, both by army and navy, and to meet other Imperial outlays.

c. Let this Ministry be responsible to an *Imperial Senate*, formed by so reconstructing the House of Lords as to give representation to each division of the Empire in proportion to its contribution to the revenue.

These measures have already been discussed somewhat in detail in the columns of the Journal, but they have not yet been favourably noticed by the League in England, perhaps from a fear that their adoption would not be safe at the present time. The following considerations are advanced in support of the belief that the advocacy of a programme such as the above could only result in advancing the cause.

There is abundant evidence to show that the commercial phase of Federation is uppermost in the Colonial mind. On the other hand, it may be noticed that, in the United Kingdom, the current of thought among Federationists turns mostly on the defence of the Empire, the extent to which the Colonies ought to contribute to the cost, and the improvement of inter-British telegraph and postal affairs. A third view is that of the Fair-traders, who adopt the principle of "Free Trade (as far as possible) within the Empire, and Protection against the world." Now, if these different currents of thought—Colonial and English—regarding Federation, now flowing separately, although in the same direction, could be guided into one channel, their power would be greatly augmented, and, in fact, rendered irresistible. I maintain that this union may be accomplished, and the triple object of uniting and defending the Empire and encouraging its trade attained, by the adoption of the first two planks in the above platform. Thus the active assistance of numerous Colonists, Federationists, and Fair-traders would be gained.

The Colony of Queensland has recently declined to contribute directly towards defending the Australasian floating trade. My scheme proposes to raise the money indirectly, and in such a manner as to give a preference to Colonial products in English markets. If Queensland had to choose betwixt contributing in this manner or being left outside of a British Zollverein, its decision would very quickly be made in favour of the former alternative.

The prospect of retaliation by the United States now stares Canada in the face, and, although war is a very distant possibility, it would only be wise to begin the inquiry now as to how its expense is to be borne. If Canada is asked to pay money—even for purposes of defence—out of her exchequer into that of the United Kingdom, the disloyalty and virulence of a certain minority there will only be strengthened. If, however, she is taxed in such a manner as to benefit Colonial trade, her consent will be readily gained.

Taxation entitles to representation; but it is equally fair that representation should be in proportion to the amount of the contribution. To reconstruct the House of Lords on this principle would awaken comparatively little opposition. The French-Canadians would have a voice in this "grand Imperial Parliament" according to their subscription, and they could scarcely maintain that their existing liberties would thereby be destroyed. In this way they could be shown that an Imperial fiscal policy might be inaugurated, without forcing Canada to have recourse to direct taxation. Our scheme would enable us to tell our French-Canadian fellow-citizens that representation would not be based on population, and that any sacrifices they might make would be amply repaid by preferences given to their trade. Such representations would certainly result in allaying the fears and lessening the opposition of such statesmen as Sir Hector Langevin.

It is sometimes argued that the Colonial Legislatures should be the first to formulate their wishes for closer union. Meanwhile the Colonies are waiting for action by the Mother Country.

Under such circumstances there can be no progress; and how is it to be expected that a legislature can act before public opinion has been educated by the operations of the League and its branches? They must first propose a policy. Here again the branches wait on the parent League, and the parent League apparently on the branches. Well; the League in Canada has taken action on the commercial question without provoking action by the League in London. How long are we to play at this shifting and shirking of responsibilities?

Lessing causes the fiery Saladin to exclaim, "He who considers, seeketh reasons for not daring;" and Schiller makes William Tell say, "He who deliberates too much will accomplish little." It is a common German saying that "Boldly ventured is half won." In these days Germany suits her action to her words. Is it possible that the "Fatherland" is gaining what the "Motherland" is losing in manly statecraft? Certain it is that Germany would very willingly pick up anything in the shape of Colonial territory or influence that England might abandon.

There was a time, previous to the Peace of Tilsit, when England was implored by the Continental Powers to come to their aid against Napoleon. She refused or delayed, and afterwards had to wade through blood and spend millions to accomplish, almost single-handed, the liberation of Europe. Is her future Colonial policy to be one of which we shall be able to say, "Experience teaches"? Or is it only to result in confirming the adage, "He that will not while he may, shall not when he will"? UNITED EMPIRE LOYALIST.

September 17th, 1888.

### AUSTRALIAN NATIVE OPINION.

WE promised our readers, some time back, to reproduce the pith of the interviews that have taken place between leading native-born Australians and a reporter of the Melbourne *Herald*. We take the fact that the *Herald* was at the trouble to obtain and to publish their opinions as sufficient evidence that the gentlemen interviewed are one and all, though in different ways, representative men. And with this preface we leave interviewers and interviewed to speak for themselves, just noting that the *Herald* is responsible for the few words of biographical introduction to the several interviews.

Sir W. J. Clarke, Bart., M.L.C., a native of Tasmania, is one of the largest land-owners in Victoria, and one of the wealthiest Australians of the day.

#### SEPARATION.

"What, Sir William, may I ask, are your views on the question of Separation?"

"I think that Separation from the Old Country would be a very great misfortune, both to Great Britain and to the Colonies. If Separation took place before Australian Federation were effected, the results might be extremely serious. One Colony might, in the event of any grievance with another Colony, make an alliance with a European Power. Another Colony might call in the assistance of a second European Power, and so on. If that occurred, there would probably be war between the different Colonies, assisted by Foreign Powers. Then, in the event of Separation, the Colonies, by themselves, would have great difficulty in successfully resisting the Chinese in any attempt they might make to form a Colony in the Northern part of Australia, say, North Queensland. The sugar planters of Queensland would very likely wish to obtain Chinese labour, and if the Chinese arrived in great numbers they would drive all the Europeans, except the landed proprietors, from that part of Australia. The other Colonies would, no doubt, resent this; but once let such a settlement be formed, and the Colonies, without the aid of Great Britain, would not be in a satisfactory position to prevent the influx in view of the great and increasing power of the Chinese Empire. Separation would, no doubt, expose the Colonies, not only to a Chinese inroad, but also to attacks by European Powers desirous of increasing their territories. Australia would offer very rich spoil to attacking forces, and in the scramble that would probably occur even Great Britain might take part. The English people would feel that they had a greater right than any European Power to the land they had colonised, and they might be placed in the unfortunate position of having by force of arms to hold portions of Australia in order to prevent unfriendly Powers taking them, possibly under treaty with one particular Colony. It is certain that Separation would very prejudicially affect the progress and prosperity of the Colonies, for a time at least. I attribute a very large measure of our present prosperity to the influence of the friendship and protection of Great Britain, and the confidence inspired by our connection with the grand old Mother Country. Assuming that there was no Federation of the Colonies, Separation would necessarily involve a large increase of expenditure in the different Colonies. Each State would, of course, have to keep up a large standing army, and also a powerful fleet, and the consequent burden upon the taxpayer would probably be severely felt.

#### THE DANGER OF DIFFERENCES.

"There would be great danger of misunderstanding arising between the Colonies, and they might be brought into conflict one with another, and wage in Australia wars similar to those of Europe. We have already seen an illustration of the danger of a quarrel between the Colonies. There are many in the Colony who may still remember the dispute between Victoria and New South Wales some years ago as to the possession of both sides of the Murray. New South Wales



claimed both sides, and Victoria resisted the pretension, and actually sent up an inspector and seventy constables to assert her right. These men were armed and prepared to use force. New South Wales, however, was only represented by a Commissioner of Customs, and as he had no force to support him, the Victorians asserted their right successfully, and it has not been disputed since. Although I do not believe that at the present moment there is any danger of serious ill-will between the Colonies, yet with our hostile tariffs, and with the probability of the differences being intensified by retaliatory legislation, a dispute of a grave character might arise at any moment and cause a crisis. One irritable man in a commanding position might actually set hostile forces on the march. Yet another danger would arise from Separation. Foreign Powers would be only too likely to strengthen their positions in the Pacific, and to establish fresh, strong, and threatening posts, knowing that the Colonies no longer had Great Britain at their back.

#### NO GRIEVANCES EXIST.

"I cannot see that we have any grievances against the Mother Country. Although bills have been withheld by the governors of the Colonies for the Queen's assent, I regard that, not as a grievance, but as a great advantage. It has practically given us a cheap Court of Appeal when hasty measures are passed."

#### AUSTRALASIAN FEDERATION.

"I take it, from the tenour of your remarks, that you are in favour of Australasian Federation?"

"Unreservedly, I am very pleased with the measures already taken for the establishment of the Federal Council, which I regard as the starting point for a Union of the Colonies. It is a matter of great regret that the movement has not been attended with more success."

#### IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

"Are you in favour of Imperial Federation?"

"I candidly confess that I see very little prospect of Imperial Federation except for purposes of defence. The first step has already been taken in this direction by the measure for the formation of the Australian Auxiliary Squadron, and at no distant time I believe arrangements will be made for Great Britain to assist the Colonies still more powerfully, and for the Colonies, in return, both by men, ships, and money, to aid the Mother Country in any case of great national emergency, such as, for instance, a Russian attack upon India, a country in which these Colonies are greatly interested, and with which our statesmen should endeavour to cultivate commerce and friendly relations. I think, however, that it is somewhat premature to discuss the question of Imperial Federation. The solution of that problem really rests with the young Australians, who are replacing the veteran politicians, who have done so much to insure the prosperity of the Colonies."

#### VIEWS OF MR. DAVID GAUNSON, M.L.A.

##### WHAT WILL BE GOT BY SEPARATING?

Mr. David Gaunson, M.L.A., is not only native to the soil, but the son of an Australian native, and, notwithstanding an unfortunate infirmity of temper, is a man of marked ability, who never hesitates to express his views. He is no trimmer or time-server, and never sits on the rail, but is always to be found on one side or other of the fence. Asked for his views, Mr. Gaunson said:—

"So far as I have thought over the position the Australian Natives' Association occupies, I have always inclined to think that the political aspect of the Association has been a mistake. The Association purports to be founded on the lines of the various friendly societies for 'the relieving of sick members,' &c.; but some of its members have from time to time turned it into a political engine. At Kilmore I had a conversation with Lord Carnarvon, and pointed out to him how exceedingly dangerous it would be for English statesmen to place any reliance on any resolution emanating from the 'Australian Natives' Association' as being a correct exponent of the views of Australians generally. I added, that had England gone to war with France over the New Hebrides, the Australian Colonies, I believe, would not have contributed one sixpence to the expenses of the war. To-day, we find that, with the Association under different leading, 'Separation' is paraded as the great future for which the Association seeks to make fitting preparation, so as to be equal to it when it arrives; whilst, under other leading, Protection is insisted on as the aim of the Association. Surely, all this is calculated to bring the Association, as a friendly society, into difficulties. As to Separation, I do not think the Association is favourable to Separation. I feel sure that the question has not been at any time seriously (if at all) considered. But, as to Australian natives generally, the vast majority will doubtless begin to think about the question when some unmistakably severe strain occurs in the relations of the Colonies and the Home Government. Until then, they are unlikely to bother about theorising. The Australian native is not likely to be misled on this question. He will want to know what will be got by separating, and what occasion there is for separating. If Separation comes, he will endeavour to be equal to the occasion; but he is not disposed to follow any leader, great or small, who unnecessarily and unpatriotically seeks to promote unpleasantness between him and his kin beyond the seas."

#### VIEWS OF THE REV. J. WATKIN, D.D.

##### SEPARATION DANGEROUS AND UNGRATEFUL.

Our representative found the Rev. Dr. Watkin sitting in his room at Wesley College, of which he is the talented principal. He was passing under the cloud of a temporary illness. But hearing the mission of the visitor, he readily consents to express his thoughts and sentiments on the subject of Imperial Federation as opposed to Separation. Few men in our midst are better entitled to do so. Dr. Watkin is a native of

Australia. He was born in Sydney, and educated in orthodox Methodism. Thirty-nine years of his life—and those the best and most useful—have been spent in Victoria. His father before him was for a long time engaged in active missionary work in the South Sea Islands. Dr. Watkin is, judging from appearances, bordering upon fifty years of age. On the same diagnosis one would regard him as of a calm, unobtrusive, and contemplative turn of mind, and with a singular capacity of introspection, a most serviceable quality to which far too few people can lay claim.

"How am I to begin?" queries the reverend gentleman good humouredly.

The interviewer suggests that his "subject" should commence at once by saying whether he is in favour of Separation from Great Britain.

"No. I am strongly opposed to the idea of Separation, and to seek it at the present time is a folly. What are the disadvantages of the connection? Can you suggest any of weight in the councils of men? To me it seems rather ungrateful on the part of Australians, considering our immense indebtedness to England, to talk of separating. Our country is vested in us, and it is British capital, British energy, and British enterprise which have helped to rear her bulwarks, and to endow her with stability in her vastly progressive course.

"Of course I am aware that Turgot, the French philosopher, was of opinion that Colonies resembled fruit clinging to the tree until it is ripe, and then falling off. I believe that this testimony has received some corroboration in the past, and the Colonies have separated in the natural sequence of events; but I do not at all admit that this may be the rule in the future. If the desire for union continues nothing can separate us. I have always considered that the action of the Hon. Mr. Dalley in sending the New South Wales contingent to the Soudan has introduced a new and striking chapter into British history, as illustrating a natural affection on the part of the Colonies, and proving beyond question that the Colonies, instead of being a source of weakness to the Mother Country, may be a source of unlimited strength. What I have always argued for when speaking on public platforms in connection with church anniversaries has been—first, Australian Federation, next, Imperial Federation, and, finally, Federation of the whole of the English-speaking races in all parts of the world. I think there could be no better guarantee for the peace of the world than the consummation of this last object."

"Should you be inclined to deny that Separation is one of the probabilities of the far future, having regard to the inherited notions or superstitions about 'national independence'?"

##### "SEPARATION MAY COME

after the lapse of years; but I do not think the event should be anticipated. Had we been separated and left to our own internal resources, I rather imagine that we should not have been let alone by some of the strong European Powers. It is because of the strong security we enjoy by our connection with the British Empire—and the powerful deterrent influence which this union exercises on the minds of other nations—that we have been left unmolested. Moreover, I think just now the British Government is recognising our claims in a more marked degree than formerly, so that, at least, it is unwise, not to say ungrateful, at this juncture, to add fuel to Separation ideas. I readily admit that in the past the British Government has not recognised the claims of Australia as it should have done. There are far too striking evidences of that by the attitude assumed over the affairs of New Guinea and the New Hebrides. But who can deny that there is now a growing feeling at home that our history is their own, and I should like to see all born Australians adopting the history of England as theirs, and that they would gradually awake to a sense of the

##### SIMILARITY OF INTERESTS.

"Some people take the narrow view that England is beholden for every penny she spends on our naval defences, on the ground that the great majority of the vessels skirting our coasts are owned in the Old Country. To my mind, that is a narrow and a selfish view. If those British vessels engaged on the mercantile trade to Australia were interfered with, our merchants would suffer quite as much as the ship-owners."

"If ever Separation comes," Dr. Watkin continued, "I hope it will take place with mutual respect, but what I hope is that we shall always remain a portion of the British Empire, because I consider there is much to gain from the connection, and everything to lose by Separation. You must admit there are any number of social, commercial, and monetary links binding us with the Mother Country."

"On what grounds do you think Imperial Federation might be effected?"

"I am not politician enough to answer that question, but I think there are skilled men in England and Australia who would be able to devise some scheme of federating which would be

##### EQUITABLE, AND MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS

to both countries."

"What are the imminent dangers to which we should be exposed by Separation?"

"As I have said, I do not think we are at all sufficiently strong enough to defend ourselves in case of foreign invasion. It may be that the city of Melbourne is well protected, and that we need not fear bombardment; but, even so, immense damage could be inflicted on our commerce on the seas which it would take us decades of years to recover. I consider that so long as there exists at home a proper recognition of Australian interests, in accordance with the spirit recently displayed, the gain by Separation even fifteen years hence would be a very questionable one. But if Separation should come, the Australians of the future would show themselves very ungrateful if they did not treasure the most respectful recollections of their indebtedness to the Fatherland. I am hoping that in the ages to come Australia may write a grander history than has yet been recorded for any country."



We are the latest born of the nations ; we can profit by the experience and the errors of older nations. The political and religious liberties which we enjoy we owe to the struggles of those who have fought against abuse in Church and State. We have reaped more advantages than are enjoyed at home. We have a larger measure of religious equality. The disabilities under which Nonconformists labour in the Old Country are not apparent here. And yet for all these political and religious advantages we are indebted to England. I say it would be ungrateful to separate, and if ingratitude is to be condemned in the individual, it is also a feature not to be honoured in a nation."

#### THE REV. H. L. A. TREWIN'S VIEWS.

"The truth is that we are all of us more or less Republicans. I am, at any rate. That is to say, I honour the Queen, and believe her to be a wise ruler, and one of the best and noblest of women ; but I am of the opinion at the same time, that if ever there arises a mighty and independent Australian nation, as I feel sure there will, that a Republican form of government will be the one embraced. It has been so in America. It will be so here in the years to come, unless I am much mistaken.

"It is almost generally believed that separation from Great Britain must come in the course of time. Some have referred to it as inevitable more than desirable. Others have candidly spoken in favour of its being brought about as soon as ever it can be amicably arranged. For one, I regard Separation not merely, as Dr. Watkin put it, as something that may come, but that must come. I cannot conceive of the Australia of the future continuing to occupy the same relationship to the Old Country as at present. Complications arise now even, and friction is occasioned, owing to delays, &c. ; and as the Colonies increase in population and productiveness, these are likely to be intensified to such an extent as to render Separation a necessity.

"I openly avow myself a Separationist, or at least a believer in the approach of separation from England. I do not favour immature or hasty separation, however. I would do nothing towards forcing it on like a hothouse plant. Those who desire almost immediate separation are about as wise as a person would be to teach that boys of twelve years of age are experienced enough to set up in business for themselves. Certainly some lads do this at this early age, but they are usually either match-sellers, shoe-blacks, or street sweepers. In my opinion things are by no means ripe for Separation yet, and will not be for a long time to come. It will come, I feel certain, simply because I believe it will become an absolute necessity at some time or another ; when it will come, however, I do not feel disposed to attempt to prophesy.

"Separation between various interests here and kindred ones in England is constantly taking place. Take the religious denominations for instance. At one time these were entirely subject to the English conferences in everything. But with the onward march of time separate conferences became essential to the proper working of the churches here. Most of the religious bodies now have these, and they were effected without any ill-feeling whatever. Why could not a political separation be just as amicably arranged ? We need not become any less British in consequence, any more than these churches have not become any less Methodist or Baptist, as the case may be, by the separation referred to just now.

"Imperial Federation I regard as a grand idea, if practicable. I am afraid, however, that it will never be accomplished. I must confess myself a thorough pessimist in this respect.

"This island continent on which we live seems especially intended by the Creator to be the home of one large nation. And what a nation it will be if Australian Federation takes place, as I sanguinely believe it will. We look in vain for another likely to equal it. Unmolested by troublesome and quarrelsome neighbours, how peaceful we would be ! What almost boundless resources we, as a people, would also have to draw upon ! Australia's future is certain to be a very bright one, either with or without Federation. But with the latter, which I expect to see brought about some day or another, as surely as I expect to see the day dawn to-morrow, that future cannot but be of a more glorious character than without it.

#### MR. FRANK STUART'S VIEWS.

Mr. Frank Stuart, ex-President of the Chamber of Manufactures, is an able and eloquent native of Australia. He is, so to speak, inter-colonial. Born in New South Wales, he has lived for some twenty-two years—about half his lifetime—in Victoria ; and he has enlarged his views and broadened his sympathies by travel in America, Great Britain, and Europe. A vigorous and effective speaker, he is no mere theorist, but a practical man of business, whose capacity and enterprise have been rewarded with commercial success. A man well fitted, then, to give expression to the views entertained by the business and commercial portion of the Australian-born of the community.

"What, Mr. Stuart, is your opinion of

#### IMPERIAL FEDERATION ?"

There is quiet emphasis about the reply :—"I believe it to be a Will-o'-the-wisp, the pursuit of which must end in disappointment, and will serve only to distract our attention from the present need of Australian Federation. Imperial Federation can only practically take place under a uniform Customs tariff. Such a tariff would have to extend to India, Canada, and the whole of the British possessions all over the globe. We know that the temper of Australia is utterly at variance with that of England upon this question, and the circumstances and conditions of trade in other British possessions render a Customs union impossible, till at least some great change has taken place in the opinions of all concerned. It is possible and desirable that the Mother Country and her Colonies should federate for defence purposes, and become the policemen of the world. But to suppose that colonial legislators will sit side by side with British members of Parliament, or that our representatives would be allowed equal weight with those of England in the councils of the Empire, is to suppose something quite impossible,

until the temper of the governing classes in England undergoes some radical change.

#### AUSTRALIANS SCRAMBLING FOR TITLES.

"I am afraid that a considerable number of Australian politicians have pushed the question of Imperial Federation forward from very unworthy motives which the officials at the Colonial Office have not failed to see through and take advantage of. During the last few years certain of our politicians and wealthy men have been scrambling for English titles in a manner which would be most amusing to the on-lookers, were it not that their conduct was calculated to bring disgrace and contempt upon the Colonies which they are supposed to represent. Do not imagine that I do not love and admire the grand old land from which we have sprung, but what suited their conditions in the past will not suit ours in the future. Our history is yet to make. In our future we want no hereditary aristocracy copying the vices and crimes of older lands ; but we want to build up the best and purest Democracy the world has ever seen, where free men and women can live in such liberty, such equality, and such widely-diffused prosperity as no other country has yet known."

#### GOVERNMENT FROM LONDON.

"Though you do not believe in Imperial Federation, yet you are in favour of Federation for mutual defence. Will you explain your position ?"

"Certainly. Federation for defence purposes would really be a contract on the lines of the agreement arranged in London at the Conference held last year ; but Imperial Federation, as set forth by the disciples of that school, would mean that London would be the seat of government of a great Empire, and when this country in fifty or one hundred years' time has reached to great power and population, a strong and resolute people, as the Australians will undoubtedly become, would feel disinclined to submit to government from any place so distant as London would be. As someone has before remarked, it would be like the tail wagging the dog. Australia will then be much larger in population and more powerful than England, and while the people here, I have no doubt, will constantly have the warmest love and admiration for the Old Country, yet, at the same time, it appears to me that they will resent any interference from the other end."

#### TARIFF FEDERATION HOPELESS.

"You appear to have no hope of a Federation of Tariffs ?"

"Not the slightest. The tendency of Australian political thought is clearly in the direction of Protection for the whole of Australia against the world, including England. It is morally certain that Australia, in twenty years' time, will be federated on almost similar lines to those on which the United States now exist, that is—Free Trade over all the Colonial States, and Protection against the other countries of the world. The Imperial Federationists are nearly all Free Traders, and they look to Imperial Federation as giving an opportunity for England to send her goods to all the Australian Colonies, and, *vice versa*, for sending all our goods to her free. It may be thought that England will eventually retaliate against these Colonies, because they are now putting duties on her goods ; but it is well known that England, being a great manufacturing country, must continue to admit raw material free of duty, and we shall continue to send her our raw material—wool, wheat, beef, tallow, and minerals—without any fear of duties being imposed upon them. Duty or no duty, they are bound to have these raw materials, inasmuch as they cannot produce them in sufficient quantities themselves. They cannot provide food enough for their own people, nor have they material enough for their manufactures without importing."

#### SEPARATION INEVITABLE NEXT CENTURY.

"What view do you take of the probability of Separation ?"

"I know there has been a considerable under-current of talk among native Australians lately about Separation, and that there exists among the very young and unreflecting native population an idea that our connection with the Mother Country is a clog on the wheels of our progress, and that we should run more rapidly if we shook off the traces. I very well remember that when I was about thirteen years old, and imagined myself somebody, I had similar notions myself, and indulged in soul-stirring dreams of the time when I should lead an army of gallant Australians who would wade knee-deep in blood, and throw off the tyrant's galling yoke. But I am older, and, I trust, wiser now.

#### OUR PRESENT ADVANTAGES.

"Our present connection costs us but the salaries of a few governors, and ours at least does his duty cheerfully and well in Victoria. If we were without the connecting link of our governors, and were independent to-morrow, it would cost us more than their salaries to pay our representatives at the various Courts of the world. We are practically the freest people under the sun. England would not dare or desire to impose laws upon us, or to veto any important measures that we may pass. We govern ourselves with the fullest possible liberty, and the bonds which connect us with Great Britain need only be the silken chains of love and affection.

#### AUSTRALIAN GRIEVANCES.

"No doubt we have some strong grounds of complaint. It is only recently that England has begun to understand us and our hopes and aspirations. We were looked upon as a number of poor relations, who were a constant source of irritation to the British taxpayer instead of as a lusty young nation and the best customer that Great Britain has, for we take from her, per head of our population, four times as much as any other nation. We can have nothing but contempt for the weak, vacillating, and short-sighted policy which allowed our natural inheritance of New Guinea and the New Hebrides to be filched from our grasp ; and some day in the future it may cost us both blood and treasure to retrieve this mistake. But all the same, if we had been an independent nation, we could not have prevented the foreign



occupation of these islands, and it is idle to talk of our passing retaliatory measures upon France, for she will insist upon sending her vilest criminals to New Caledonia. If we were to restrict the freedom of French commerce, then France would enforce her demands at the point of the bayonet—that is supposing we had severed our connection with Great Britain.

#### WHAT WE OWE TO OLD ENGLAND.

"We owe our progress and safety for the last 100 years to the protecting and fostering arm of our Motherland—to her power, which has overshadowed us and warned off the cruel and avaricious hands of envious and foreign Powers. For a century she has secured us peace, has given us money and brave men wherewith to develop our resources; but, like children of a smaller growth, who feel their feet, and fancy they can get along without parental advice or assistance, we forget the days of our swaddling clothes, and the pitfalls and dangers from which the strong arms and wise counsels of our mother have saved us."

#### SEPARATION WILL COME.

"Do you regard Separation as inevitable?"

"Separation will undoubtedly come by-and-by, because of our certain increase in wealth, population, and power. But I do not believe that it will come before the middle of the next century. When it does come it will be freely and in friendship, and with the best wishes on both sides; but at present we are far too young to stand alone."

"The Australian Natives' Association, it is said, are preparing for Separation."

"Well, I think that there is no necessity for discussion on this question yet. At the same time, I think no harm can come of it, because I feel quite convinced that 90 per cent. of native-born Australians, in addition to the rest of our citizens who may be called Australians, too, have quite made up their minds that there is no need for separation for many years to come—that it would be utterly unwise on our part to think of it seriously at present."

#### LOYALTY OF THE AUSTRALIANS TO BRITAIN.

"What do you think of the loyalty of the Australians?"

"I think that most people who visit Australia, and who admire our loyalty, are under a wrong impression as to the cause of it. So far as I know from my observation for many years, Australians are not loyal in a personal sense. They care little about kings or queens, but they are loyal to the backbone to an ideal—that is, they are loyal to the Empire, and attached to the land of their fathers. The Queen merely symbolises to them the sovereignty of the British people. To sum up my views, while I think that Separation will happen at some time in the course of the next hundred years, it will come freely and pleasantly, and the people of Australia will ever retain the warmest pride in Great Britain. I found when in America that all the educated and thoughtful Americans had the warmest love and admiration for England. English manners and English customs were copied almost slavishly. Every American of position sought in some way to identify his name or history with some old English family. The American people I found to be better-read in first-class English literature than the English people themselves; and everywhere, in travelling through the United States, you will find among the cultured class great admiration for Great Britain. Whatever may be the outcome of our political future, whether through Imperial Federation we become part of a world-wide Empire, or whether we start an independent nation of our own in these Southern Seas, I trust we shall never lose our love, admiration, sympathy, and affection to the land to which we are bound by the ties of kinship. We have yet to carve out our way to fame and glory, but as children of the grand old land we are sharers in her glorious past. The battles, sieges, conflicts she has passed belong to us; the far-reaching line of her illustrious children of splendid and immortal memory, showing like stars through all her remarkable history—her glorious enterprise, her widespread commerce, her famous literature and science, are ours. Westminster Abbey and the long muster roll of her heroes, her warriors, statesmen, and poets, belong to us. We share in the glory of the land that has given birth to Shakespeare and Milton, to Cromwell, Wellington, and Nelson, to Burns and Scott, to Moore and Tennyson, to Wilberforce and Howard; of the land which spent twenty millions to break the bonds of slavery, which for a thousand years has marched in the van of truth and progress, and which has more than once poured out her blood and her treasure to fight a world in arms for the sake of the sacred cause of Liberty. Perish the thought that we should be eager to break the bonds of admiring love which bind us to the Motherland! Rather let us, forgetting the errors and crimes of her past history and remembering only her people's virtues, seek to build up a still nobler, grander Britain in this Australian land of ours."

#### VIEWS OF MR. W. H. CROKER.

Few men are busier "toilers of the day" than Mr. W. H. Croker. If you want to have a word with this prominent solicitor you have to take your turn, and the time in the waiting-room may be considerable. When you do manage to get hold of him you find him the most affable and chaffable of men. Mr. Croker, although not a native, arrived in Victoria when an infant.

"Have you," is asked, "read what Mr. Justice Williams and Mr. Purves have been saying about the separation of the Colonies from Great Britain?" "Yes," is the reply, "and I think that Mr. Justice Williams has hit the proper position, and I consider that Mr. Purves has been misrepresented. As to the possibility of separation there can be no doubt. It is inevitable, but at a date which we should endeavour to postpone as long as possible. At present we derive a lot of benefit from the Old Country both in defence and commerce, and our connection with Britain gives us a tone, standing, and security which we would not otherwise have, and which, if we were associated with any other nation, we would not possess."

"How, then," it is queried, "do you think Separation should

come?" "Oh," says Mr. Croker, "it should not come like the case of America as the result of a disagreement. It should not be a case of leaving the parental roof against the parent's wish. It should take place when we are well able to set up business on our own account—when the leading strings of the parent might possibly be a hindrance to us, and when business connections rendered it an undoubted necessity for radical alterations in such matters as the Chinese question, Colonial shipping laws, and Colonial divorce laws. Is it, again, to be expected that the Colonies could remain for all time bound by England's obligations—obligations which, though valuable to England, might be most detrimental to her Colonies? Separation must be

#### THE INEVITABLE SOLUTION OF THE DIFFICULTY,

as English obligations may become so serious as to be totally different to the foreign fiscal laws of her Colonies?"

"But how should the fiscal laws touch the question?" is asked. "As to that," comes the reply, "I noticed when I was recently in Europe a leading article in one of the leading English Conservative journals attacking most strongly certain proposals of the Canadian Legislature to impose duties on the introduction of iron. This journal went the length of asking that the Imperial Parliament—indeed, a question was asked there with the same object—should interfere, with the view of controlling the fair exercise of legislative authority in Canada on the question of the fiscal laws of that Colony. Some discussion resulted, and it appeared to be put from the Conservative point of view in England that so long as the Canadian Dominion remained a portion of the Empire it should not be allowed to pass laws affecting English commerce. It appeared further to be recognised that England would eventually lose her colonies; and it is a well-known fact in the Colonial Office, and also among many leading Statesmen at home, that the

#### COLONIES ARE REGARDED AS RATHER A BORE.

"Colonial matters are, too, grossly neglected by English officialdom and by the Press. Telegraphic columns appear every day in the newspapers from different parts of America and from small States throughout the world, but the Australian Colonies are scarcely ever noticed. For instance, the *Standard* contained a couple of lines about the Windsor accident, and none of the others had anything for two days."

"Give me your views as to how the question is affected by existing laws," requests the interviewer. "Well," remarks the visitor, "England's divorce laws, and the Queen's recent dissent to the laboriously considered Marine Bill, the disapproval of New South Wales's legislation, and no doubt dissatisfaction with Victoria's procedure with reference to the Chinese, must cause some friction, and must, for the first time, make manifest how Imperial and Colonial interests clash. If they are continually clashing it must result in severance."

"What do you consider England's feeling towards the Colony is?" is the point touched on. "I think," is the reply, "that England regards her Colonies as affording markets for her commerce more than in any other light; the feeling that was somewhat prominently displayed in the conduct of the Colonial Office, or the Colonial representative, towards the colonists at the recent Jubilee celebration in London, when, as

#### A MARK OF PARENTAL AFFECTION,

no doubt, distinguished colonists received cards of invitation to the stand near Westminster Abbey, but were nevertheless called upon to pay 10s. a head for the privilege."

"What do you think of Imperial Federation?" is asked. "That has received its most perfect and possible definition from that very able and astute statesman, the Hon. James Service, in the recently published report in your journal of an interview with him. My own opinion is that Imperial Federation can give us nothing more than we have, and it might possibly deprive us of a good deal of what we possess, especially in the way of self-government and commercial relations. It would undoubtedly make us jointly liable in respect of many of the obligations which we object to. Before we can do anything in that way, or contemplate Separation, we should go to work and set our own house in order by Federation of the Colonies. To this end the best energies of politicians and public men should be forthwith devoted."

#### VIEWS OF A LABOUR REPRESENTATIVE.

Mr. F. G. Hartley is one of the trustees of the Trades' Hall. Mr. Hartley, in giving his views, desired it to be perfectly understood that he did not wish them to be taken as the views of the Trades' Hall itself; but as for many years, and until lately, he has had much to do with a great many trade institutions and labour organisations, he claims that the views expressed by him upon any subject affecting the working classes would come with some degree of authority. Time brings many changes, and Mr. Hartley has bloomed into a successful capitalist; but he assured the interviewer that he still retains an active interest in anything affecting the trades of the Colony. The first question naturally to be asked is in reference to

#### SEPARATION.

"What do I think of it?" replies Mr. Hartley, in answer to our query. "Well, that any talk at all of Separation at the present time must be, and is, premature. In my opinion any Separation as affecting these Colonies and the Mother Country at the present time would be a disastrous movement for the former. I believe this question is one that will always be cropping up at intervals, and there will always be found a large number of people who will support such a movement very strongly. When I say that Separation would be disastrous, I mean simply at the present time, as I believe that in the ordinary course of time such an event must take place ultimately. The whole prosperity of this Colony at the present time is traceable to its connection with Great Britain. Were a separation to take place now, what would be the result? the withdrawal of a large amount of English capital that is at present invested in the Colony. Confidence would be displaced,



and British capitalists would not send their money out here, for the simple reason that, were we separated, they would have to treat us as strangers, whereas at the present time there is not any country finer for them as an investment. The withdrawal of such a large amount of capital, from a labour point of view, would again be disastrous. I know for a fact that at the present time large sums of British money are about to be invested in starting altogether new manufactories and industries, which must necessarily give an impetus to trade and employment to a large number of our own artisans. Personally I am altogether opposed to any Separation; and, as I said before, any talk of it at the present time is premature."

"Do you know whether these views are shared in by the working classes?"

"Yes, I really think so, especially with the more intelligent, who are quite content that, in this respect, the Colony should remain as it is. I must say that I quite endorse the views expressed on this subject by his Honour Judge Williams, reported in the *Herald*."

"What do you think of

#### IMPERIAL FEDERATION?

"That from a British Government point of view it would be most desirable; but I will have to be convinced yet that it could be any possible good to the Colonies. Like that of Separation, the question is one that must remain in abeyance for a time, at least, and any talk on the subject is premature. Should it come to pass, I do not see that the Colonies will lose much by it, but I also cannot at all see what they will possibly gain by it. From a business point of view I cannot see that any advantage would be gained by Imperial Federation. I must touch on Separation again to express the opinion that, eventually, Australia must separate from the Mother Country. Australia must become a grand nation, and, in the ordinary course of events, the ties between it and Great Britain must be broken. As sure as night follows day, in my opinion, Australia must become a nation by itself. When Separation does come, however, I think that it will be brought about in a peaceful manner—if it is proceeded with at the right time—and that the Home Government will grant any proper request that will then be made to them. There is no chance of a repetition of the American struggle for independence, unless some most drastic measures were proposed."

"Do you consider that there should be

#### AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION?

"Yes; most certainly. In my opinion it is desirable—very desirable—and I look upon it as a great pity that the Colonies have been unable to agree on any point to bring about a uniformity of tariff, and, if possible, remove the vexed question of border duties, and fix a general tariff which would be acceptable to the Australian Colonies as a whole. I am a strong believer in Intercolonial Free Trade, and consider that we should be able to send our manufactures free into New South Wales, who would be able to do the same towards Victoria. In Federated Australia there should be a strong Protective tariff against all parts of the world, and the Colonies governed by a Central Parliament on the lines of the Federal Council which lately sat at Hobart. It would be cumbersome and unworkable for any Parliament to attempt direct local government of any of the Colonies, and all that would be necessary would be the appointment of delegates to discuss only national questions that affected Australia as a whole. Those that simply affected any individual Colony, and were not of such general interest, should be settled by the Colony itself."

"As a representative of the working classes, it need hardly be said that you hold strong views on the

#### CHINESE QUESTION?

"Well, I do, and am in favour of a restrictive policy being pursued in reference to it. I really think that a measure should be passed for total restriction; but there is a difficulty."

"What difficulty is that?"

"Well, we do not want excessive hordes of Chinese to pour down on us, but provision would have to be made so that no interference would take place with Great Britain, who, I think, should be considered in the matter. A policy could, however, be pursued that would have the effect of making the landing of Chinese almost restricted, which would not disturb the relations of Great Britain, and would give us due protection. In reference to the

#### DEFENCES OF AUSTRALIA,

I think that it is a work that should be pushed on with all speed. King George's Sound, Port Darwin, and all our coaling stations should be strongly protected, both in case of a war between any country and England, for our self-protection, and in case of any emergency that may arise. It is well known that the strongest armed are seldom attacked."

#### OLD ENGLAND'S APRON-STRINGS.

(From the *Illustrated Sydney News*.)

THE very name of Imperial Federation seems, to a certain portion of the Australian press, to exercise much the same influence as a red rag on a bull. "Why should the Colonies expend money for the protection of English trade?" is the question it harps upon. At the same time, who so ready to cry out and run to the Mother Country for protection when a few French soldiers are landed in the New Hebrides?

Is there to be no reciprocity on the part of the Colonies? Are they for ever and a day to be raising puerile complaints which may sooner or later embroil England in a European war?

Naval defence is indispensable to such an extent of seaboard as Australia possesses, yet the bulk of her expenditure is directed to the maintenance of a Defence Force which can, at

best, protect but the local interests of such places in which it is concentrated. At times the absurd cry is raised that if England does not grant certain Colonial demands we must "cut the painter" and act for ourselves.

Were such a line adopted, we should realise in a wonderfully short space of time the weight of responsibility we have taken upon our shoulders. From our youth we should suddenly have shot up into our manhood, with the necessity before us of asserting ourselves amongst nations and of defending ourselves when attacked.

Colonial politicians do not seem to have formed the faintest idea of the requirements of Australia in the event of war. Only the stern reality will teach them where the weak points of our system lie. Nothing but this will prove to them the necessity for Imperial Federation. Can anyone who is in the least degree acquainted with Australian resources imagine that we are prepared to stand alone?

Is the working man of Australia, the "muscle and sinew of the country," as blatant politicians prefer to describe him, ready to step into the breach, accept a compulsory military system, and die for the land of his adoption?

No; living on his country is more to his taste, and getting Old England to fight his battles without expense to himself.

If we are to become a nation, let us by all means cut ourselves adrift and defend ourselves; but if, on the other hand, we are desirous of becoming a prosperous Colony, let us amalgamate with our Mother Country and contribute our share not only towards the defence of her mercantile marine, but towards that of the whole coast-line of Australia.

#### LITERATURE.

*Bibliography of Australasia.* By E. A. Petherwick. Colonial Book-sellers' Agency, 33, Paternoster Row.

WHY, in the name of all that is incongruous, should that most useful publication, the Colonial Book Circular, be entitled the *Torch*? Has the *Torch* any relation to what Mr. Ruskin would call the Lamp of Knowledge? or is the title a suggestion that the methods of the Kaliph Omar—methods which, by the way, Canon Isaac Taylor now assures us that much-maligned Saracen never employed at all—however objectionable to book-buyers and book-lovers, are not wholly without their advantages from the point of view of "the trade"? We cannot say, but there is no doubt that, whatever be the meaning of the title, the "Bibliography of Australia," the first part of which appears in the March number of the *Torch*, is not only interesting but likely to be of permanent value. This first section deals with the earliest proposals for the settlement of Australia, and is, therefore, of especial interest in the centenary year of the settlement of New South Wales.

It is curious to read that, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros made strenuous but vain efforts to induce Philip III. of Spain to colonise the country he had discovered, lest it should be taken possession of by the English. The lands he had discovered were the New Hebrides and Santa Cruz, and he gave them the name of *Australia del Espritu Santo*. In the last year of the reign of James I., we have a petition to the King by Sir William Courteen, the greatest merchant of his day, praying that his Majesty might "be pleased to grant him, and his heir, and assigns, all the lands in the south part of the world, called *Terra Australis Incognita*." This modest petition does not seem to have been granted. The next plan for settling the great Southern Continent was put forward in Captain John Webbe's "Proposals," in which it is curious to notice the name of "NEW WALES" used half a century before Cook's discovery of New South Wales. Captain Webbe, who had sailed round the world with Dampier between 1703 and 1706, states that he, "having many extraordinary opportunities of satisfying and informing himself of what discoveries had been made by order of the Viceroy of Peru for 150 years past, was thereby well assured that the islands named (by the said Captain Webbe) St. George's Island and New Wales, and some other islands thereabouts, which abound with Mines of Gold and Silver, belong to no European Prince or State, and are, therefore, free for the first Discoverer to take possession of, which Mines the Undertaker doubts not to prove will enrich the British nation upwards of £50,000,000 sterling if taken possession of, and colonies settled." This conjecture as to the wealth of Australia in the precious metals Mr. Petherwick ascribes to the projector's imagination. Poor Webbe's golden dreams were not, however, to be realised in his day, and the end of his long labours to induce England to accept untold wealth saw him in a debtors' prison. Were he alive to-day he would doubtless be—like Clive in the Nabob's treasury at Moorshedabad—"astonished at his own moderation." For within the last thirty-five years the gold mines of Victoria alone have enriched the British nation with wealth more than four times as great as that which must have seemed so fabulous to the contemporaries of the promoters of the South Sea scheme.

THE revenue of Victoria last year was £8,236,000, including the balance from the previous year, being £639,000 in excess of the estimate. The expenditure was £7,398,000, leaving a balance of £838,000 for the current financial year. The estimated receipts for the current year, including the balance, are £9,073,000, and the expenditure is £8,984,000, leaving a balance forward of £89,000. Colonial penny postage is to be introduced, involving an initial loss of £100,000 a year. The duty on tea is to be reduced to 1d., and coffee, cocoa, chocolate, kerosene, and the cheapest class of dress stuffs are to come in free. The duty on ordinary woollen goods is, however, raised 5 per cent.



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# Imperial Federation.

OCTOBER 1, 1888.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

FOR the third time within little more than a twelve-month the *Westminster Review* has published an article in favour of Imperial Federation; a sufficient proof, perhaps, if proof were needed, that the subject has not, as we are sometimes told, dropped out of notice. We confess, however, to being somewhat disappointed, not indeed at the tone, which is heartily friendly, but at the matter of MR. CHRISTISON's article. Roughly speaking, it consists of two parts. The first ranges back over the history of the New Hebrides, the New Guinea, and the North Queensland Separation question, and condemns almost unreservedly every step the Home Government has taken in each of these matters, and, passing on to more recent history, states: "There is no doubt that each Colony will pay its fair share [of the expenses of Australian defence], but Australians think that the British Government shrink from their responsibility;" finally winding-up with rebuking us for not joining with Australia in promoting that "emigration under State auspices" for which we are given to understand that the Colonists are thirsting.

THE second portion of MR. CHRISTISON's article relates to the part that the Home Government ought to play in the future. England is urged to lay down, in the most positive and even peremptory manner, a skeleton framework within which the Australia of the future is to grow up. Quite independently of anything the Colonial Governments may have to say on the subject, Northern and Southern Queensland are to be separated outright immediately; South Australia and Western Australia are to be given to understand that all territory north of the 20th parallel of latitude will only remain under their control provisionally. "The Colonial Office in London must leave no doubt in the minds of the Colonists that in the future there will be no complication about territorial boundaries." On what

grounds MR. CHRISTISON expects to see this sudden access of energy to a body as *fainéant* as, in his opinion, the Colonial Office has hitherto shown itself, we cannot say. Nor can we understand why he expects the Colonial Governments to bow with deferential submission to the decrees of a bureaucracy that has on previous occasions been, on his own showing, always in the wrong. For our own part we confess that, if we thought the Colonial Office as incompetent, and the task laid upon it as arduous, as MR. CHRISTISON represents it, we should be far less sanguine than he is as to the future prospects of the Imperial Federation movement.

OUR readers will be glad to learn, on the high authority of PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH, that PRESIDENT CLEVELAND's recent action is "an event that must be regarded as most untoward by the friends of Commercial Union," and that "Canadians have no course open to them but to stand loyally by their Government in the contention with a foreign Power." Needless to say, the Professor goes on to draw the moral that the only complete deliverance from similar ruinous disputes in the future is to be found in commercial union, "a purely economical movement, which has been kept as clear as it could be of political parties and objects." But, as far as we can see, the Canadian public in their present temper are about as likely to follow this advice as they are to accept this last most remarkable statement as an accurate representation of notorious facts.

IN the same letter to the *Toronto Mail*, from which the above quotations are taken, PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH shows how far he may be considered a representative Canadian, by describing the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway as "a fatal error." He even disputes its title to be called national, because two of its high officials either are, or were, American citizens; because, in the course of its 4,000 miles, it has one point of junction with the United States system; and because "its eastern section runs through the American State of Maine." The Professor continues: "Of this last fact the confiding Britisher appears to be still ignorant. He believes that the line runs entirely through his own territory, and is available as his military route to India." Some of us certainly are so confiding as to believe that the Canadian Pacific connects at Quebec with the Intercolonial Railway, which is under Government management, and worked in close alliance, and that by this route it is possible to travel through to Halifax and St. John without touching American territory at all.

BUT, as the Professor remarks, "the Britisher's ideas of Canadian geography are not yet very clear. Of a dinner-party of twelve in England the other day, only one knew where Toronto was; among the rest the nearest guess was South America." We cannot but think that the Professor ought to have added that the dinner-party took place, as we presume it did, in the nursery. The story, as here told, might lead confiding Canadians to suppose that eleven educated Englishmen out of twelve are ignorant that Toronto is one of the chief cities of Canada proper. And such a supposition would be, as the Professor knows as well as we do, not only unjust, but ludicrously incorrect.

AT the same time, we should hardly care to assert that British knowledge of Colonial geography—or, indeed, of Colonial and extra-European affairs generally—is in a creditable condition. The *St. James's Gazette* a few days back published an article in which the trade of Quebec was



described as having "gone two hundred miles down the river to Montreal." A slip, no doubt; but if the trade of Liverpool had been described as having gone down the river to Manchester, some one in the editor's office would surely have corrected the slip before publication. The same article, by-the-by, described MR. LAURIER as aspiring to be the new leader of the Opposition in the Dominion House of Commons in succession to MR. BLAKE. Then in the last few days we have had a wonderful tale from the Marquesas Islands. According to a San Francisco telegram, two hundred French soldiers and several thousand natives have been killed in an attempt to establish a French occupation in what had hitherto been merely a French protectorate. As France has succeeded in maintaining order there since 1842 with the help of a few gendarmes, the French authorities have been not a little puzzled by this story, which now turns out to have been manufactured on the spot in San Francisco and exported thence for European consumption.

STILL, no doubt, matters are even now much better than they were a few years since. Africa in particular has received a considerable share of attention lately, and the incorporation of the Imperial British East African Company, which, with two enthusiastic Imperial Federationists like MR. WILLIAM MACKINNON and LORD BRASSEV at the head of affairs, can hardly fail of a prosperous career, has been hailed with a universal chorus of approval. But the affairs of Australia are still strangely neglected, and though the *Times* had an article the other day on the Experimental Mobilisation in Victoria, which ought, one would think, to be a matter of Imperial concern, there has hardly been a word in the London papers as to Queensland politics, which are pregnant with interest at this moment to the Empire at large. How keenly Australians resent this unaccountable neglect may be seen from the interview with MR. CROKER, which we publish elsewhere. As for the cock-and-bull stories about Canadian Cabinet secrets that the American correspondents of the great London papers have transmitted lately, we can only rejoice at them. A few more fictions of the same dimensions, and the *Times* and the *Standard* may begin to think that the time has come for them to receive their correspondence not from the States, but from Canada itself.

PROFITING by the vacation quiet that broods at present over all things political, we have been able to devote a very large portion of space this month to a reproduction of Australian opinion on the connection with the Mother Country. We have no intention of attempting to summarise what is printed elsewhere, as we trust all our members will take the opportunity of reading the reports *in extenso*, and so familiarising themselves with the Australian point of view. We will, however, draw just three lessons. The first is for the League all over the world. Separators themselves admit that the time for separation is not yet. Let us work while it is called to-day, that so the sun of England's greatness may never set behind the clouds of disruption and disintegration. To our friends in Australia we would say: the present is yours, use it to teach your fellow-Colonists the burden that independence would lay upon them; that here, too, unity is strength; and that, in Bacon's phrase, "They be two things—unity and uniformity." Lastly, we would urge our friends at home to do what in them lies to promote here in England knowledge of Colonial questions and sympathy with Colonial aspirations. A splenetic and ill-informed article, published more than a year ago in the *Standard*, on the Canadian tariff—an article against which we are glad to think we protested at the time—is rankling in men's minds,

and injuring not only Imperial but also English interests in Victoria of to-day. Let us do what in us lies to make both the want of temper and want of knowledge displayed in this and similar utterances impossible for the future.

SOME three years since, in the pages of *Macmillan's Magazine*, PROFESSOR FREEMAN was so kind as to endeavour, with that stout quarter-staff of his, to knock some sense into the thick pates of the folk who, to quote the professional expression, "chatter about Imperial Federation." It appears, however, that after all he did not wield his cudgel with sufficient vigour, for here is what he has now found himself constrained to write for the benefit of the readers of the *New Princeton Review* :—

"A man talks big about 'Imperial Federation.' You ask him what he means by it. You say, perhaps humbly, that the words when so brought together give you no meaning. You know what 'federation' means: it means a certain form of union of political bodies on equal terms. You know what 'imperial' means: it is the adjective of 'Empire,' and 'Empire' means the dominion of one political body over another. You ask how, then, there can be such a thing as 'Imperial Federation'; you ask how what is federal can be imperial, how what is imperial can be federal. The answer you commonly get is to be reproached for 'pedantry' in attaching importance to words when you ought to be attending to things. . . . People use the formula till they think it must have a meaning; but when you ask what the meaning is they cannot tell you: only they get angry with you for asking, and thereby bringing to light the nakedness of the land."

Now really this is somewhat hard on us. The task of reconstructing the constitution of the British Empire—we beg pardon, of the Dominions of Her Britannic Majesty—is surely quite sufficiently difficult without our being required also to reconstruct the English language. It is not our fault that people will use and think they understand the meaning of the term British Empire; or that other people will talk about the Empire of Brazil, for instance, without thereby meaning, or being supposed to mean, "the dominion of one political body over another." We can only take this rough-and-tumble world, with its unscientific vocabulary, as we find it, and humbly endeavour to make the best of it. But in future we will undertake to call ourselves not the "Imperial Federation League," but the "League for the Promotion of a Federal Union upon equal terms between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (with the approval and assent of the Kingdom of Man, and the island portion of the Norman Duchy) on the one hand, and those Colonial dependencies of the British Crown which are now in the possession of what is commonly known as responsible government on the other hand, and for the control of the remaining portions of the dominions of the British Crown by the advice of the Ministry of the Federal Union to be constituted as aforesaid," if only PROFESSOR FREEMAN will guarantee that our readers will possess their souls in patience till the end of the sentence.

A MONTH or two back we expressed our satisfaction that MR. THOMAS ARCHER, C.M.G., a member of the Council of the League, had, owing to the change of Ministry in Queensland, again been appointed to the post of Agent-General for that Colony. We therefore feel that it is only right to publish the fact that MR. ARCHER has now thought it necessary to sever his connection with the League—at all events, for the present. MR. ARCHER's reason, however, is not, as might be supposed, in any way connected with Colonial politics, but is to be found in the fact that the League is "presided over by one whose principal object in life seems to be the breaking up of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland." Those who know most of the work of the League are best able to testify that LORD ROSEBURY has, at least, snatched a good deal of time from



this object to spend it in promoting the work of Imperial Federation. It needs, however, no special acquaintance with our work to be aware of the scrupulous care with which on every occasion he has kept our cause free from the remotest connection with party politics. But we will say no more. Two members of LORD SALISBURY'S Cabinet are content to follow our present President, and we feel that what is sufficient for them ought also to be sufficient for MR. ARCHER. That it has not been so, we regret; but further we cannot go, except to notice this point. A few weeks back, the London correspondent of the *Glasgow Herald* reported that he heard "privately that the question of Home Rule for Ireland was likely to cause a split among the advocates of Imperial Federation." Whether he was referring to the impending secession of MR. ARCHER, we know not; but, at least, as far as the split has hitherto gone, it has left MR. ARCHER on the one side of the gulf and every other member of the League on the other.

We have received from MR. HORNE (of the firm of SUTHERLAND & HORNE, manufacturing jewellers, of 10, Meuse Lane, Edinburgh), who is a member of the League, and an enthusiastic advocate of our cause, a specimen of an ornament which he has designed and registered under the title of the Imperial Federation Brooch. We can honestly say that the design, which consists of a knot of seed pearls binding together small gold figures of a kangaroo, an elephant, and a buffalo, the whole surmounted by the British lion—with his tail untwisted—and transfixed by a pin in the shape of an Imperial sceptre, is both appropriate to the subject and graceful in shape. MR. HORNE, who expresses himself as "vexed and annoyed at the ignorance and apathy of the trade generally on this magnificent scheme," was anxious to advertise his brooch in our columns, but as it has never been our custom to receive advertisements for insertion, we are glad ourselves to call our readers' attention to his design. MR. HORNE proposes, he tells us, to manufacture the motto of the League—"Heaven's Light our Guide"—in the form of a pendant, to be worn on the watch-chain.

In another column we publish a letter entitled "A British Bad Habit," that has been addressed to us by a member of the League. There can be no doubt that the Englishman's serene confidence in his own superiority to the twelve hundred million odd human beings who do not happen to live in England, which for centuries past has been one main source of England's strength, is also at the same time one of her greatest weaknesses. It cannot, therefore, do us any harm to have our attention called to it once more. Still, we cannot believe that matters are as bad as MR. HUNT would have us think them. Perhaps it may be that the very depth of his repentance to-day leads him to exaggerate unwittingly the blackness of his former offences. Let this letter remind each of us to keep a watch on ourselves, that we at least may be found to be just persons who need no repentance.

THE *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* has been giving prizes for the best essays on "The Future of the British Empire," and has published in its columns the papers of the two most successful competitors. MR. KENMIR, of Newcastle, considers that "the desire for Imperial Federation will ripen and produce fruit in a short time, and will be a gain both to the Old Country and the young offshoots." But MR. DAVID GUILD, of Dundee, has decided otherwise: "Federation is out of the question. . . . Sooner or later separation must end the present precarious state of affairs." Australia will set up for herself, Canada will

either follow her example or else seek admission into the United States. Readers of this journal will be glad to learn that it is not to Dundee that the first prize has been assigned. Considering, by the way, that—with, of course, the honourable exception of MR. GOLDWIN SMITH and MR. HENRY LABOUCHERE—no one takes any interest in Imperial Federation, it is really remarkable to see the amount of space that editors will persist in allotting to the subject. The *Toronto Empire* has lately finished publishing a series of eleven articles, each a column or more in length, from the pen of one of our supporters, MR. MACKENZIE. And neither the *Empire* nor the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* depends to any great extent upon the support of the "Noodles and Fitznoodles of the British aristocracy."

"NOT a few of the advocates of Imperial Federation were considerably disappointed when, shortly before the adjournment of Parliament, LORD STRATHEDEN and CAMPBELL refrained from carrying out his intention of raising a debate on the subject in the House of Lords." The above statement is made by the *United Service Gazette*, a journal which describes itself in its second title as the *Organ of Imperial Federation*. To the best of our knowledge and belief the *United Service Gazette*, which, on the occasions on which it has been our lot to refer to it, has never mentioned the subject of Imperial Federation except on the cover, is as accurate in its information as it is in its title.

### THE UNITED STATES RETALIATION POLICY.

(FROM OUR TORONTO CORRESPONDENT.)

THE events which have to be chronicled as having taken place during the past few weeks are ones which afford much food for thought, and call for serious consideration. The cable will have already made your readers aware of the facts concerning the rejection, by the United States Senate, of the Fisheries Treaty, and the proposal to adopt a policy of retaliation towards Canada instead of conciliation. I need therefore not enter into the history of the case minutely, but will content myself with shortly stating the position of affairs. What, then, is the state of the case? The first thing to be considered is the fate of the Fisheries Treaty. This measure, which was so strongly urged for adoption by the President, and which had already been concurred in by the House of Representatives, has been significantly rejected by the Senate! It is matter for regret—but none the less true—that the reason for taking this action was undoubtedly because the Republican majority in that Assembly considered that the proper course to take was to inaugurate a policy of retaliation, and not to adopt such a conciliatory course as was proposed. That such counsels should have prevailed is indeed deplorable, as the necessary result has been to bring about a very unpleasant state of affairs. The saying is attributed to President Grant that the best way to get rid of an obnoxious law is to enforce it; and, following up this maxim, President Cleveland at once made up his mind to ask for the necessary powers to inaugurate a retaliatory course, such as the majority in the Senate had expressed itself in favour of, with the result that he submitted a Message to that body asking for these powers. Under clauses of the Treaty now in force, Canadian merchandise may be transhipped in bond from American ports to Canadian territory free of duty, and also Canadian vessels are permitted to make use of American canals on the same terms as the American vessel—that is, on payment of the same tolls. It is now proposed to abrogate these clauses, and a Bill has already been wellnigh passed giving the President the necessary authority to do this.

Such is the position of affairs at present. What the future may have in store for us it were indeed difficult to predict, as it is impossible to say how far the action of the different parties has been influenced by political considerations and the desire to make capital with which to influence the result of the great struggle which is to take



place in November over the Presidential elections. It is more than probable that we shall hear but little more of retaliation, and that, after the elections are over, we shall see the Treaty re-introduced and passed. Should, however, the reverse be the case, and *should the President make use of the powers conferred upon him, it would, in my humble opinion, do Canada all the good in the world.* This may seem to be a bold view to take of the matter, but nevertheless it is, I think, a sound one, founded on common sense. At present, by far the largest part of Canada's carrying trade is done by American companies. Were this to be put a stop to by a refusal to allow our goods to pass through in bond, the result would simply be that, instead of our wares being shipped to New York, Portland, and other American ports, and from thence forwarded by American railways to Canada, and *vice versa*, they would in future be taken direct to *our own* ports, and distributed through the country by *our own* railways. This would put a vast deal of profit into our own pockets, and would deprive our neighbours of a very lucrative carrying trade. Where we should be hurt I must confess I fail to see. Our friends across the border are, I think, proposing to cut off their noses to spite their faces.

Then, again, as to the canal question, I fail to see where we should suffer. In the first place, we hold the larger number of these water routes in our own hands, and could easily and effectively retaliate by levying a high rate of tolls. And where the canals are in American hands we should have to consider the practicability of building canals for ourselves. Already, and before these complications arose, our Government had determined to build one through our own territory at Sault Ste. Marie, and now this scheme will acquire a new impetus.

And all this while, as I maintain, it would not do our people any great injury, and would most assuredly deprive our neighbours of a large trade, would teach our people more self-reliance, and help us materially in developing our own country and our own lines of communication. It would compel them to assert themselves, and, in the end, cause them to appreciate their own strength more fully than they do at present.

As I said before, I do not think that there is any cause for supposing that our neighbours seriously intend to molest us; but if they do, I maintain that they themselves will be the losers, and that we have little cause for apprehension.

I have purposely refrained from commenting on the actions of partisans in the States and attributing to them motives—worthy or otherwise—in bringing about the present state of affairs; but have, on the contrary, endeavoured to state the facts of the case and consider their effect dispassionately. That this is the best method of approaching a subject affecting, as it does, our good relations with our cousins to the south of us, none will deny. Meanwhile the Canadian Government have considered the question in all its bearings, and have doubtless settled upon the course they intend to take. So far, however, no steps have been taken, and the *modus vivendi* agreed upon at the time the Treaty was settled has been continued. In short, nothing has taken place which would tend to irritate our neighbours. It is hoped that matters will be satisfactorily and amicably arranged ere long. At any rate, our Government seem to have wisely come to the conclusion not to be responsible for any trouble which may arise.

September 11th, 1888.

CUBO SED CURO.

## HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH COLONIES.<sup>1</sup>

THE announcement that Vol. I. of Mr. Lucas's Historical Geography of the British Colonies, containing "European and Minor Asiatic Dependencies of Great Britain and those in the Indian Ocean," is in active preparation for the coming publishing season, comes opportunely to remind us that we have not yet noticed the introductory volume that was published more than a year ago. We need hardly say how cordially we welcome the appearance of such a work. It does not need the *cachet* of the Clarendon Press to guarantee

Mr. Lucas's fitness for the task that he has undertaken. When to the training of a distinguished University career there is added access to the unique stores of information at the Colonial Office, and the experience that Mr. Lucas must have gained, both of the official side of Colonial life in his private secretaryship, and of the non official side in his position at the head of the Emigrants' Information Office, everything would seem to be present that should render the book a standard authority upon the subject of which it treats. And we can value it not only for what it is, and will be, but even more as a testimony of the daily increasing attention that is being devoted to everything that concerns our Colonial Empire. We have, however, one serious complaint to make. It is scarcely, we think, creditable to the reputation of the Clarendon Press that the maps with which the book is illustrated should be printed from plates so worn out that the sea has broken in and well-nigh overwhelmed New Guinea entirely. Nor can we think that the names of Franz Joseph Land or the Victoria Nyanza are quite in place in a map designed to show to schoolboys the extent of the English Colonies at the end of the seventeenth century.

Considering that the present volume is only an introduction, we need not be surprised that a good deal more than half of it is occupied with essays on motives and modes of colonisation, and with an outline of the history of the colonies of other nations. Perhaps, too, not a few of us will be none the worse for refreshing our memory of *ἀποικία*, *κληρουχία*, and *coloniale*, of Prince Henry and Vasco di Gama, of Acadia and Amboyna. English colonisation takes, in Mr. Lucas's book, its proper chronological position as the last of all. It may be, he thinks, divided into three periods, corresponding roughly with the divisions of the centuries. "The leading characteristics of English colonial enterprise during the seventeenth century were—that it took the form of settlement rather than of conquest, that it was little interfered with or protected by the State, and that it found its sphere of action chiefly in the West." The second period, reaching down to 1814, "comprises the year when Great Britain became an Imperial power. . . . The dependencies which England then won were won chiefly at the point of the sword, and the men to whom they were due were statesmen and soldiers, not explorers or merchants, or pioneers of peaceful settlement." In the third period, settlement once more takes the place of conquest; but the extensions in the East are greater and more important than those to the West. There is a further difference. "Between 1600 and 1700, the settlements which were formed were due to individual enterprise, or the agency of private companies; while in the present age, the controlling power of the State has been strongly and directly felt." And again, the seventeenth century colonies were mostly separate, unconnected settlements. "During the present century, on the contrary, colonisation has, perforce, taken more the form of expansion of existing settlements, or of the absorption of conterminous land." In looking back over our past history, Mr. Lucas finds himself able to rejoice over the revolt of the American colonies, and this for two reasons: "Their loss set England free to work in other directions . . . and England learnt thereby the true mode of dealing with colonies, her liberal colonial policy of the present century."

We must confess to a considerable feeling of disappointment at the concluding portion of Mr. Lucas's work. He ends with two pages of depreciation of Imperial Federation, which, as "a short cut to Imperial Unity" he views "with a well-based distrust." As a mere matter of literary criticism, we must protest against this. Mr. Lucas's business in a historical introduction is with historical facts, and not with theories as to the future, whether his own or other people's. If Mr. Lucas thinks proper to write a serious essay on Imperial Federation, we shall all be glad to read it, and, however hostile it may be to our cause, no doubt we shall find one advantage in so doing. But two pages of prophecy at the end of a school-boy's history—Mr. Lucas must forgive us for saying it is a mistake. Not that we should have much hesitation in taking up, if need were, the gauntlet that Mr. Lucas has thrown down. It would hardly require as much as two pages to knock some good-sized holes through more than one of Mr. Lucas's arguments. We might ask, for instance, why, if

<sup>1</sup> "Introduction to an Historical Geography of the British Colonies." By C. P. Lucas, B.A., of Balliol College, Oxford, and of the Colonial Office. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887 (pp. xii., 142).



"confederation is the great work of the century"—"to reconcile local autonomy with Imperial unity," and so "preserve the advantages of both"—Imperial Federation is to be excluded from the blessings that Mr. Lucas plentifully showers upon the establishment of the Canadian Dominion and the Australasian Federal Council? Or, again, when Mr. Lucas complains that "the English Empire would be exclusive as against the rest of the world, while the noblest hopes for the future of the globe are directed to breaking down as far as possible the barriers between nations and races," we might inquire whether he is prepared to abolish the collegiate system at Oxford, because the unattached students cannot under present arrangements enjoy the same advantages as the undergraduates of Balliol or Christ Church? But we forbear. In the next edition, which we hope will be called for ere long, Mr. Lucas will, we trust, see the propriety of omitting his pessimistic prophecies, and then we shall have nothing but praise for the whole of the remaining 140 pages.

### THE PARTING ADVICE OF THE CANADIAN PRESIDENT.

#### AN UNSPOKEN SPEECH.

40, CLARGES STREET, LONDON.

1st August, 1888.

DEAR LORD ROSEBURY,—Mr. Loring informs me that he was good enough to explain to you and to the Council of the Imperial Federation League why it was I was unable to be present at the meeting, at which it was proposed that your lordship should move, and the Council should adopt, a resolution tendering to Mr. Downes-Carter, President of the League in Victoria, and myself as President of the Canadian branch, a welcome, as representing two kindred associations, and also in our individual capacities.

When consulted as to whether I should be free to attend the proposed meeting of the Council on the date named I had every reason to believe that the legal business that I was charged with would have been concluded so as to enable me to do so; but the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council postponed the hearing of one of the cases I had to argue, and the hearing of it was in fact only commenced at the very hour named for the meeting of the Council.

I take this, then, the only means left me to express on my own behalf, and on behalf of the body that I represent, my thanks for the great honour that the Council conferred upon me and upon the Canadian branch of the Imperial Federation League in adopting the resolution which your lordship was good enough to move. I am fully sensible that it was in my representative capacity and not as an individual that this honour was conferred, and I am quite sure that my friends in Canada will appreciate, as I do, the kindness to their representative of the League in Great Britain in passing the resolution referred to.

Had I been fortunate enough to have been present I should have much liked to have heard from your lordship, as doubtless I should have done, a confirmation of the statements which have been made, and which I may say I believe are very generally entertained, that the principle for which the League is maintained in England has during recent months made enormous progress; and I should also like to have heard my brother Colonial President speak of the prosperity which I trust attends our cause in the Australian group of the Greater Britain yet to be; but more especially should I have been glad to have been able to assure your lordship as the President, and the Council of the League, that in Canada the cause has prospered, that during recent months a great impetus has been given to the movement, and that I had reason to believe the Canadian people were beginning to appreciate its importance and to have confidence in its results. It would have afforded an opportunity also of interchanging views as to the means that ought next to be adopted in order to reach the desired end. I quite agree that it is as yet impossible to formulate any scheme which would be at once practicable and at the same time likely to command that general assent from the various parts of the wide-spread British Empire which such a proposition ought to have in order to secure its acceptance; and that a mistake in prematurely attempting to construct a platform could not be otherwise than injurious to the great scheme we have at heart. At the same time, while we can justly congratulate ourselves upon the progress that has been made during the four short years that the League has been in existence, we ought to endeavour to present from time to time such practical measures as circumstances may warrant, with a view not only of educating public opinion up to the ultimate goal of our policy, but in the meantime of mutually benefiting the Mother Country and the Colonies, and, while thus strengthening the ties that unite the various parts of the Empire, rendering the consummation we aim at not merely possible, but possible in the near future.

With that view, while not looking upon it as by any means essential

to Imperial Federation, yet as a step which, if adopted, would go a long way in making the carrying out of the scheme more natural and easier of attainment, I would urge the adoption of a policy tending to a more intimate and more advantageous trade relationship between Great Britain and her Dependencies, and between the Colonies themselves, than at present exists. The great self-governing Colonies are gradually building up for themselves a national independence in manufacturing industries, and every year they are sure to become in this sense more and more self-dependent; but as by far the larger and more important interest in the Colonies is that of the agricultural industry, a benefit to the latter would be greatly to their interest, and would be gladly accepted by all. In exchange for the advantages hinted at, such preferences in the Colonial market for the British manufacturer might be given as would practically secure to them their markets as against foreign countries. This, too, in my judgment, without injustice to such manufacturing industries as can be profitably pursued in the Colonies. And while I fully believe that the patriotic ties are sufficiently strong to keep the various parts of the Empire together, yet it cannot be gainsaid that if to the patriotic sentiment which undoubtedly exists (perhaps even more strongly in the Colonies than in the Mother Country) should be added the bond of material interests, the cause we advocate would be brought to a successful issue at a day probably much earlier than could otherwise be expected.

It cannot, perhaps, be too often repeated that in the proposal for Imperial Federation it has never been contemplated that the Colonial dependencies are to surrender the rights of self-government which they now enjoy; but the common defence of the Empire is a matter in which not merely the Mother Country but every Colony is interested; to which, in justice and fairness, every Colony, according to its means (regard being had to its comparative stake in the interests to be protected), ought to contribute, and it is impossible to doubt that a great country like Canada, for example, must ere long, in one form or another, assume the full burdens of that national life to which she has grown. These seem self-evident propositions, but if I am right in so considering them, it follows as a necessary consequence that some means must be found by which representation should be given to the Colonies in proportion to their population and contributing power towards the common defence of the Empire. I think it may be taken as conceded, that such representation is not to be found in the present Parliament at Westminster. No scheme has been, no plan can be, I venture to say, devised by which representation could be given in that Parliament whose right or duty it would be merely to intervene in Imperial questions as distinguished from matters locally pertaining to Great Britain and Ireland, nor can I believe that the great dependencies would think their just claims to a voice in Imperial affairs satisfied by having a representation merely in the House of Lords. Your lordship's plan of giving to the Agents General seats there might possibly be accepted as an instalment of Colonial rights, but not, I venture to think, as the full measure of their just claims—at least, after the period at which the Colonies should be called upon to contribute towards the defence of the Empire. Rather should we look forward to a day not perhaps so distant as some may imagine—considering how rapid appears to be the progress of the public thought of the day—to the construction upon the Federal principle of a great Imperial Senate sitting at Westminster, in which upon a just and fair principle of representation, based perhaps more upon the contribution of the various parts than merely upon population, the representatives of the self-governing Colonies and the Mother Country should assemble for the purpose of legislating and administering the Foreign, Colonial, and such like truly Imperial matters as appertain to the management of this great Empire.

Is it out of place to add to this letter, already too long, a word of warning? I well remember that the suggestion at the first meeting at which the League was formed was that it must be Federation or disintegration. That thought appeared to some—and I am bound to say they were chiefly Canadians—to be a disloyal sentiment, and the original was changed by the omission of the alternative. Yet, my lord, in Canada to-day there is a movement on foot which bears testimony to the forethought of those who drafted the resolutions I refer to. To-day an active propaganda is being pushed which has for its aim the establishment of not merely closer trade relations with the great American Republic, but the positive exclusion of the British manufacturer from Canadian markets. This, it is needless to say, means the disruption, so far as Canada is concerned, of the British Empire; and while it is, I feel assured, destined to fail, yet it is a warning that no lover of his country should be deaf to. And the warning to us is to be up and doing; and to the statesmen of the Mother Country, irrespective of party, that if they would seek to perpetuate the greatness of the British Empire they should be prepared to meet the national aspirations of the nations, her Colonial dependencies, with the fullest measure of political justice.

I am very glad to have learned that in my absence you were good enough to call upon Mr. Parkin as a representative from Canada to respond in my place—and I have no doubt he did ample justice to the subject, far better than I could have done had I been present. And I am pleased to know that from the views which were interchanged upon the interesting occasion much good may be anticipated.

Again thanking your lordship and the Council for your kindness, I beg to subscribe myself,—Yours very sincerely,

D'ALTON MCCARTHY.



## MEETING AT JOHNSTONE.

LECTURE BY SIR FREDERICK YOUNG.—COMMENTS OF THE SCOTCH PAPERS.

ON Thursday night Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., delivered a lecture on Imperial Federation, in the Town Hall, Johnstone. Considerable interest appears to have been manifested in the subject, and when the gentlemen appeared on the platform the hall was well filled. Provost Love occupied the chair, and the following gentlemen accompanied him to the platform:—Sir Charles Farquhar Shand, late Chief Justice of Mauritius; Mr. C. Bine Renshaw, of Barrochan; Mr. Houston, of Johnstone Castle; Mr. Shand Harvey, of Castlesemple; Mr. Charles Farquhar Shand, from Mauritius; Mr. Stone, of the Colonial Civil Service; Mr. John Polson; and many others.

In opening the proceedings the PROVOST said that Sir Frederick would be best remembered by his persistent efforts from 1839 till the present time to promote the unity of the Empire, and to rouse the attention of the British public at home to the vast and growing importance of that part beyond the seas. He had also, he said, published at one time a pamphlet on emigration, entitled "Transplantation." When the Imperial Federation League was founded under the chairmanship of the late W. E. Forster, Sir Frederick was one of its most active promoters, and he had continued ever since to take a prominent part in its proceedings. (Applause.)

SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, who was received with applause, said it was a pleasure to him, on Scottish soil, having Scottish blood in his veins, to speak to the people of Scotland on a question in which he had long felt a deep interest, and held very decided views. He meant that of Imperial Federation. (Applause.) In the first place, he was most anxious that the question should be approached by them—as he wished it to be at all times by every portion of his countrymen—with calmness, thought, judgment, and fair consideration. It was no question of party politics; it was neither a Liberal scheme nor a Tory dogma. He spoke as one of the pioneers of that great question, and he assured them he had embraced the views he held upon it because he believed it emphatically to be a national question, and one which, in his opinion, should engage the attention of all classes, especially of the working classes. He would first call their attention to what he called the great Colonial question. In doing so, he would like in the first place to refer to Adam Smith's well-known definitions of the essential principles of national wealth—namely, land, labour, and capital. There could not be, he supposed, two opinions as to the fact that the two latter were possessed in very great abundance in the Mother Country. Land was in superabundance in their great Colonial Empire. Sir Frederick then went on to allude to the difficulties about New Guinea and the New Hebrides and the more recent Canadian Fisheries Question. He said he merely cited these to show that some more direct form of representation, and more direct participation in the government of the Empire, was desirable on behalf of their brothers, and cousins, and relations of the closest character. (Applause.) It was not on the ground of sentiment that he ventured to appeal to his fellow-countrymen on behalf of that great question. He contended that self-interest was a very strong factor in the ruling of the world, and was very closely associated with the direct union of the Colonies and the Mother Country by means of political representation. It was a very important thing to consider, in the case of a large Empire like our own, which has a part of it in every portion of the globe, that the stronger we could bind them together by feeling that they were all one nation, not only in sentiment but in interest, the more each part would participate in the commerce which is to be worked up in consequence of that union. Trade followed the flag, and we did more and more business with our Colonies as they grew than with any other foreign countries in the world. Charles James Fox said one hundred years ago that representation was the sovereign remedy for every evil. He heartily subscribed to that doctrine, and said that proper and due representation was the only way in which all these grievances and impediments to the success of a nation could be properly overcome. Something far different to their present mode of government was wanted, in order to be satisfactory to the Colonies. They wanted something more direct. They wanted that their delegates should be chosen by themselves and sent home here to the Imperial Parliament, in which they should have a voice, and power, and influence; and that could only be had by some system of Imperial Federation. (Applause.) He would suggest that, according to his own notion, the Imperial Parliament which would be the result of Federation should undertake such questions as foreign relations, peace or war, national defence, expenditure for national as distinguished from local purposes, expansion of Empire, the government of India, and generally all questions in the department of international law. He could not conceive of a better plan to give the movement an impetus than to appoint a Commission to go round the various Colonies, not to advocate any particular policy, but to ascertain the views of the Colonists themselves on the subject; and if Lord Rosebery were placed at the head of that Commission, he was so popular in the Colonies that it would be a most important contribution towards the elucidation of that great question. (Applause.) It was the truth they wanted, and he desired that all parties, whether at home or beyond the seas, should have the opportunity of thinking the matter out, and he thought they would then come to the same conclusion as he had. (Applause.) It was a question, to his mind, of the deepest importance to Great and Greater Britain in its most comprehensive magnitude. It was one he had thought over for many years, and taken a deep interest in, and advocated to the best of his ability, even in the words of a late distinguished deceased statesman in reference to himself, "through good report and evil report, and, even worse, no report at all." (Applause.)

MR. SHAND HARVEY proposed a vote of thanks to Sir Frederick. Great Britain, he said, without the Colonies was no power at all, and the Colonies without Great Britain were not worth a fig. The

Colonists were our equals in everything, and what they wanted was that they should be treated as our equals. (Applause.)

MR. C. BINE RENSHAW seconded the motion. Anything, he said, that tended to draw closer together the Colonies and the Mother Country was of the utmost importance, especially to the industrial populace of this country. (Applause.)

MR. POLSON supported the motion. The Colonists, he said, should make the tariffs as hostile as they liked against other countries, but he wished they would not make them quite so hostile against us. (Applause.)

SIR FREDERICK YOUNG briefly thanked the audience for the interest they had displayed in his address. What they wanted, he said, was a partnership—each party independent, but both agreeing to certain terms arranged between them. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN then called upon the "Laird of Johnstone," Mr. Houston.

MR. HOUSTON, who was received with applause, said he would only rise to perform a very pleasing duty—to propose a vote of thanks to the Chairman. (Applause.) He himself was a Colonist, and he was quite as proud of being so as of being the Laird of Johnstone. A great deal more about the question would be heard during the next five years, and some years hence they would look back with pride to their having been present at that meeting. (Applause.)

The vote of thanks having been accorded, the meeting dispersed.

Next morning the two leading Glasgow papers had long leading articles on the subject. The *Herald*, which is certainly the most widely circulated, as it is probably the ablest and most influential paper in Scotland, wrote:—

Imperial Federation does not seem to advance with giant strides, but it is by no means asleep. To judge from such vigorous utterances as that of Sir Frederick Young on Thursday, it is not even in a state of suspended animation. The recent affairs at the Antipodes and in America may be regarded quite reasonably as the backward step which precedes the forward spring. At any rate this is a very good time for the Federationists to promulgate their doctrines, and they could not find a better mouthpiece than Sir Frederick Young. Whatever may be the difficulties and dubieties of the question, it has at any rate the merit of being free from the taint of party, and the greatness of that merit in a matter of public polity we have reason to appreciate every day. It must be frankly admitted that Sir Frederick Young's treatment of the question was happy. He made a distinct point when, adopting Adam Smith's definition of national solidity—"Land, Labour, Capital"—he claimed the last two for the Mother Country, and the first for the Colonies. Here we have abundance of labour and capital; there they have superabundance of land. National requirements, therefore, demand the reunion of the three principles of national wealth. This is ingenious, and almost convincing. . . . The Colonies cannot expect to have a voice in the majority of the matters on Sir Frederick Young's list, unless they are willing to share in the cost of promoting them. As taxation is dependent on the fiscal system of a State, we arrive at once at the real barrier to Imperial Federation. Still, as we have often said, it is probably not insuperable. There may be ways not yet discovered by which a Federal Union of the British Empire may be effected. It can hardly be on the "representation without taxation" principle, nor is it easy to see how representation in any case can be arranged on the proportional system, with constituencies so varied and various as the Colonies. But the evolutions of social and international politics are rapid, and that which is obscure to-day may be plain next year. Thus there is much to approve in Sir Frederick Young's proposal of a Commission to go round all the Colonies—not to advocate any particular policy, but to ascertain the views of the Colonists expounded in the freedom of their own homes.

The *North British Daily Mail* is much more outspoken in our favour.

In this country the importance of this question is not yet generally felt. It is regarded by most people—if they think of it at all—as a possibility of the distant future. Our own opinion is that it may be a necessity of the early future; or that, at all events, it will soon be very desirable, if the British race are really intent upon safeguarding the true "integrity of the Empire." But what Sir Frederick Young calls the silken thread of loyalty and sentiment—the tie of common blood and common tradition—is strong, and will continue strong, if we simply show that we trust and value and honour it. If we neglect it its strength will decay, and the Colonies that Britain's children have made may drift apart from her and from each other. Our Colonies must not be treated as poor relations, expected to be content with a small present now and then—in the shape of a Governor; but must be drawn more closely into the family circle, and given a share in the management of the household. There is one very important question—Do they want it? This is what we should long have liked to know, because it would be ever so much better that the Colonies should claim, than that Great Britain should offer, a share in the government of the Empire. We are glad to have Sir Frederick Young's distinct assurance on this point. He suggests one way by which information may be obtained on this and other important points. He would send out a Commission, with Lord Rosebery at its head, to visit the Colonies and ascertain their feelings on the whole subject. The suggestion deserves consideration, and there is no reason why it should not be given effect to.

The local newspaper, the *Paisley Gazette*, has also a leading article, from which we extract the following:—

This great question of Imperial Federation ought to attract the attention, and to engage the sympathies, of every one who desires to promote the future prosperity as well as power of his country, and her influence for peace and goodwill among other nations of the earth. It is a question beyond and above party politics. It is emphatically national in its scope and aims.



Since then several letters on the subject have appeared in the Glasgow papers. Mr. Houston, of Johnstone Castle, himself a Colonist, writes:—

We wish an Imperial Council in its broadest sense, before whom we can at any time bring our grievances, confident that they will be considered in a spirit of sympathy and by men drawn from every quarter of the Empire, and therefore duly qualified to judge of our needs and necessities. Imperial Federation alone can help us in this matter, and, therefore, it is that Imperial Federation has a practical bearing on our daily lives.

Another correspondent writes:—

I am delighted to see the rapid spread of the principles which the Imperial Federation League advocates. The questions at issue are so far removed from the stereotyped classes of politics that it is a relief to have some great national question which can be discussed on non-party lines.

### HERE AND THERE.

MR. WESTGARTH has been received on his arrival in Melbourne at a banquet, at which many of the leading citizens were present. He expressed himself as surprised to find how far the progress actually achieved had exceeded his most sanguine expectations.

A DECREASE of 5,000 tons in the shipments of tea *via* the Suez Canal is reported by telegraph from Yokohama to the Canadian papers. The bulk of this is said, on the same authority, to have been shipped *via* Vancouver and the Canadian Pacific.

THE visit of the Newfoundland delegates to Ottawa to discuss the terms of union with the Dominion has been put off indefinitely. Whether this is because Newfoundland fears to be drawn into complications with the States, or because the Dominion Cabinet have their hands too full of other matters, has not yet been made clear.

MEANWHILE the strict enforcement of the Bait Act has, as it was intended to do, dealt a severe blow at the French fisheries off the Newfoundland coasts. For want of bait the French vessels can make but small catches, and the price of dried fish is rising to a remunerative point.

IN Victoria amendments to the Ministerial Budget proposals in the direction of increased border duties—increased discrimination, that is, against New South Wales products—have been so nearly carried that the Government have decided to withdraw the whole of their Budget proposals, and to submit the question at issue at a General Election. Previous to the dissolution, however, the Government will pass the Estimates and the Electoral Bill, providing for a redistribution of seats.

THE Queensland Budget has been introduced. A deficit of £135,000 is expected. This is to be converted into a surplus of £72,000 by an increase of the Customs duties of, on the whole, a protective character. The Minister declared that he looked to future years to alleviate other taxation by means of an amended Land Act, and expressed the belief that the finances of the Colony would shortly be in a sound condition.

A PROCLAMATION, dated September 4th, has been formally published at Brisbane, declaring the sovereignty of the Queen over the British portion of New Guinea.

THE abundant harvest in the Canadian North-West, and the possibility of complications with the States over the canal navigations, have again directed attention to the possibility of establishing communication *via* Hudson's Bay. Commodore Markham declares that ships have been able to reach Moose Factory, on the southern shore of the Bay, every year but one since 1735, and it is said that the straits are usually navigable for nearly three months. From Winnipeg to Hudson's Bay is 700 miles, but a railway already exists more than halfway.

MORE than one-half of the letters mailed and carried by the postal service of the world are written, mailed, and read by the English-speaking populations.—*F. A. Marsh, in the "Forum."*

THE Dominion Postmaster-General has decided to meet the frequently-expressed wishes of the inhabitants of the Maritime Provinces, and from and after September 15, mails for the West Indies will be sent direct from Halifax and St. John instead of *via* New York as heretofore.

THE Natal Council has passed a resolution declaring that it is undesirable, in existing circumstances, to consider the question of the annexation of Zululand to Natal.

LORD STANLEY OF PRESTON has been most enthusiastically received in Toronto, whither he went to open the Exhibition. The Stars and Stripes, usually intertwined with the Union Jack in the decorations of the city, were on this occasion, says the *Empire*, conspicuous by their absence.

THE *Standard* and one of the English Service journals are unwise enough to indulge in unnecessary and inexpedient warlike talk. This is much to be regretted. The American bounce and unfriendly tone is almost entirely a campaign dodge, directed to the usual end, the capture of the Irish vote, and can be most effectually met, not by counter-vapoerings, but by calm and dignified forbearance and firmness. The middle of November will probably see it all quietly die out, and it will by that time have done a good deal to strengthen Canadian nationality.—*Halifax Critic.*

### THE CUTLERS' FEAST AT SHEFFIELD.

THE MOTHER COUNTRY, CANADA, AND INDIA HAND-IN-HAND.

THE Cutlers' Feast at Sheffield on September 6th was practically an Imperial Federation meeting, though it was not called by that name. From Lord Charles Beresford, who with his usual straightforward force pleaded for an overwhelmingly strong navy, at once the symbol and the pledge of the unity of our world-wide Empire, to the Nawab Mehdi Hasan, who returned thanks on behalf of his Indian brethren, the Federation idea was on every lip. Here is what the Duke of Rutland had to say. Let us hope that some of our more impetuous supporters, who are for ever drafting paper constitutions with "forty sections and innumerable subsections," will lay to heart his statesman-like commendation of a "gradual process of natural, not artificial, consolidation; and that on the other hand the Cabinet of which he is a member will be prompt to seize each occasion for further consolidation so soon as ever it naturally presents itself:—

It seems to me that Canada and England, united in a just cause, may afford to treat with perfect equanimity language such as that which President Cleveland has uttered. The union between the great Dominion of Canada and this country was cemented at the Colonial Conference which met a year ago; and I think that that Conference has had the effect of showing that Canada and, indeed, all our Colonies, are in that gradual process of natural, not artificial, consolidation, which promises to make the extremities of this Empire, not a source of military weakness, but a source of strength.

It was only fitting that the task of proposing the toast of "the Colonies and Dependencies of the British Crown" should fall to Mr. Howard Vincent, a member of our Executive. He said:—

I rise, my lords and gentlemen, by desire of the Master Cutler to submit to your acceptance a toast second to none in importance even upon the important list of this banquet. It is my privilege to invite you to give expression to that enthusiasm which fills every loyal British heart with patriotic pride when he thinks of the mighty realms beyond the sea which form, with these islands, the British Empire, one and indivisible. (Loud cheers.) There is not a man in this town or country worthy of the glorious traditions transmitted to us who does not desire that every prosperity may under all circumstances attend our fellow-subjects of Greater Britain. (Cheers.) They have borne, and are bearing, the British standard ever forward on the fair and boundless fields of progress and civilisation. (Cheers.) In the name of those I represent, I say let us complete this great solidarity by welding by common consent the chain of love into one great invincible Imperial Federation. (Loud cheers.) Here, to-night, Mr. Master Cutler, among your honoured guests, are two of our most distinguished Imperial brethren—the one from the wide and fertile plains of the Western world—(cheers)—the other from the most ancient of the cities of Orient. (Cheers.) The Fisheries Treaty has been, unfortunately, rejected by our cousins of the United States of America, amid the throes of a Presidential election. But Canada—our dearly loved sister—can well afford to meet with the dignity of right she is displaying the electoral operations of her neighbour—(hear, hear)—conscious that shoulder to shoulder with her sons in commerce and even eventually now or in the future in one unbroken line is the entire British race.

In responding, Sir Charles Tupper alluded at considerable length to "the somewhat extraordinary Message which the President of the United States had recently sent to the Senate." He also bore witness to "the great ability, the great tact, and the uniform discretion" with which Mr. Chamberlain conducted the negotiations for the treaty, and declared that "no man could have been sent from this country more acceptable to the people of the United States." After pointing out that even now matters are in a better condition than they were before the negotiations were commenced, Sir Charles continued:—

We have always been ready, as we are ready now, to extend our commercial relations to them in regard to the national products of the two countries which do not conflict in the slightest degree with the interests of the people of the Mother Country. We have been ready to go as far by concession as it was right and proper we should go, for the great and important object of maintaining the closest and most friendly relations with our Republican neighbours. But whilst I say that, I must at the same time add that the day will never come—and it might be quite as well that it should be understood in the United States—the day will never come when the people of Canada, owing as they do everything to the Mother Country, will adopt a policy, fiscal or otherwise, that will be detrimental to the people of this great country. (Loud cheers.) Notwithstanding the very sensational telegram which we read in the London *Times* the day before yesterday—I am glad to see that their correspondent in Philadelphia has corrected it this morning, and has said that the previous half-column of sensationalism was unfounded, I mean the statement that there were differences of opinion in the Cabinet of Canada—I have no hesitation in saying that the Government of Canada will on this occasion, as on all past occasions, deal with this question with all that forbearance, with all that moderation, and with all that consideration which a great and an important question of this kind is entitled to receive at their hands; and that this country may rest assured that by no act of indiscretion on the part of the Government of Canada will any increased irritation arise from what I have ventured to characterise as the somewhat illogical Message which the President of the United States has lately sent down. I thank you for giving me this opportunity of expressing these opinions, and of



saying to you that Canada feels that she owes it to herself—she feels that she owes it to the country—to do everything possible to maintain that close and intimate connection with this great country which has been so eminently beneficial to us in the past, and she will be prepared in the future to return all the past care and kindness we have received from England by being ready to co-operate to the utmost of our power, and in every possible way, in the extension of the trade, in the increase of the power, and in the development, and progress, and prosperity of this great Empire. (Cheers.)

The Nawab Mehdi Hasan Khan Fathah Nawaz Jung (Chief Justice of Hyderabad), who had an enthusiastic reception, responded as follows:—

Mr. Master Cutler, my lords, and gentlemen: It is with the greatest possible pleasure that I come here as your guest to-night, and I must ask your indulgence for a few moments in the unworthy attempt which I now make to reply on behalf of India to the toast that you have so cordially drunk. This is the first visit to your great country which I have paid, and it is profoundly gratifying that I should have been chosen as the first native of India who has been asked to respond, at your feast, to the toast of India. (Cheers.) The wonderful sight I have seen in your town during my short stay here recalls to my mind some of the benefits that have been conferred upon India under the rule of Her Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress. (Loud cheers.) I might speak of the protection from foreign aggression that India has enjoyed, her freedom from internal brawls, and of even-handed justice between man and man that British rule has secured to her. (Hear, hear.)

After sketching the wonderful commercial and industrial progress of India in the last thirty years, he continued:—

Mr. Master Cutler and gentlemen, these are the great benefits, and they are fully appreciated by his Highness the Nizam and the other princes who are following in the steps of the British Government in developing the resources of their States, and adopting the lessons of western civilisation. (Cheers.) His Highness the Nizam and his Minister, who is himself a premier noble of that kingdom, are staunch in their allegiance and loyalty to the British Throne. (Cheers.) His Highness, as you know, has offered his men and money for Imperial defence—(cheers)—and his faithful Minister, Sir Asman Jah, proposed to lead his own troops into the field if required. (Loud cheers.) Thus, you see, we are ready to face the enemies of England in any part of the world—(cheers)—and it is no wonder, because we are convinced that the chief hope for India is in the maintenance of a strong, impartial, and benevolent Government like the present. (Loud cheers.) Now I thank you, Mr. Master Cutler and gentlemen, most sincerely for the kindness and hospitality which you have shown me to-night, and for your associating my name with that of the vast and populous Empire of which I am a native—(cheers)—and for the prosperity of which, as well as that of this great country, my prayers are continually offered up to our common Father. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

Perhaps the following extract from the letter of the London correspondent of the *New York Herald* on the subject is worthy of reproduction, heading and all:—

#### HINTING AT IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

The Prime Minister not only prescribed the line, but probably dictated the language used by the Duke. It is, therefore, worth noting that "consolidation," alias Imperial Federation, was significantly dwelt upon, not without a purpose. Sir Charles Tupper threw out strong hints in the same direction. That is the quarter the wind has shifted to. It is thought in influential circles that England and Canada will enter into a much closer union than ever under the spur of President Cleveland's "Proclamation."

#### CANADIAN OPINION ON THE PARNELL-RHODES CORRESPONDENCE.

BELOW we give extracts from the comments of the Canadian press on this correspondence, adding also one or two cuttings from American papers, and one from a West Indian journal:—

#### STRANGE BEDFELLOWS.

The Imperial Federationists have just received a valuable recruit in the person of Mr. Parnell. The Irish leader has come out with a proposal for the abolition of the existing British Constitution, and for the establishment of a quasi-Federal system, embracing an Imperial Congress, which is to be the supreme governing body, and local Legislatures for each of the four divisions of the United Kingdom, as well as for the Colonies. It is remarkable that a project which in outline was first brought into prominence through the advocacy of the late Mr. W. E. Forster should have received the approval of his inveterate foe. Mr. Forster did not, of course, contemplate the dissolution of the United Kingdom. He did not dream of allowing England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales to have each a separate Legislature, but merely proposed Colonial representation in, *plus* Colonial responsibility to, the Imperial Parliament, or to some other body having the control of the affairs of the Federated Empire. Mr. Parnell's plan appears to be more logical than Mr. Forster's; at all events, it is a logical extension of the principle upon which Mr. Forster's was based. It may be remembered that at a public meeting held at Halifax a few weeks ago, Archbishop O'Brien supported Imperial Federation expressly on the ground that it would involve Home Rule for Ireland. The regular Federationists did not take kindly to that view, and it is possible they may not even thank Mr. Parnell for going over to them, although his presence will certainly secure the Irish vote, coupled with Irish-American influence, for their cause. A recent writer states that Imperial Federation is also endorsed by that portion

of the vernacular press in India which is preaching India for the Hindoos. What the British people themselves are likely to think of the project is another question.—*Toronto Daily Mail*.

#### NEW LIGHT ON THE IRISH QUESTION.

Of late we have been getting new light on the Irish question, or rather on the probabilities with regard to its solution. Not for long before has any suggestion struck both sides of the Atlantic with the force of Mr. Parnell's—that it may be possible to combine Home Rule, Local Government, and Imperial Federation all together. And if the public mind, both in Britain and America, had not been so taken up with the fight between him and *The Times*, this suggestion of the Irish leader's would have drawn more attention than as yet it seems to have done in either. It may be premature yet, however, to conclude that this proposal, which is remarkable chiefly because of the quarter whence it came, has either missed its mark or spent its force. We should say rather that it has hit the target, and that already it is working on public opinion with great effect.—*Toronto World*.

The new Home Rule scheme contemplates an Imperial Parliament in which all parts of the Empire will be represented, with local parliaments for England, Scotland, Ireland, and the self-governing Colonies. This plan has been suddenly evolved by the Irish party and their English allies, the suggestion coming from a Cape Colonist who offered Mr. Parnell a liberal donation to the Home Rule cause on condition of the Imperial Federation idea being accepted, and after consultation with Mr. Gladstone the two leaders appear to have agreed to the proposal. We may, therefore, look for the early announcement of Imperial Federation as the policy of the Irish party and the Gladstone Liberals. The scheme has certainly something to commend it, and may find favour in English quarters now hostile to Home Rule, because one of the strong objections urged to the Gladstone Measure was the exclusion of Irish representatives from the British Parliament. Indeed, it is possible that the term Home Rule may disappear altogether, to be replaced by that of Imperial Federation, the Irish accepting the latter, whose adoption would give them a local parliament for local affairs. The remodelling of the constitution would begin in the United Kingdom, doubtless, the Imperial Parliament in the first instance comprising representatives from England, Scotland, and Ireland, each country having its own local legislature, and then an effort would be made to induce Canada, Australia, and the other Colonies, to come into the Federation. Mr. Blake has always been a warm advocate of Imperial Federation, and although his party have not followed his lead in this respect very cordially, there is no doubt they can change their principles on this question as readily as they have done on so many others. The development of the new plan of campaign will be awaited with much interest, for if it should culminate in success, political issues and parties in the Colonies could hardly escape a very radical reorganisation.—*Montreal Gazette*.

Mr. Parnell seems to have learned more from Mr. Rhodes of the Cape than Mr. Rhodes learned from him. The plan of Imperial Federation seems to have for the first time dawned upon him as a magnificent idea likely to appeal to the minds of Englishmen, and he is now, it seems, "running it for all it is worth." His demand for Ireland has hitherto been that it be put on the same footing as the Colonies. His demand for the Colonies now is that they be put on a footing within the Empire which Ireland can also occupy. There are a great many difficulties, though perhaps not insuperable ones, to a really Imperial Parliament. Whether the English take kindly to such a scheme or not the advocacy of it will be of great service to Mr. Parnell's cause. The efforts of the Home Rulers have been hitherto solely disjunctive. To find them interested in a constructive scheme for Imperial unity would be very reassuring.—*Montreal Daily Witness*.

To the ranks of the Imperial Federationists the latest accession is Mr. Parnell. The Federationists claim that the Colonies would be more closely attached to the Mother Country if they were represented in an Imperial body, and it is held to be unfair that the Colonies should expect Great Britain to defend them at her own expense. The great objection to the establishment of an Irish Legislature has been that it would lead to the disintegration of the Empire, and one of the objections to Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill was that it provided for the exclusion of the Irish members from the British Parliament. According to Mr. Parnell there is no longer any desire that the Irish members should be excluded from the British Parliament, and anything that would tend to federate the Empire would surely be acceptable to those who have been opposing Home Rule on the ground that it would tend towards disintegration. Not alone in Canada is an active and intelligent interest in the federation of the Empire being taken. In the other Colonies the movement is being advocated, while in England it is growing in public favour.—*Montreal Daily Star*.

A distinct advance towards definiteness in the theory of Imperial Federation has been made by Mr. Parnell's acceptance of the idea and of the principle that Ireland cannot afford to slip out of representation at Westminster. If this were permitted there is too much reason to fear that, falling under the sway of the most violent among her professional agitators, she would be driven, against the will of her honest, moderate, and industrious citizens, into the assertion of complete independence. Under such rule independence would mean hostility. England cannot afford a hostile nation open to the most adverse foreign influences lying close alongside her, and the ultimate necessity would be re-conquest. Even Germany could scarcely afford to allow the strength of Great Britain to be impaired by an Ireland open to French intrigue. . . . It is quite possible that the beginning of a *rapprochement* of ideas may be due to Archbishop O'Brien, whose breadth of views does him great honour. Be this as it may, Mr. Parnell's utterance makes a factor of very considerable weight.—*Halifax Critic*.

Mr. Parnell has taken a step in advance, and from the head of a faction is developing into the leader of a party. In a letter written to a leading politician he takes distinct ground in favour of the Federal idea—an Imperial Parliament, in which every part of the British



Empire shall be equally represented, and Local Legislative bodies for the different kingdoms and colonies. Thus advocating Home Rule, not for Ireland merely, but for England, Wales, and Scotland as well, he bids fair to draw to his support an immense body of voters whose fear of Irish Home Rule was founded on a not unjustifiable dread that Irish Home Rule really meant Imperial dismemberment. Perhaps—who knows?—he may be starting a movement that shall culminate in the fulfilment of the poet's dream—the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world. Events move fast in this wondrous age of ours.—*New York Standard*. [Henry George's organ.]

That was a significant cablegram which appeared in the papers of last Monday morning, and which stated that Mr. Rhodes, a Cape Colony deputy, who favours the idea of British Imperial Federation, had written to Mr. Parnell asking him to insist, when the question of Irish Home Rule again comes up in Westminster, on the retention of Irish representatives in the London Parliament, promising him that such action would win Ireland many friends in the Colonies of which he is a resident.—*Boston Republic*.

This little outburst of Mr. Rhodes's sympathy, which struck everybody as somewhat queer, is now pregnant with meaning by Mr. Parnell's statement that the Imperial Parliament, according to the plan, will contain representatives from all the Colonies, and be a representative body, controlling the great English Imperial Federation. All this is highly speculative and distantly hypothetical. At the present time, the element in the Colonies desiring representation at Westminster is small, and grows smaller every year. The plan, however, brings this element heartily in support of Home Rule; and such evidences of goodwill as £11,000 cheques are not to be lost sight of. Mr. Rhodes is a man who has made a colossal fortune in diamonds in Africa, and wants political opportunity at home, and there are a good many more, principally in Australia, who have the same secret ambition.—*Grenada People*.

## THE EXHIBITION FESTIVITIES AT MELBOURNE.

### BANQUET TO THE AUSTRALASIAN PARLIAMENTS.

WE may safely say that Australia has never yet seen such an assemblage as sat down to dinner in the Exhibition building on Saturday, August 4th. The dinner was given by the Parliament of Victoria to the Parliaments of Australasia, and over 500 gentlemen were present. Among them were the Governors of every Colony except Western Australia, and Ministers, Speakers, and Chief Justices too numerous to mention. The speeches fill many columns of the *Argus*, but we can only find room for what concerns our own particular subject. In returning thanks for the toast, "His Excellency the Governor of Victoria," Sir Henry Loch, spoke as follows:—

Each day brings forth fresh proof of the force which is urging these Colonies forward on the career which lies before them in the world's history. Where that force may carry them, it is as yet almost idle to speculate; whether, if they continue in close union with the country from which they have sprung, it may lead to the realisation of the ideal that has been the dream of dreamers, that at some period the influence of a great and united power would lead to the substitution, for the settlement of the world's quarrels, of arbitration for wars. Whether such is to be the rôle of the Anglo-Saxon race the future, and I apprehend only the very distant future, can reveal. But as regards the immediate present of these individual Colonies, we may hope that the yearly increasing approach of the Colonies towards each other, the yearly increasing personal intercourse which the improved facilities of railway communication provide, may so strengthen the feelings of friendship that in all essential questions of common interest perfect harmony and unity may exist between them. (Cheers.) And let us hope that this great Exhibition may be symbolical of the union which should always exist between these Colonies and the Mother Country. Also, let us recognise at such a meeting as this, that there is a central symbol of nationality round which all parts of the Empire freely revolve, a nationality deeply rooted in the past, and one that has a bright future of inexhaustible expansiveness before it. And where can we find a symbol more venerated than in that of our beloved Queen—(cheers)—the representative of a nationality to which these Colonies and the world owe obligations they can never repay—(cheers)—a nationality that has for centuries past been the guardian of freedom in its truest sense, a freedom won and handed down by their British ancestors to the people of these Colonies? (Cheers.) The young Australians may well then love and reverence their mother, for they will remember that all they possess she lovingly and heartily conceded to them; that they have inherited from her their love of liberty, their love of freedom, and that the institutions they venerate were begot by her; that their interests and ambitions are hers, and that her prosperity and continued greatness are essential to the maintenance of that balance of power in the world which is the true safeguard of all civil and religious liberty. (Cheers.)

MR. M. H. DAVIES (Speaker of the Legislative Assembly), then proposed "Their Excellencies the Governors of the other Colonies of Australasia," coupled with the name of Lord Carrington. He said:—

I am sure, gentlemen, that their Excellencies the Governors of the other Australasian Colonies have frequently felt very great pleasure in recording in a more formal way the unbounded loyalty of the people of Australasia towards the person and throne of Her Majesty. (Hear, hear.) I am sure that it is the feeling of all of us that which binds us to Great Britain should continue, because we feel that we have no fetters, but simply a golden chain, and, as we may call it, a silken thread—(cheers)—and our desire is that if, in the future, the Colonies

should become greater, and if, ultimately, they should become a great Empire, that that union which we have with the Mother Country should be continued—(hear, hear)—and that we should even have a closer alliance with the throne of England than we have at present. (Cheers.) I feel confident that it would be disastrous to us as a number of small communities, that it would be dangerous to us, looking at it from merely a military point of view, and that it would be wholly injurious to our mercantile and other interests—(hear, hear)—if we should have any feeling of disunion with the Mother Country. (Cheers.) I do hope most sincerely that the time may arrive when Australia, becoming, perhaps, a Greater Britain, will be able to hold out the hand of fellowship to the English-speaking community of America, and be able to join America with England in a closer alliance than it has yet had.

From Lord Carrington's reply we extract what follows:—

It is true that lately a difficult, and what might have been dangerous, question suddenly burst upon us. I beg it to be understood that what I say now I say entirely for myself. I should not have mentioned this question, had it not been that at a conference held on this subject in June in Sydney, a very important principle was recognised. It was recognised in England and in Australia that the expediency and necessity of special legislation could only be decided by those on the spot who knew the circumstances of the particular case, and who were abreast of and in touch with popular feeling, and to whom the duty of determining accordingly should be entrusted. (Cheers.) It was at once recognised, and wisely recognised, that any expression of opinion which was not purely Australian would be colourless, and therefore valueless; and, therefore, the question of an Imperial representative at the Conference was never considered essential. The result has shown the wisdom of this policy. Lord Knutsford acknowledged the cordial spirit in which the whole question was discussed; the House of Commons cheered its recommendations, and negotiations have been opened as was desired. (Cheers.) A conference of judges in Melbourne closed their sittings to-day, and if that conference and the Sydney Conference do nothing else, they will have done this—they will have brought the Australian Colonies, naturally and of their own free will, into closer union; and they will have strengthened the cordial relations which have existed, and which I hope to God will always exist, between England and these great Colonies. (Cheers.) They will ever remind us of the liberty of the system under which we live; and a meeting like the present makes us feel that when we instinctively rise to our feet at the sound of the grand old anthem, and drink to the health of the Queen, we are recognising our common unity of purpose. We are as far from recognising dictation and despotism—what I believe is ordinarily called in these Colonies Imperialism—as we are from advocating the irresponsible one-man system of Government. (Cheers.) We are not only honouring the illustrious lady who so worthily wears the crown of King Alfred, but through her we drink to the common weal of all British people: to law, to order, to freedom, and to justice to the judges on the Bench, and to Ministers and Parliaments elected by and answerable to the people; through her we drink to our sovereignty over, and our friendship with, the native princes and the native races of India; we drink to Australasian unity, to the South African Confederation, to the Dominion of Canada, to our West Indian possessions, and to every law-abiding, self-governing community of hardy pioneers who are to be found under the British flag, doing their duty in the cause of liberty, in the furthest portions of the habitable globe. (Cheers.)

MR. DEAKIN (Chief Secretary) then proposed "The Army, Navy, and Local Forces." After speaking in the highest terms of the Imperial forces, as represented not only by Admiral Fairfax, Captain Thomas, and other distinguished officers, but also by "the magnificent display of blue-jackets" that was made in the city on the previous Wednesday, he went on:—

The portion of the toast which came very close to us had reference to the local forces. We had no forces in this Colony maintained for attack or offence. We strengthened ourselves purely and solely for defensive purposes, and the task was one which we could not delegate to any other persons than the people of our own country. (Hear, hear.) These Colonies felt that they were too great, too prosperous, too proud to be dependent for defence even upon the Mother Country. (Cheers.) The Colonies felt that there was cast upon them the responsibility of defending themselves. This the Colonies had done as far as lay in their power, and if we had asked for and obtained a portion of the Imperial forces in the shape of the special Australian naval squadron, we had done so not because we doubted our own capacity to defend ourselves, but because at this particular period we found ourselves unable to undertake the task of defending our commerce without those magnificent specimens of industrial workmanship—the modern vessels of war, with all their complicated machinery and trained men to man them. (Cheers.) We had been able, owing to the great consideration extended to us, to enter into an arrangement with the Mother Country by which a portion of her naval forces became ours for ten years, and the terms upon which that arrangement had been made had commended themselves to almost all the Colonies. (Hear, hear.) It was only fair to recall the fact at the present time that, if the Colonies had been united amongst themselves they might have obtained even more generous terms from the Mother Country than they actually had obtained. Here, as elsewhere, a difficulty arose because of our own difference of opinion. In this matter of defence, vital and all-important as it was, we had not yet cultivated the spirit of unity as we must cultivate it in the future. What would the people of these Colonies do if by any chance a descent was made upon them? One thing was certain, and that was that the men of one Colony would flock to defend the other. (Hear, hear.) Let the Colonies, therefore, take steps in time, and prepare their forces for that federal action which must come at some time or other, and then we should be able to drink with more enthusiasm than we do now to the "Army, Navy, and Local Forces." (Cheers.)



Admiral Fairfax replied, and as his speech is of importance, not only for its significant warning to Queensland, but also as the opinion of an expert on the defensive strength of Victoria, we quote it in full :—

Your Excellencies, it is always encouraging to the services to be remembered and appreciated by their fellow-countrymen, and in these great Colonies the toast of "The Navy" is invariably well received. As Admiral in command of the squadron in Australia, I watch with keen interest the steps taken by the different Colonies for their defence. Only a month ago this Colony tested the organisation of her forces by an unexpected call to arms such as is likely to happen in the event of war. I have read with great pleasure the reports of Captain Thomas and Colonel Disney, showing the order and efficiency of your arrangements to meet any such emergency. Gentlemen, since my last visit to Melbourne you have passed a measure which will greatly add to the naval force in Australasian waters. I am glad to think that with one exception the Colonies have already confirmed the arrangements made by their delegates. Queensland, with her stores of latent wealth, her more than 2,000 miles of coast line, her rapidly increasing seaport towns, invites attack, perhaps, more than any other part of Australia. It must be remembered, too, that Queensland is nearest that now famous country whose inhabitants are counted by hundreds of millions, and whose vast hordes might one day, if not restricted, overrun that fair country. I trust my able and distinguished friend, who possesses the confidence of the people of that country, will, with his colleagues, give the subject of defence his serious consideration. To return to the auxiliary squadron, it is now being laid down, but we cannot expect this valuable addition to our strength for at least two years. I think it must be admitted that the Imperial Government has acted in no niggardly spirit in dealing with these Colonies. The final arrangement was that the Imperial Government should build five fast cruisers and two torpedo vessels at a cost of £626,000, the Colonies paying a maximum sum of £91,000 a year for the maintenance of the squadron and for a percentage on the capital sum. I should wish you to note that the Home Government is better than its word. Instead of the sum of £626,000 it has decided to spend between £800,000 and £900,000; instead of vessels of 1,600 tons it is building vessels of 2,500 tons; instead of a speed of 16½ knots they are to have a speed of 19 knots; instead of an armament of 5in. and 6in. breech-loading guns, they will have an armament of 36-pounder quick-firing guns, which can discharge ten rounds in a minute. With this powerful squadron and your batteries armed with the best breech-loading guns, served by well-trained and well-disciplined men, Victoria may rest secure amidst the disquieting rumours of war—secure, safe, and free to develop the increasing industries and the vast resources of this magnificent country. (Cheers.) In conclusion, I have to thank you for having drunk the toast of "The Army, Navy, and Local Forces;" and you may excuse me for making a remark on the force which I saw the other day. I do not think that you can have anything better than your Permanent Artillery. There is only one fault connected with that corps, and that is that it is too small. As for the sailors of Victoria, they are a credit to the country; and I am sure that the militia that lined the streets presented a very soldierlike appearance. I think that Victoria with these men may rest very secure if war comes to its doors. (Cheers.)

The Premier then proposed "The Parliaments of the Colonies of Australasia." In the course of his speech Mr. Gillies used these words :—

I believe that a strong federal feeling exists throughout Australasia. Although there may be differences of opinion as to the best manner by which Federation is to be brought about, there is no question that that federal feeling exists. That feeling, I am confident, will grow to such an extent that the rising generation will be prepared, when a suitable time comes, to join hand in hand in a federal union such as will proclaim this continent not only as a great nation, but as a nation worthy of sympathy and support, and joined with the Mother Country in every good and noble work which can help on and assist humanity. (Cheers.)

Among those who replied was Mr. M. H. Black, the Queensland Minister of Lands. Avoiding any direct reply to Mr. Deakin and Admiral Fairfax, he said :—

There is one thing, gentlemen, which I think would add very considerably to the lustre which will be shed on this Colony and the whole of Australia by your Exhibition. I would like to see a scheme carried out by which, before your Exhibition ends, a Federal Camp will be established in Melbourne, to which the whole of the Colonies will send a large contingent of their various defence forces. (Cheers.) I have come to Melbourne from Brisbane in two days. (Hear, hear.) Why, gentleman, when I arrived in this Colony in the year 1852 it took two weeks to accomplish what can now be done in two days—(Hear, hear.)—and nothing would have a greater effect on the world at large than to let them see that if the time of danger ever arises the various Colonies are quite prepared to unite for the defence of the whole of Australasia. (Hear, hear.) This is a matter which I hope will not be considered in the light of a passing remark. I believe that the Colony which I represent is quite prepared to do what it can in this direction.

On another point, also, he expressed the sentiments animating the present Queensland Government :—

You here in the southern part of Australia have introduced a policy which, as far as we can judge from the brief opportunity which we have had of viewing it, has led to undoubted prosperity in Victoria. I refer to your policy of Protection. (Hear, hear.) It may, or it may not, as time will prove, be a good policy; but, gentlemen, what I would like to see for the future welfare of the whole of the Colonies is Federation—(cheers)—intercolonial free trade—(cheers)—and then possibly protection against the whole world outside. (Cheers.) That is what I think should be the aim and ambition of those who are

endeavouring to shape the destinies of Australia. (Cries of "Hear, hear," and "No.")

We cannot do better than conclude by quoting the leading article in which the *Argus* deals with Mr. Black's position. It writes :—

Owing to the circumstances of the hour, the most practical speeches of the evening were those of Mr. Deakin and Admiral Fairfax. The Chief Secretary proposed, and the Admiral replied to, the national toast of the military and naval forces, and it was natural that both of them should refer to the federal fleet, and should glance, however incidentally, at the Queensland position. The Admiral dwelt upon the generous spirit shown by Great Britain, which was pledged to spend half a million, and will spend much nearer a million before she has finished; which was to supply 16-knot vessels, and is building 19-knot cruisers instead. Mr. Deakin, on the other hand, put before Queensland the necessities of the case. The present, as the Chief Secretary says, is only an *ad interim* arrangement. We want a federal fleet, but such an organisation is not to be created in a day, and for the present we borrow from the magnificent stores of the Mother Country. She lends us men-of-war for a time, as in another department she lends us pictures. In ten years we shall probably have vessels built for Australia in Great Britain, and in another ten years, or perhaps after ten years more have elapsed, we shall construct our war-vessels here. It will be a proud moment for Great Britain when she sees Imperial interests protected in these waters by an Australian fleet, built and manned by Australians, for her power and prestige in the world will be increased accordingly; but to-day the effort on our part is held to be premature. The nations of the world, including Russia and Spain, commonly go to Great Britain for ships at this juncture, and for the Colonies of the great naval power to commence with an affiliated service seems common sense to most of us. Of course the Queensland view, that we should buy our ships and man them ourselves to commence with, may be right. It was put aside when it was found that the cost of the Colonial service would be enormous and its efficiency doubtful, and that English generosity was greater than had been dreamed of. But it was not lightly put aside, nor yet dismissed for any considerable term. In ten years we may all be Queenslanders in this matter. But Queensland is one of the Federal Colonies, and all Federationists know and admit that their principle means a policy of give and take. In a Federal Council, Queensland would be in a minority of one on this point of the Federal fleet, and she would give way in a Federal Council accordingly; and she is asked to give way to the majority now, holding to her views, but gracefully and kindly accepting the general decision in order to show her loyalty to Australia. The Queensland representatives have had the advantage of much pleasant, but earnest, talk on this subject at Saturday's banquet, and on other occasions; and we may hope that one result of the Exhibition, held to promote peace in the land, will be to leave Australia united in its preparations for war.

THE death of the Hon. James Squire Farnell,<sup>1</sup> who was Premier of New South Wales in 1878, is announced from Sydney.

SIR ADAMS ARCHIBALD, President of the League in Halifax, has been elected, by a majority of 600, member for Colchester in the Dominion Parliament.

THE revenue of the Dominion of Canada for the nine months ending March 31 showed an increase of 620,000 dols. over the corresponding period of 1886-87. The surplus for the nine months over the expenditure was more than 2,000,000 dols. The net debt showed a reduction for the month of 1,200,000 dols.

LIKE our own Jubilee coinage, the New South Wales centennial issue of stamps on which the Queen's head does not appear has not passed without adverse criticism. But the correspondent of a Sydney paper offers the following plea in its favour :—"Which of us has not felt, when accidentally affixing the Queen's head topsy-turvy to a letter, that he has unintentionally offered an insult to royalty? But the present design looks just as well upside down."

THE completion of the Canadian trans-continental railway brings before us the possibility of a Pacific mail service that would pass on land through British territory only, and would be throughout in British hands. This scheme has yet to be examined, but there is at least enough in the prospect it offers to render the Government cautious as to any proposal to commit itself further to the support of a San Francisco line.—*Sydney Morning Herald*.

WE hear from Melbourne that the delay in the negotiations for the survey of the route for a new Pacific cable, to connect with the line through Canada, is attributed to the silence or inaction of our Government. The statement in Melbourne is that, while Queensland and New Zealand are in accord with Victoria in this matter, the Government of Sir Henry Parkes will not disclose its views. It may be supposed that the Government will have some answer to make to this statement. But, meanwhile, it is to be remarked that this is not a matter to be trifled with on any side. . . . In these eventful times it is impossible to tell how soon we may feel the urgent need for a line of telegraph carried (where it is not in the bed of the ocean) through British territory.—*Sydney Morning Herald*.

THE text of the Governor's speech at the opening of the Queensland Parliament on August 14th is now to hand. One paragraph "heartily commends to the consideration of the House the advisableness of co-operating with the other Colonies and Great Britain in securing a separate and distinct cable service *via* Canada and the Pacific." The ex-Premier, Sir Samuel Griffith, spoke strongly in support of this proposal the following day, from his place in Parliament. Another clause runs : "My Ministers have given their serious attention to the claims of the northern part of the Colony for separation from the south. They hope, however, to submit proposals for an extension of local self-government which will meet the requirements of the north for some time to come, and satisfactorily alter the conditions from which the desire for severance has arisen."



**MR. SERVICE ON IMPERIAL FEDERATION.**

It would be an impertinence for us to assure our readers that what Mr. Service has to say is worth hearing. We can only regret that it has been impossible for us to reproduce sooner what he told his constituents of the Province of Melbourne in the course of his canvass for a seat in the Victorian Legislative Council as long ago as the 16th of last May:—

One word about Imperial Federation. There are some people in this Colony who don't believe in Imperial Federation, and those who would like to hope most from it have a difficulty in knowing what it will become, if it ever becomes anything. There is a difficulty in formulating the desire into a distinct formula, because we can hardly understand how two great and powerful nations at different ends of the world can remain as one without the one nation being subject to the other. (Hear, hear.) Everybody admits that in the future we shall be a great nation, which we are not yet. Australia has passed its boyhood, but has hardly reached its manhood—when we shall be able to claim all the privileges and powers of manhood. When we reach that stage of national existence it is perfectly evident we can no longer be subject to Great Britain as we are now. Everybody admits that. At the present time we have the power to make our own laws, with very few exceptions. We have been permitted as Colonies to grow up under the tutelage and protection of England, with a freedom of action on our own part hardly trammelled in any way—only trammelled, in fact, in respect of matters which must affect the Empire as a whole. On all matters of Local Legislation, with a very few exceptions, we can do pretty much what we like.

**GRATITUDE DUE TO ENGLAND FOR PAST PROTECTION.**

That is a privilege which the Colonies of no other nation under the sun have ever enjoyed, and if we think over it we can hardly help being thankful for it. (Hear, hear.) A generation has almost passed away, and we are growing into a great people, and beginning already to make a noise in the world, and no power on earth has dared to make us afraid. (Laughter and cheers.) We have been able to sit under our own vine and fig-tree, none daring to make us afraid, because every nation in the world was aware that England would spend her last man and her last shilling, if need were, to defend our shores. (Cheers.) We have thus been enabled to go on peaceably and quietly developing the natural resources of Australia, and enjoying a prosperity which no other nation on the face of the earth has enjoyed. (Hear, hear.)

**I AM AN AEDENT DEVOTEE OF THE IMPERIAL IDEA;**

and I, for one, would like to look forward to a long continuance of the connection between the Colonies and the Mother Country. (Hear, hear.) The traditions of the Old Country sound sweet and pleasant in the ear of my memory—they are pleasant to think about. I daresay the same feeling exists to some extent even amongst the rising generation of Australia, who have never seen the Old Country—those of them, at all events, who have read English history. (Hear, hear.) Some people in this Colony say that we are tending too much in the direction of "Britishing" the Colony. (Laughter.) It is a curious expression certainly, a newly-coined word, nevertheless effective, and therefore I like it; but it is a peculiar thing to say we are "Britishing" a Colony which is five-sixths British in its origin and its population. We can hardly do more towards

**"BRITISHING" THE COLONY;**

it has already been done for us. (Laughter.) Therefore I wish, whatever may happen in the future, to cultivate this feeling of the utmost kindness and tenderness for the old Mother Country. (Hear, hear.) She has had many troubles to go through, and there are troubles for her in the future—possibly in the near future; but there is a steady progress in England towards all those liberties that tend to raise the individual man to the highest level of manhood. (Cheers.) It is indeed—

"A land of settled government,  
A land of just and old renown,  
Where freedom broadens slowly down  
From precedent to precedent."

(Loud cheers.) True, her progress is slow, but it is sure, and the tendency is always in the right direction. (Hear, hear.) Whilst we cannot formulate, even in our own minds, a scheme of Imperial Federation, is there any necessity for making the attempt, or, at all events for doing it in any other fashion but that of theory? We may fancifully amuse, interest, and perhaps instruct, ourselves by endeavouring to discover some means by which an Empire, such as the British Empire will be in another twenty or thirty years, might remain as one. At the present moment the question of Separation or Federation is not a question of practical politics. The question is altogether inopportune and premature. (Hear, hear.) But if the Australian Colonies as a whole did want to separate from England, I believe England would say, "Go, and God bless you." (Loud cheers.) That is the position England holds at the present time.

**THE PROSPECTS OF THE FUTURE.**

We are at liberty to do just as we please, and when we have 20,000,000 or 30,000,000 instead of 3,000,000 of population, we shall have, if it were possible, more liberty to do as we please than now, because we shall then have the power to do it, as well as the privilege of being permitted to do it. Whenever it comes to be obvious to us that it will be to our interests to sever from the Great British Empire, it is as certain as the sun will rise to-morrow that no obstacle will be put in our way by the old Mother Country. (Cheers.) Therefore let us strive, whilst there are no interests calling upon us to separate, to cultivate that strong feeling of attachment which originates in the oneness of the blood between the two countries—(cheers)—and which, I think, may develop itself in the time to come into some practical shape which will enable us, without the people in this country or the people of England sacrificing their equality, to develop into an Empire such as the world has never seen—with its one foot, we may say, on the south pole, and another on the north, ruling the destinies of the whole world. (Cheers.)

**A BENEFICENT WORLD-EMPIRE.**

We know that such a rule, judging of the future by the past, and of the tendencies of things in recent years, would be a beneficent rule, and for the good of the whole world. (Cheers.) But, gentlemen, there is another thing. This is not the time to speak of separation or severance. At the present time the whole of the countries of the world—the great empires of Europe—are becoming federated more closely than they have been. For mutual protection they are compelled to federate themselves. We find the great empires of Austria and Germany and the kingdom of Italy have federated on the one hand, and France and Russia, if not entering into a distinct treaty, have, at all events, a pretty distinct understanding between themselves. This is not the time, I say, for small communities to talk about casting themselves loose from large communities. (Hear, hear.) It is not for us to talk of this idea, when we might be at the mercy of some of those large communities if England were at war. For us to contend with some of those large communities would be as a

**CHILD CONTENDING WITH A GIANT.**

As I mentioned on Monday, supposing Russia, for instance, were to secure that which she has long desired and appears determined to enjoy—supposing she succeeds in acquiring Constantinople as her inheritance or conquest, and supposing she succeeds in driving England out of India—why, with Russia in India, we have no guarantee that she will not be in Australia. (Hear, hear.) There is no doubt at all in the minds of those who have studied the map of Europe of the temper of the Russian people, their desire and determination to extend their territories in every direction, and to subject nation after nation to their sway. There is no doubt whatever that, if by any means Russia could acquire India, our position here would be one of immense danger. (Hear, hear.) It is said that if we were free from England we would not be subjected to the dangers from European wars; which I believe to be

**AN ENTIRE MISTAKE.**

We sometimes ask the question, "What have we to do with those wars; why should we be involved in a contest which will cost blood and money because England happens to go to war?" We put such questions without thought, and without thinking of the position. (Hear, hear.) There is nothing which is more akin to the duty and interests of the Australian Colonies than to assist England to the best of our ability in any war in which she becomes involved. (Cheers.) Mind you, I am speaking on this subject as a matter of interest to the Colonies, not as a matter of sentiment alone. It is a curious thing that people should say, "Let us get rid of the old connection and we shall get rid of wars," and at the same time, if England gets involved in war, we jump up at once and send our volunteers to her aid. (Cheers.) Whenever England gets involved in war, this idea of separation disappears. (Cheers.)

THE re-organisation of the Sydney defences undertaken by the New South Wales Government includes the increase of the Colonial force from 5,864 to 8,620 men, the laying down of a network of submarine mines, over 6,000 in all, the re-organisation of the torpedo branch, and important alterations in the construction and armament of the harbour forts.

"To the Editor of the *Montreal Insurance Chronicle*.—Better get rid of the Yank who wrote article on Imperial Federation League in last number, and hand him over to the *Budget* or some other Yankee paper. If you were here and saw eighty men of C Battery, cannoners and bombardiers without cannons, bombs or forts, leave to drive several hundred Indians from Skeena Canyon—absurd as it is to send garrison artillery for such work, your article is more absurd, for the reason Canada has no defences nor defenders, and the Imperial Federation League is to teach the people to be manly and defend themselves, and all your ridiculing the League will only hurt your own paper, when the League is on the right side, and you are unpatriotic enough to ridicule such a noble movement.

"Victoria, B.C., July 19, 1888. "UNITED EMPIRE LOYALIST"



# Imperial Federation.

NOVEMBER 1, 1888.

## THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE LEAGUE.

"THERE is one subject of which not much has been heard lately: Imperial Federation. This is a matter that should be always *en evidence*." The quotation is from a leading article published in an English newspaper within the last few days. Our columns furnish the best proof that the writer is mistaken, and if they were of double or treble the capacity they would furnish proof still more convincing. Perhaps we should not be more mistaken if we for our part asserted that the public mind, politically speaking of course, is occupied with little else. If further proof were needed that the subject is attracting daily increased attention, it may be found in the fact that we have almost ceased to be accused of being an organisation devoted to the interests either of the Liberal or the Conservative cause. The most heated combatants on both sides have become sufficiently familiar with our aims and our work to recognise that Imperial Federation is neither a Tory dodge nor a Separatist juggle; some have even gone so far as to admit that after all the British Empire is larger and more important than the whole of Ireland, Ulster included; and the testimonial of the *Times* that we have kept our cause "clear from the contamination of party strife" is only one of many that have reached us to the same effect.

But here we fear the unanimity of our contemporaries ceases. The *Scottish Leader*, a newly started Edinburgh journal, is almost if not quite alone in questioning the utility of our objects, as it fears that we desire to introduce a spirit of militarism into the peaceful communities of the New World. *Si vis pacem, ne pares bellum*, is its new version of the old adage. But even the *Economist* admits that, fussy busybodies as we are, we are trying in our blundering way to attain a useful end. It would, however, be worse than useless for us to turn to the oracles of the daily press for guidance. "We must work from the centre to the circumference," says one. "It is impossible for the Mother Country to move till the Colonies give the impulse," replies another. "Do come down from the clouds and give us some definite scheme," cry shrilly half a dozen. "Any ambitious proposal would provoke all sorts of opposition and jealousies in the Colonies, and perhaps throw back the cause indefinitely; it is a delicate business, in which excess of zeal might spoil everything"—is the answer that comes back in the deep bass of the *Times*.

Thrown back therefore on itself, the League has perhaps not done so badly after all. Our President at Leeds claimed that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs shall be considered a non-political officer, and shall speak with the united voice of the nation, and if he had not said one other word he would have earned the gratitude of every true citizen. But he went on with what is surely a sufficiently definite declaration of policy—"You will have, as I think, to admit the Colonies to a much larger share in your affairs than you do at present. You will have to give them a right to prompt the voice of England." These words were quoted and endorsed by our Treasurer at Glasgow, and what is more received with applause by the hard-headed business men who formed his audience. Nor is this all. Speaking on behalf of the Canadian League, Mr. Dalton McCarthy has suggested the policy of mutual trade advantages between the Mother Country and the Colonies, a proposal that has been more than once ably advocated by correspondents in our columns. Sir Frederic Young, our old and tried supporter, has put forward another proposal of a more immediately practical character, and it has been received with approval in many quarters. He has suggested that a Royal Commission should be appointed to visit the Colonies and discuss the whole subject of Imperial Federation with Colonial statesmen on the spot. Others would prefer to call a second Imperial Conference to be held here in London. Surely this is no windy rhetoric, no cloudy

vision, nor on the other hand is it merely paper-constitution-building. It implies practical work towards definite ends. So far it is all but aspiration; the coming winter, when the League like everybody else comes back to work, may see these aspirations or some of them adopted as the declared policy of the League.

## BECHUANALAND.

WE print elsewhere a letter that we have received from Mr. Frederic Mackarness. It seems to us, if Mr. Mackarness will allow us to say so, a somewhat exaggerated instance of a habit of mind that would attempt, in another correspondent's phrase, to "conciliate" the Colonies by hastening to offer them the top brick of the chimney as soon as ever they begin to show signs of crying for it. According to Mr. Mackarness, the function of the Imperial Federation League and the Journal which represents it is, to find out what any individual Colony wishes for, and then to urge upon the Government and the people at home to grant it. Whether the Colonial demand is justified, whether the granting of it would inflict undeserved injury upon others—this is, as we understand Mr. Mackarness, no concern of ours. The League's functions are purely automatic; it is a speaking-trumpet to magnify the sound of the Colonial voice. Such, however, is not our conception of its position. Our business, we take it, is to advocate the interests, not of any particular Colony, not of Great Britain, but of the Empire as a whole. Where merely local affairs, whether in England or in the Cape Colony, are concerned, we shall remain silent; but if the Home Government neglects to fortify the coaling stations, Canadian politicians advocate Commercial Union, or the New South Wales Ministry wantonly jeopardise our relations with China, we have spoken out of mind freely hitherto, and we propose to continue to do the same hereafter. And if in the whole wide world of the British Empire there is one country as to which we ought to be more free than another to say what we please, it is surely the luckless country whose name is at the head of this article, a country whose title might really be entered on the map as No-Child-of-Mine-Land. With which exordium let us come to our subject.

The situation in Bechuanaland has changed a good deal since we last wrote. Let us begin by going back to Sir Hercules Robinson's despatch of June 11th. On that date he pointed out that "the road through it into the interior, in which the Cape Colony is mainly interested, has been secured; and the natives have been placed in beacons reserves, which are held under inalienable tribal rights. These results have been effected so far at the sole expense of the Imperial taxpayers. The expedition to vindicate British honour [Sir Charles Warren's] entailed an expenditure of over a million sterling." Since then, he went on to say, in spite of all possible economy, the country has cost the British taxpayer £100,000 the first year, £75,000 the second, and for the current year it will cost him £50,000. Sir Hercules concludes as follows:—"There is, as far as I can see, nothing now to be gained by the British taxpayers in return for this continued outlay, and the sooner the country can be annexed to the Cape the better. Ministers, I am glad to say, have already expressed their readiness to negotiate on the subject." It would have been as well if he had added a further paragraph, pointing out why the British taxpayer should pay to secure the Cape Colonists a road into the interior, and why, now that an estate of 100,000,000 acres is apparently on the point of returning interest on the capital that has been sunk in it, the Imperial Government should cease to hold it in trust for the Empire, and hand it over to the Cape Colony—a country which has precisely the same right to it that the Republic of Uruguay has to the territories of the Emperor of Brazil. On the 24th of September, the Premier, Sir Gordon Sprigg, addressed his constituents at East London. In his speech he referred to Bechuanaland in these words: "By careful administration the Imperial Government is now in a position to hand over that country to us for good, free of expense, and is waiting to receive an offer from the Cape Government to annex the country. This matter is under the consideration of the Government, and possibly it will be in



a position to submit proposals to the new Parliament for the annexation of Bechuanaland to the Colony." When this was telegraphed from the one London to the other, the English press for once was absolutely unanimous. Not a single paper was found to receive with becoming gratitude the testimonial to the "careful administration" of the Imperial authorities, or to acknowledge the condescension of the Cape Ministry in being ready favourably to consider their application. Some even went so far as to recall the events in Basutoland, and to inquire how long the handing over "for good" was likely to last. The *Times* was exceptionally pronounced in its condemnation. "The proposal," it declared, "ought not to pass without such an emphatic expression of opinion as will save it from being revived by Cape Ministers, High Commissioners, or Colonial Secretaries, until circumstances have very greatly altered." Nor was this all. Montsioa hastened to protest that he would never submit to the Cape, that he claimed to be a subject of the Queen only. Two or three days later, Mr. W. H. Smith spoke at Gloucester. There had been, he said, some misconception in the matter; Her Majesty's Ministers had no intention of surrendering Bechuanaland—at all events for the present.

We cannot but think that Sir Gordon Sprigg and his colleagues have some right to feel aggrieved in this matter, and to consider—as it is reported from Cape Town that they do consider—that they have suffered a rebuff. Whether the Home Government ever had any intention of surrendering Bechuanaland, of course, we cannot say, but, at least, Sir Hercules Robinson had, only a few months back—he has told us so quite frankly himself—and the Cape Ministers might naturally suppose that Her Majesty's High Commissioner represented the views of Her Majesty's Ministers. And for taking the High Commissioner at his word, Sir Gordon has been exposed to a good deal of hard language in this country. This is the more to be regretted because in several other respects his speech was satisfactory enough. He recognised that the Cape could not stand alone, that it needed the protection of Great Britain, as "the greatest maritime Power the world has ever known," and he made no claim that the Cape Colony was capable of governing right up to the Zambezi. We are glad to see that in this matter Sir Gordon accepts to some extent the view that we put forward last month. We urged that an independent administration reporting direct to the Colonial office should be set up beyond the Molopo. Sir Gordon, except that he talks of a Colonial administration, which is obviously impossible for the present in the absence of Colonists, says much the same thing. And perhaps we may hope that, in the course of time, it may be by this road that a way may be found out of the present entanglements of the High Commissionership. Let us add one word more. Colonel Shermbrucker—a gentleman whose name would scarcely seem to suggest any very deep-rooted hereditary connection with the Cape—told his constituents a few days back that the Cape Government (of which he is a member) "would annex Bechuanaland in spite of Montsioa's protests and notwithstanding individual sentimentality or contrary statements by Her Majesty's Ministers." Considering the manner in which the Imperial Government has vacillated and hesitated in South Africa in the past, such language would have not been without excuse from an irresponsible journalist. In a Cabinet Minister it is something more than unseemly. We trust that we shall be able to report Colonel Shermbrucker's withdrawal, either from his assertion or from his office, at an early date.

### THE CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS IN QUEENSLAND.

SIR ANTHONY MUSGRAVE, after a long and honourable career of nearly forty years in the Colonial service of the Crown, has gone to give his account to a higher authority than even the Secretary of State. In words that, well worn as they are, can hardly be matched for quiet dignity,

"Sunt lacrymæ rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt,"

and even while discussing an abstract question of constitutional law, we can hardly shut out from our minds the tragic fact that almost his last experience was to find himself,

when doing, as he conceived, simply his duty, confronted by a fierce storm of obloquy, disavowed by the Colonial Office, and compelled to surrender the position that he had taken up. And yet, let us say at once, we cannot doubt that Sir Anthony was wrong, and that the Home authorities were right in acting as they did. The Governor made, however, what was at worst an error in judgment; we wish it were possible to speak in no harsher terms of the action of the Queensland Ministry. Let us tell the tale as briefly as may be. A certain Benjamin Kitts stole two pairs of boots (from his employer's shop in Townsville, North Queensland, some time last March. He was convicted and sentenced to three years' penal servitude. The new Queensland Minister, in the month of July, recommended his release, under the Offenders' Probation Act. The Governor consulted the judge who tried the case, and his opinion being adverse, refused to grant the petition. And here the matter rested for a time; but when the political world got back to Brisbane after the opening of the Melbourne Exhibition the question was reopened. The Ministry presented a long minute pressing for Kitts's release. The Governor adhered to his decision, and thereupon the Ministry forwarded their resignations, and that very afternoon the Premier published the whole story in Parliament, in a speech in which he declared that "he did not consider it worth while to answer" "the sneering illusions" in his Excellency's last despatch, and that "the decision [of Lord Knutsford], whatever it might be, did not matter a straw to him." Sir Anthony sent for the late Premier, Sir Samuel Griffith, cabling home meanwhile once more for instructions from the Colonial Office. Sir Samuel, who is in a large minority in the new Parliament, declared himself, for reasons which he refused to repeat in the House, unable to undertake to form a Ministry, but added "that in his opinion there was no need for the resignation of the Government." The Governor thereupon sent a minute as follows:—"The Governor has had the honour to receive the Chief Secretary's letter of yesterday's date, in which he tenders to the Governor the resignation of himself and his colleagues. The Governor had already acquainted the Chief Secretary that he had no desire for their resignation, and sees no necessity for it, and he therefore declines to accept it. The Governor telegraphed yesterday to the Secretary of State for his instructions with regard to the questions under discussion between his advisers and himself, and only regrets that they should have been unnecessarily made public by what passed in the Houses of Legislature yesterday." Sir Thomas replied, regretting that the Ministry's action in informing Parliament had not met with his Excellency's approval—in fact, his Excellency had specially deprecated this action in a previous memorandum—and submitting "that it was the only constitutional course which they could pursue." We need not trace the course of events further. Our readers have long known the upshot from the telegrams.

The constitutional question at issue was, we conceive, not perhaps a simple, but certainly a very definite, one. Was the release of the prisoner Kitts a question on which the Governor was bound to act on the advice of his responsible ministers, or was it not? The Sovereign, of course, always acts on the advice of her ministers, not necessarily those who are in office, it may be those who are prepared to assume office, and take the responsibility for their advice. But the Sovereign is supreme; behind and above the Colonial Governor and the Colonial Ministry stands the Queen, with her Colonial Secretary responsible to the Imperial Parliament. The Colonial Governor, therefore, has a double-faced position; broadly speaking, we may say that in local matters he must take the advice of the local ministry; in matters affecting the Empire at large he must follow the instructions of the authorities at home. This much is clear, and so far it might be said that Kitts and his boot-stealing can only be a matter of local interest. But here comes in a further difficulty. The prerogative of mercy has always been—as indeed its name implies—in a special sense a personal power. It is a fragment of the old dispensing power, a relic of the authority that seventeenth-century lawyers described as inherent in the Crown in virtue of its sovereign nature. Sir Anthony Musgrave states in his memorandum that the prerogative of mercy was



always till the present reign exercised by the Sovereign in person; that, though a change has been made recently, it is accounted for by the fact that the present Sovereign is a woman, and that even now Her Majesty is advised, not by the Cabinet or the Prime Minister, as leader or members of a political party, but by the Home Secretary, "as one of her confidential Secretaries of State." Further, it is perfectly certain that, in the letters patent appointing him, the Crown authorises him to issue pardons "in our name and on our behalf," and that the Offenders' Probation Act in particular names the Governor as the person by whom the powers therein conferred are to be exercised; and—we quote from an admirable article in the *Sydney Morning Herald*—"any one who is familiar with the interpretation clauses of Acts of Parliament will know that when the word 'Governor' is held to mean 'the Governor with the advice of the Executive Council,' the rule is to set forth that meaning in express terms." Sir Anthony Musgrave, therefore, had undoubtedly ample legal warrant for the position that he took up. He informed his Ministers that he considered it would be an unconstitutional proceeding if he acted against his own judgment in a matter in which the responsibility of deciding was, as he thought, thrown upon himself. Moreover, he urged that the matter should at once be referred home for settlement. Sir Thomas McLlwraith's assertion in the House of Assembly that the Governor might just as well refuse his "sanction for the erection of a bridge at Breakfast Creek, or the putting down of a railway in any part of the Colony," is obviously inaccurate, as the Governor's whole point lay in the claim that the prerogative of pardon belonged to him as Her Majesty's Commissioner, and not as the head of the ordinary Colonial Government. Sir Thomas will also, we think, find it somewhat difficult to explain why he first telegraphed home his own version of the case to the Queensland Agent-General to be submitted to Lord Knutsford; secondly, refused to wait for Lord Knutsford's decision, and informed the House on September 4th that he didn't care a straw for it; and, thirdly, on September 5th, after his supporters had had their fill of torchlight processions and indignation meetings, consented to wait till he heard from home after all.

Having given the history of the case, and pointed out as distinctly as we can in a limited space the constitutional questions involved, it remains to explain what was said at the beginning, that we rejoice that Sir Anthony was overruled by the Secretary of State. And we do so not because we think that the question was so small as not to be worth the fuss, but almost for an opposite reason. We fear that trouble is in store for us in Queensland, and we are anxious that the Home Government, if it is forced—as we believe it will be forced—to take up a position of opposition to the Queensland Government, shall choose a position as defensible as possible. The Kitts case obviously did not afford such a position. As we have shown, refusing to sanction the erection of a bridge, and refusing to release a prisoner, are acts that stand on an entirely different legal footing, but the distinction is not an obvious one to the man in the street, and we are making no reflection on the intelligence of sturdy miners and busy stockmen if we say that a legal subtlety that was apparently too much for Sir Thomas McLlwraith may well seem to them mere hair-splitting. There are other points on which before long the Colonial Office will be forced to insist. To say nothing of the Home taxpayer—and even he has some rights—it would be unfair to the other Australian Governments to expect them to subscribe for the defence of Queensland, and this is what they are, in fact, doing as long as Queensland stands aloof from the agreement into which the other Colonies have entered. Even were this question settled—and there is certainly little prospect of it at present—we can hardly hope to escape fresh complications. To quote the *Herald* once more: "The action of the Premier in Queensland, if followed out with honesty and candour, should lead to some direct action for relieving the Colony of the presence of a British Governor, and indeed of any degree of supervision, or authority, or control, on the part of the Crown. It is a move towards independence." This being so, we applaud the wisdom that refused to place a strategical advantage at the disposal of the present Queensland ministry.

*"\* In order that the Journal may be a complete record, we insert all matter bearing on Imperial Federation, without reference to the quarter from which it may proceed, but it is hardly necessary to remind our readers that party politics, whether at home or in the Colonies, are wholly alien to the League in any shape or form, and that the League is in no way responsible for the opinions stated therein."*

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### "CONCILIATING" THE COLONIES.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—I shall be glad if you will allow me to say a word of warning against a habit of thought into which some of the too eager friends of Imperial Federation here in England are falling.

I refer to the idea which so often seems to prevail that what is required to secure the unity of the Empire is the "conciliation" of the Colonies, and that this is to be done after the manner of African travellers with the savage tribes around them—by making presents. As may of course be supposed, this method of procedure has proved not unwelcome in the Colonies; some of their spokesmen have already begun to improve upon the practice by shouting "Give us this, that, or the other, or good-bye to the unity of the Empire!"—not with the least intention of taking upon themselves the burdens and responsibilities of separate existence, but because it has been found that this threat was a telling one, owing to what I consider an inordinate and rather unworthy desire to "conciliate" those with whom we are proposing to make a bargain.

The bargain which I understand to be involved in Imperial Federation is this. At present we pay for the protection of the Colonies and their commerce, and for the Foreign Office and Consular system of which they enjoy the advantage equally with ourselves, and in consequence we reserve to ourselves absolute discretion as to the disposal of the Forces and as to the nature of our foreign policy.

It is proposed, broadly, that, in return for a contribution towards these expenses from the self-governing Colonies, the United Kingdom should share with them the control of the forces of the Empire and take counsel with them in the direction of its foreign policy.

It is hardly necessary to point out that one of the advantages to a Colony of such a change would be the enormous stability given to its credit from the fact of its existence being bound up with that of the rest of the Empire. And yet Sir George Baden Powell and Mr. Osborne Morgan brought forward proposals last session for the destruction of that great inducement to unity by placing the stocks of Colonial Governments, which, under existing circumstances, might at any time declare themselves independent—in a fit of temper such as we have seen traces of in New South Wales upon the Chinese question, and, more recently, in Queensland—on the same footing regarding the investment of trust moneys as, say, Metropolitan Board of Works stock, which must always be within both the control and the protection of the Parliament and the Law Courts of the United Kingdom. It is not my intention here to plead the cause of the widow and the fatherless, whose incomes might be thus placed in serious jeopardy; but I am much concerned to protest against the reckless abandonment of one of the chief inducements to the Colonies to make permanent their connection with the Empire—viz., the free access to capital and the complete establishment of their credit. That this should be handed over to them, without the guarantee afforded by their taking their place permanently in the Empire, is very much as if a prospective partner were allowed to make use of the credit of the firm by way of encouraging him to join. Such tactics may possibly have obtained in the case of some of the more doubtful of the limited liability companies, but are hardly worthy of John Bull & Sons.

Moreover, these "conciliations" will not tend to secure their object. It has already been recognised as the simplest way of ridding yourself of an inconvenient friend to place him under an obligation which he does not care to admit. Neither are there wanting those (like Mr. Bernard Wise and others) who put the matter more bluntly still; who openly advocate that every possible benefit shall be extracted from the United Kingdom, the Colony meanwhile giving nothing in return and keeping the future open to act as self-interest at any moment may suggest. "Wait a bit," they say; "don't be in a hurry over this Imperial Federation business. Let us see what a little bounce will do, and whether we cannot make the United Kingdom go on protecting us and giving us all the advantages of the connection; allowing us to dictate the Foreign policy, while she has to enforce it; but let us take no responsibility at all on ourselves. In this way, while we enjoy all the advantages of her protection so long as it suits us, we can at any time withdraw—either because we are strong enough to be independent, or in order to avoid having to stand by her if she gets into trouble. The moment that



happens we can always 'cut the painter,' and, at any rate, we shall be all right."

This, of course, is playing it rather low down; but, in this matter-of-fact age, it is nothing more than the advice which has been offered in more than one Colony. And that it is being acted upon, witness the shrieks and menaces addressed to us from the Antipodes about the French in the New Hebrides; the sternly threatening language of the Prime Minister of New South Wales upon the Chinese immigration question, gravely asserting that "he would do it himself" if we did not; the cool demand of the 40,000 Western Australians that a million square miles of British territory should be handed over to them; the recent resolution of the Parliament of Cape Colony as to the disposal of the Queen's High Commissioner; and last, but not least, the declaration of the Premier of that Colony that he was considering the desirability of annexing a British territory about the size of France without, according to our own Ministers, so much as a "by your leave" addressed to them. All these performances, when demurred to, are supported by threats that, if the Colonies don't have their way, they will go—they will "cut the painter." "Good-bye to Imperial Federation!" "Australia for the Australians!" "Africa for the Africans!" &c.

Now all of this is, in my opinion, the merest bounce. Not one of the papers or speakers using these expressions has considered for an instant what is involved in the terms, or how their particular Colony would look at the moment were the support of the United Kingdom withdrawn. But because this is bounce now, it does not follow that it will always be so; and if we do not allow the Colonies to feel that there is something to be gained now by taking their share of the responsibilities of the Empire, the time will come when that something has vanished, and the inducement will have gone with it.

While yielding to no one in my desire to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, I do not wish to be understood to advocate the compulsion of the Colonies into a Federation; but I desire to point out that to give away the consideration before the bargain is complete, is bad business; and I protest therefore against the admittance of Colonial stocks to the highest credit; against the handing over to Colonies of vast countries, in which the United Kingdom has sunk large sums of money; against the direction by Colonial Governments of a foreign policy which has to be enforced solely at our expense; and against the dictation of Colonial Governments as to how and where the Imperial Government shall employ the services of the Queen's High Commissioner—until such time as those Colonies have definitely assumed their share of the burdens and responsibilities of the Empire.—I am, sir, yours, &c.,

DO SI DES.

#### COLONIAL COMPLICATIONS IN OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—I spent several days recently in Berlin, and could not avoid observing that, just at the present time, our Teutonic neighbours are in a state of great irritation, and inclined to say very disagreeable things about the people of this country. If we brush aside all that they assert regarding our insular peculiarities, the Mackenzie affair, and other matters not all likely to provoke international complications, there still remains a solid substratum of grievance, to which a certain "Geheimrath" gave expression as follows:—"When we Germans go out in search of some unoccupied spot among the earth's waste places, where our superabundant population may be bestowed, and may work and strive and still remain German, we are invariably met with veiled or open hostility, either on the part of England, or of some Colonial authority, or of individual Britishers. We think such treatment very ungenerous, and such a policy very grasping and greedy, for England has already quite as much territory as she can comfortably digest." The case of New Guinea was referred to as an instance of this greediness, and when I maintained that the Australians rather than the English were to blame in the matter, it was remarked that, in such a case, England occupied the undignified position of being the cat's-paw of one of the big Colonies.

I am inclined to fear that this German accusation is too well founded, and from the indignation displayed by my friend in making it, I judge that had Great Britain not been at hand to step in between Australasia and Germany, that Power would not have been so readily pacified. In any case, the fact remains that the United Kingdom has incurred the displeasure, and possibly the hostility, of a friendly nation, in order that Australian thirst for land might be quenched, and this has been done without the assumption of the slightest responsibility on the part of the Colony. Even had the recent disagreement resulted in war, none of the Australasian Colonies would have been liable for its charges, although, without doubt, liberal offers of assistance would have come from some of them.

The semi-independence of the Colonies now prevailing is a position of extreme injustice to Great Britain, and no Colony could complain if she were to propose some measure of readjustment, or to state frankly on what terms she would consent to stand shoulder to shoulder with all her possessions. A great

deal has lately been written about the importance of the Colonies, and the necessity of consulting their wishes. This may be all very true, but it must be remembered that the United Kingdom, on account of its population, wealth, and the magnitude of its trade and manufactures, is entitled to the first consideration, and has the right to declare on what terms it will consent to defend the Colonies in future.

To me it would not appear unreasonable if Great Britain were to invite the Colonies to contribute to their own defence, or to the maintenance of the navy in proportion to the value of the interest protected. Let her exact a uniform Imperial duty, leviable on all foreign imports at every British port, whether situated in the Colonies or at home, and let her pay her soldiers and sailors with the proceeds. This demand would be perfectly fair, and it is certain that it would be favourably considered by all the Colonies, for it would at the same time carry with it the prospect of a preference for Colonial products in British markets. It would also involve discrimination in favour of British manufacturers in the markets of the Empire all over the world.

Whatever may be thought of such a plan, so much is certain, that the present situation is unsatisfactory, and that there is good reason for calling together a second Imperial Conference to consider it. Let the question to be debated be this: "How can an Imperial Revenue for Defence from all parts of the Empire be most easily raised, and with greatest advantage to Inter-British Trade?"—Yours truly,

THOMAS MACFARLANE (of Ottawa), F.R.S.C.  
Royal Colonial Institute, October 22nd, 1888.

#### CAREFUL CONSIDERATION OF COLONIAL OPINIONS.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—In your last number there was an article in which the action of Sir H. Robinson and the Cape Ministers in regard to the High Commissionership was unfavourably criticised, while a suggestion was made that an alternative scheme should be adopted whereby the object would be gained against which they protest. I venture to think that no greater mistake could be made by the advocates of the cause which you and I both have at heart, than to identify it with the agitation promoted by Mr. Mackenzie. I have always regarded the object of the League to be not so much to invent a stereotyped plan for federating the Empire as to gradually remove the many causes of friction which are constantly arising between the Colonial and Imperial Governments. In the opinion of Sir H. Robinson and the Colonists of South Africa the present Union of the two offices which Mr. Mackenzie desires to separate tends to make the Queen's Ministers in England and in South Africa work harmoniously together, and they emphatically assert that, if Mr. Mackenzie had his way, serious discord would inevitably follow. Under these circumstances it is not very unwise for the authorised organ of the League to back Mr. Mackenzie and Sir C. Warren in urging an administrative change in South Africa, which is strongly and unanimously deprecated by the Governor and the Legislature of the Cape Colony? I say nothing about the likelihood of the two gentlemen above-named to be impartial judges of this matter after all that has passed; nor do I go into the merits of the proposal under discussion. But I do venture to assert that the objects of the League can only be gained by its promoters devoting themselves to the careful consideration of Colonial opinion, and abstaining from the encouragement of policies which run counter to that opinion when it has been, as in this case, very definitely expressed.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

FREDERICK MACKARNES.

64, Temple, E.C.

#### STRONG LINKS IN THE CHAIN.

To the EDITOR of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—As you have invited me to contribute to your paper, I should like you to publish the following information which I have gathered, which will show the pessimists that, in spite of all their croakings, England and her Colonies are already federated with a chain that will take a fearful blow, either from outside or inside enemies, to cut asunder. The pessimists' great cry is that the self-interest of the individual parts of the British Empire will cause it to burst asunder. Now, sir, I wish to show that this cry is the very thing that will keep the Empire together, providing that, when any friction arises, the representatives of those Colonies, where the grievances are felt, can meet together in council without any interference from the Mother Country.

The fact is, self-interest is the strongest link in the chain of Imperial Federation, which binds us all together into one great nation; to this great link are united a number of smaller links. For instance, there is the financial link. This link will stand a great deal of hacking before it is cut through. With this link are bound English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, Canadians, Africans, and Australians. To show you how strongly this link has federated the Empire, from a list of the shareholders of one of the land mortgage banks of Victoria, I find that the



shareholders reside in the following parts of the Empire, namely, England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Canada, South Africa, India, Tasmania, New Zealand, New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland. All these countries are financially federated by means of a monetary institution, whose headquarters are situated in a city that fifty years ago did not exist. This is only one of the many monetary institutions that help to bind the Empire together. So much for this link. Now we will take the family link. Are there not living in different parts of the Empire English, Irish, Scotch, and Welsh who are federated together by blood-relationship? They also, through their family alliances, are mutually interested in the ownership of the soil in the parts where they happen to cast their lot. I know people, who are united by family ties, settled in parts of the British Empire separated by thousands of miles of water, yet these people's interests are so much wrapped up in one another, that to them the British Empire is as if it was one undivided country.

There is also the trade link, which is of the greatest importance; and when England and her Colonies can come to some agreement about a tariff which will work smoothly all over the Empire, then this link also will be an extremely difficult one to break. Another link is the telegraph cable which visibly federates us. The political link I look upon as the crowning link of all, as I have shown the pessimists that we are practically federated as one nation; but we must be politically federated to give strength and unity to those links of Federation that already bind us as a whole. I could enumerate a great number of other links, by which England and her Colonies are interwoven into, as it were, one large family, would space permit.

Sir, I think if you had an agent appointed in Melbourne for the sale of your valuable journal, the cause it advocates would thrive enormously. Numbers of people in Australia are totally ignorant of there being such a journal. The fact is, you want agents in all the principal cities of Australia, New Zealand, and Tasmania. Thanking you in anticipation, I remain, yours truly,

F. S. B. SKINNER.

Coffee Palace, Smith Street, Fitzroy, Melbourne, Australia.

August 25th, 1888.

### CANADA AND THE STATES.

WHEN the United States senators, Erastus Wiman, and the London newspapers have between them arranged what Canada's future is to be, they will oblige by sending along the Bill to the people of Canada, and while we have our hand in we will veto it.—*Montreal Gazette*.

THERE still exists in the minds of the citizens of that great country the conviction that Canada yearns to cast in her lot with them, and that Great Britain is willing to see her Empire dismembered. They still seem to think that Goldwin Smith is a typical Canadian and British subject, and that Erastus Wiman holds Canada in the hollow of his chubby hand. These are delusions from which there must soon be a rude awakening.—*The Empire*.

WHILE our republican neighbours are threatening and blustering, all true Canadians can afford to possess their souls in patience, confident in the truth of the wise words Lord Stanley recently uttered at Toronto:—"It is a source of great satisfaction to see the confident strength with which the Dominion, firmly relying on the goodness of her own motives and the goodness of her own cause, is able to maintain an attitude of quiet and dignified observation, and is able to feel certain that the volume of her trade, increasing as it does from day to day, if it is denied one channel must find others; and that nothing, please God, which can be done by man will stop the advancing prosperity of this great Dominion."—*Orillia Packet*.

THE feeling towards the United States is not unfriendly, but it is to be remembered that we have given much to the States, one thing after another, under the several treaties. We do not feel that this can go on for ever. I think that the treaty of last year, generally known as the Chamberlain Treaty, was in the main fair and decisive. In that measure, however, the utmost limit of concession was reached. We can go no further, and now the treaty has been set aside, the whole matter falls back on the Treaty of 1818, as far as the fisheries part of the dispute is concerned. One good effect has been subserved by the recent action of Mr. Cleveland—that is, the marked growth of united sentiment among Canadians. There is a feeling now in Canada that we have been thrown upon our own resources, and that we must be more self-reliant.—*Sir John Macdonald*.

THIS (Mr. Dalton McCarthy's proposal for differential duties against foreigners) is a very different thing from the Imperial Zollverein which some ill-informed critics ascribe to the Imperial Federation League. It is neither a surrender of our right to make our own tariff to suit ourselves, nor a sacrifice of our home industries to overpowering competition. It is a plan for mutual advantage by mutual agreement, much like a friendly commercial treaty between two nations, each being able to supply the wants of the other in some particulars, and wishing to facilitate the exchange without altering their general trade policy. Such a proposal undoubtedly opens up magnificent vistas of the future of a great British Empire united by its interests, and strengthened by its unity. It may be said by some that such a system would be impracticable, that in particular the people of Great Britain would never consent to a duty on foreign bread-stuffs. This, however, is an over-confident assumption, if we may judge by many recent signs. There is much evidence of a change in the current of public opinion in the Mother Country. Of course such a momentous change could not be made in a day, nor without overcoming great obstacles, but it would certainly be more likely to find favour and consent than the suicidal policy of Commercial Union with the United States.—*The Empire*.

### THE EARL OF ROSEBERY AT LEEDS.

#### SPEECH ON FOREIGN AND COLONIAL POLICY.

AT Leeds, on October 11th, Lord Rosebery was presented with an address by the Chamber of Commerce. In reply:—

LORD ROSEBERY, who was received with cheers, said:—Mr. Yates, and gentlemen of the Leeds Chamber of Commerce, I feel that you did me a great honour when you invited me to meet you on this occasion, and to receive the address with which you have just presented me. I well understand how great a compliment, as well as how great an advantage, it is for one in my position to be permitted to meet with the representatives of all parties in Leeds who are interested in questions relating to commerce. When I look at your address, I am inclined to think that what you put in the first front of it with regard to myself has a bearing of some importance. You allude to the time when I held the seals of the Foreign Office, and I think that that reference, coming as it does from a non-political body, is one of significance, for I believe this, that the more the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is considered as a non-political officer, the better for the country. (Cheers.) I have always held—and I hope I have proved by action and also by want of action—that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs should speak whenever possible, and as often as possible, with the

#### UNITED VOICE OF THE NATION

without distinction of party. (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, but when you have done me this honour, I cannot help feeling that I am very incapable of making any reply to it. I cannot help feeling the want that so many of us in public life experience who have been educated as I have—the want of a practical commercial education, which is so useful in the training of a public man. But I remember that this is a Chamber of Commerce, and I have very strong feelings with regard to the functions of a Chamber of Commerce. I hope you will allow me to mention a thought very much with me at the present time, and that is that Chambers of Commerce which ought to represent the commercial feelings of this country are not aware of the political power they exercise—I do not mean in a party sense—and not knowing it, are not apt to exercise it as much as they ought to do. We should remember, after all, that this great Empire, which is so conspicuous and legitimate a source of pride to us, and which offers such guarantees for the peace and the prosperity of the world at large, is mainly founded on commerce and character. (Applause.) I don't, of course, on an occasion like this, propose to enter into the various elements and causes of our national prosperity. Nor with respect to commerce as an element in the formation and conservation of Empire, is it necessary to speak. Had it not been for our commerce—I am uttering truism—we should scarcely have any Colonies. Had it not been for our commerce we certainly should not have possessed the Empire of India. Had it not been for our commerce we should be limited to two islands in Europe, which have not always lived on the most agreeable terms. (A laugh.) I say, then, that

#### THE COMMERCE OF THIS COUNTRY IS AN INTEREST SO SUPREME

in its nature that it ought to exercise itself more in the contemplation and consideration of great national subjects, and should make its voice more heard on them than it is. Now, let us take three different departments in which, I suppose, all politics may be for our purposes divided. Take domestic policy. It is, of course, a natural thing that commercial men and Chambers of Commerce should be mainly interested in financial policy, but since the adoption of Free Trade in this country our fiscal policy does not afford any great subject of anxiety to the commercial interest at large. But for the annual Budget, which hangs like the sword of Damocles over the head of the commercial community, they would not need to disturb themselves about financial policy at all; and Free Trade has so regulated the direction in which that sword is likely to fall that it may almost to a certainty be predicted what line it is likely to take. But, gentlemen, besides financial policy, surely there are many subjects of domestic policy in which the voice of commerce ought to be loudly heard. You have named some of them in this address—the appointment of a Minister of Commerce; the codification and amendment of the law relating to private partnerships, including the registration of firms; the extension of our County Court jurisdiction; the progress made in technical education, and so forth. And there is another matter as to which I think the voice of the commercial community, as represented through their Chambers, should be heard with no uncertain sound. I mean private bill legislation, which directly affects the commercial classes of this country, and as to which I think they should make their opinions felt. But, gentlemen, going beyond what I may call these mainly commercial questions, surely the voice of your Chambers could be heard on other topics of even more Imperial interest. What class of the community is so much interested in the value and efficiency of our fleet as the commercial interest? We see daily discussions carried on by great experts in regard to the value and efficiency of our fleet. Well, I am not an expert, and I am wholly incompetent to judge as to which side is in the right. But the stake we have in this question is so large, the commercial interest in this question



is so enormous, that I cannot understand why we do not hear authoritatively the views of the commercial classes, giving their opinion, backed up by their knowledge of mercantile affairs, with regard to the capacity of our fleet to undertake what may be laid upon it. (Applause.) We have had naval manoeuvres lately, and, I daresay, these naval manoeuvres have proved many things. I don't think they have proved to us very conclusively the ability of our fleet to do what it has to do. (Hear, hear.) But unless one knows, as a naval man, naval affairs, I don't think one can pronounce authoritatively about these matters. But, if every Chamber of Commerce in the country realised what this question means, that it means the existence of our trade in the case of war—and on the existence of our trade depends

#### OUR EXISTENCE AS A NATION

—I do think they would appoint committees to examine this matter as carefully as possible, and to give their opposition or support to any naval policy they might think deserving of it. (Applause.) Well, gentlemen, then we pass—I am only touching, of course, on this question, because I do not wish to detain you at this busy hour of the day—we pass to the region of foreign policy, and when we come to the region of foreign policy, we come at once to a question which is more or less one of detail—I mean the question of the commercial reports of Her Majesty's Consuls, to which allusion has been made in the address. Well, gentlemen, I am glad to hear that the reports which have been issued in the last two or three years have shown a marked advance both in the exactness and copiousness of their information, and the promptitude with which they have been issued, and have met with your approval to a very large extent; but I confess I have been a little disappointed on one point. I see, on high and adequate authority, that these reports are of much more use to our competitors in trade than to ourselves. I see that what we are doing in furnishing with the utmost expedition the most accurate reports, from the best possible sources of information, is not so much to develop our own trade as to give hints to our competitors as to how they may best surpass us. That is not a satisfactory state of things. It is not satisfactory to be told that any Continental nation makes use of our information with more speed than we do ourselves. But this raises a further question with regard to these reports. For if it be true that we are not so speedy in availing ourselves of them as we ought to be, would it not be well for the Secretary of State to furnish early copies of these reports confidentially to Chambers of Commerce before they are generally issued to the public? This would give information to our commercial community which, as I think, they are fairly entitled to possess; and I think it is worthy the attention of your Chamber whether some such course as this should not be urged upon the Government. There is another point with regard to Consular service, as to which many representations have been made to various Governments, and that was that our Consuls abroad ought to aim at promoting the interest of British commercial firms. I know it is said that in the East and elsewhere the Consuls of other nations take a very ardent and personal part in pushing the interests of the firms belonging to their respective countries, and it is said our Consuls ought to take a similar attitude with regard to our own traders. I am not at all sure of the wisdom or the validity of this contention. I admit that at certain Courts where foreign and commercial policy are inseparably entwined, it may be well for our representatives to put forward the claim of our commerce as a national whole, but I am very doubtful as to the expediency of their making representations on behalf of particular firms. If our consular or diplomatic agents were instructed to take such a course as that, they would be placed in

#### A VERY INVIDIOUS POSITION.

Suppose three firms competing in the same trade all ask the Consul to use his particular influence on their behalf. His position would at once become impossible; and you must remember besides that it is very difficult for the Consul under such circumstances, when he is serving the interests of a particular firm, not to be liable to charges, which I trust would be unfounded, of some commercial interest of his own being forwarded by the firm in question. I think you would find it very difficult when you come to practice to maintain our Consuls and diplomatic agents in that high, independent, and unsullied position which they possess if you once give them instructions to push the interests of a particular firm or trade. But there are larger questions of foreign policy to which I wish the attention of Chambers of Commerce could be more particularly directed. A great change has come over the whole of our foreign policy during the last twenty years. I think you will see a greater change in the next twenty years. Our foreign policy has become more of a Colonial policy, and is becoming every day more

#### ENTWINED WITH OUR COLONIAL INTERESTS.

Formerly our foreign policy was mainly an Indian policy; it was mainly guided by considerations of what was best for our Indian Empire. That brought us into many complications which we might otherwise have avoided, but which we felt were rightly faced to save so

splendid a possession; but now, owing to causes which I will point out to you, Colonial influences must necessarily overshadow our foreign policy. In the first place, our Colonial communities are rising to a pitch of power which makes it natural for us to listen to them whenever they make representations on their own behalf—and they do make constant representations on their own behalf. In the next place, we find that the other Powers are beginning a career of Colonial aggrandisement. We formerly did not have in our foreign affairs to trouble ourselves much with Colonial questions, because we had a monopoly of Colonies. That monopoly has ceased; but consider for a moment, as matters stand now, how largely

#### OUR FOREIGN POLICY IS A COLONIAL POLICY.

Why, our principal question of foreign policy at this moment may be said to be the fisheries dispute between Canada and the United States. It is difficult for some of us—it is difficult, at any rate, for myself—to consider the United States as a foreign Power, but the United States in these Colonial questions has interests totally different from ours or those of Canada, and in dealing with Canadian questions it is clear that the voice of Canada must sound loud in the councils of the Foreign Office. (Cheers.) If you look a little further you find a constant source of irritation in Newfoundland in regard to the fisheries question, which rendered it impossible to ratify a convention made on the subject with France. That again shows the extent to which Colonial policy has become foreign policy. When you look at Africa you find a similar change. If you look at some of the maps that are published you will see the whole Continent portioned out among the various Powers, which means that instead of your policy being an insular foreign policy, you are now a Power with boundaries adjoining those of three or four European States on the continent of Africa. We pass now to Asia, we pass to Thibet. You have alluded to the question of trade with Thibet. I confess I am in favour of a pacific solution of that question, of the extension of commerce, by carrying it forward peacefully and not by force of arms. But in Asia, again, we do not find ourselves free from this Colonial trouble. France has got a great territory there. We are adjacent to French territory in Asia, which again makes us almost a coterminous Power with France where we used not to be. Pass on to Australia. In the Pacific you have two spheres of influence, of England and Germany, as accurately marked out as the division between Yorkshire and Lancashire. You are

#### A COTERMINOUS POWER WITH GERMANY IN THE PACIFIC.

In questions relating to the Pacific, the voice of your Colonial community in Australia must be loudly heard, the voice of Australia must be almost paramount in the councils of the Foreign Office with regard to these questions. Take another instance of what I mean. The two questions which we had to regulate with Germany, in 1886 at any rate, were questions relating to Zanzibar and Samoa, questions relating to the Colonial development of Germany and quite outside ordinary European diplomacy. When you come to approach almost every foreign question at this moment you find the Colonial interest inseparable, and in future your Colonial policy must be a preponderating factor in your foreign policy as well. Just think what a wide interval separates the foreign policy I have endeavoured to describe from the Congress of Vienna when we were engaged as our sole concern in apportioning the map of Europe. Well, that leads me to another point of our policy, one on which I think Chambers of Commerce should assist in forming public opinion. I have said that foreign policy in the future will be very largely concerned, and is very largely concerned, with questions of Colonial policy, but that raises the question of whether you wish to have a Colonial policy at all. There was at one time in this country a demand to be free from the responsibility of a Colonial empire.

#### A QUESTION THAT MUST BE FACED.

Well, I think that demand has ceased (cheers), but the people of this country will, at a not too distant time, have to make up their minds what footing they wish their Colonies to occupy with respect to them or whether they desire their Colonies to leave them altogether. It is, as I believe, absolutely impossible for you to maintain in the long run your present loose and indefinable relations to your Colonies, and preserve these Colonies as parts of the Empire. That is a question as to which Chambers of Commerce ought to be able to make up their minds definitely, because, in the first place, it is a commercial question.

#### GO IN PEACE.

I do not believe that if our Colonies left us in that amicable spirit in which it is said they might leave us—I do not believe that if they left us, in however an amicable a spirit, you would find them as good customers as they are now. We have an opportunity of comparing what are our relations with a Colony that has left us and with the Colonies that remain to us—when I speak of a Colony that has left us I mean, of course, the United States. The United States have taken from us during the last ten years an average of £24,350,000 of home produce.

#### BUT NEVER MORE BE CUSTOMER OF MINE.

Their population is nearly 60,000,000, and, therefore, they have taken of our home produce at the rate of about 8s. per head. Now



Canada, which, as you know, is coterminous with the United States, and which remains to us, has taken from us on an average £7,300,000 during the past ten years. Take their population at 5,000,000, and that gives nearly 30s. per head, or nearly four times what the United States take from us. Well but, gentlemen, you may say that the United States have a more hostile tariff against us than Canada has; but, if you think for a moment, you will remember that if Canada were to leave us she would be pretty certain to adopt the tariff of the United States, and we should not be materially benefited by that proceeding. But let us consider the case of Australia. Australia takes from us on an average 24¼ millions, or about the same as the whole of the United States, though its population is only about 3¼ millions, or at the rate of £7 a head, being more than seventeen times more than the United States with its population of 60 millions. (Cheers.) Now, gentlemen, I wish to say that, on that ground of commercial interest alone, the question is worthy of the consideration of our great commercial communities. (Hear, hear.)

#### LET US NOT SLIP THE OCCASION.

And that consideration should be prompt, for this reason—the question of the retention of our Colonies may be sprung upon us at any moment by some unforeseen incident. I think I know enough of public opinion in this country to know that it matures slowly, and I believe the Chambers of Commerce in this country would be performing a useful task if they made up their minds to mature public opinion on this question. They might come to a conclusion different from that at which I have arrived; but, at any rate, whatever it is, it is well that the Chambers of Commerce of this country should know what their mind is and should make that mind known. (Cheers.) You must remember what it involves. It is not merely the commercial interest involved; it is a narrowing down of this country to its European possessions. Do not flatter yourselves that if Canada and Australia were to leave you, you would retain your smaller Colonies. The West Indies would go with Canada; Australia would take in Australasia. As to the Cape, I think you might make up your mind for the secession of the Cape under circumstances such as those. Well, if you wish to remain

#### ALONE IN THE WORLD WITH IRELAND

you can do so. (Laughter.) But you cannot obtain the great boon of a peaceful Empire, encircling the globe with a bond of commercial unity and peace, without some sacrifice on your part. No great benefit—no such benefit as that can be obtained without a sacrifice. You will have, as I think, to admit the Colonies to a much larger share in your affairs than you do at present. You will have to give them a right to prompt the voice of England when it speaks abroad to a much greater extent than at present. (Hear, hear.) You must be prepared for demands, sometimes unreasonable, such as spoiled children make. You must be prepared in some respects to diminish your own insular freedom of action on behalf of your giant offspring abroad. But to my mind

#### THE SACRIFICE IS WORTH IT.

The cause which we call Imperial Federation, for want of a better name, is worthy not merely of the attention of Chambers of Commerce, but of the devotion of the individual lives of the people of this country. For my part, if you will forgive me this little bit of egotism, I can say from the bottom of my heart that it is the dominant passion of my public life. (Cheers.) Ever since I traversed those great regions which own the sway of the British Crown outside these islands, I have felt that it was a cause which merited all the enthusiasm and energy that man could give to it. (Cheers.) It is a cause for which any one might be content to live; it is a cause for which, if needs be, any one might be content to die. (Loud cheers.)

It is not surprising that the feeling with which recent Congressional proceedings have been regarded is a feeling neither of respect nor of admiration. In the treatment of the two chief topics of debate, the Canadian and Chinese questions, the object has been to gain what is called the Irish vote. A poorer object and a more humiliating pursuit of it could not well be suggested. The American name and the character of Congress are both disgraced, for instance, by such talk as that which preceded the passage of the Retaliation Bill in the House. Mr. McAdoo, of New Jersey, said "that England's modern ironclads would be as impotent in our harbours as were tubs armed with fire-crackers. He warned Salisbury that the first British gun fired against New York or Boston would assure the destruction of the British Empire." This is poor stuff. The President negotiated a treaty for the reasonable settlement of the Canadian difficulty, which he still thinks to have been a just and honourable settlement. The Senate refused to ratify it, and demanded Retaliation. The President instantly adopted the demand with vigour, and proposed virtual non-intercourse. The English press protested, and immediately the President's party representatives break out in this absurd strain to show that they are more effective tail-twisters of the British lion than the Republicans, and all to win a vote which is supposed to be determined in an American election by hatred of England. This foolish swagger in the House contrasts most discreditably with the temperate and decent remarks of Lord Stanley, Governor-General of Canada.—*Harper's Weekly*.

## LEAGUE MEETING IN GLASGOW.

### ADDRESS BY LORD BRASSEY.

UNDER the auspices of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Branch of the Imperial Federation League, Lord Brassey delivered an address on the subject of Imperial Federation in the Merchants' Hall, Glasgow, on the afternoon of Wednesday, October 24. There was a large attendance, and the room was crowded. Amongst those who accompanied Lord Brassey to the platform or were present in the body of the hall were Lord Provost Sir James King, Lord Rosebery, Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G.; Sir J. Gibson Maitland, Sir Hugh Montgomery, Sir Charles Tennant, Sir James Bain, Mr. A. D. Provand, M.P.; Mr. James Hozier, M.P.; Professor Ramsay, Professor Gairdner, Mr. Campbell Colquhoun of Killermont, Dr. Marshall Lang, Colonel Harrington Stewart, Mr. C. Bine Renshaw, Mr. John Muir, Mr. Peter Denny, Mr. Stand Harvey, Mr. Stewart Clark, Mr. J. B. Fleming, Mr. Rae Arthur, Mr. W. M'Ewen, Mr. D. M. Gray, Rangoon; Mr. A. H. Loring, London; Mr. G. R. Parkin, New Brunswick; Mr. J. Stuart Lang, hon. secretary, &c. Letters of apology for absence were received from the Marquis of Lorne, the Earl of Glasgow, chairman of the branch; Sir Archibald Campbell, M.P.; Sir Edward Colebrook, Sir Charles Dalrymple, M.P.; Sir Archibald Orr Ewing, M.P.; Mr. G. R. Vernon, M.P.; Mr. Baird, M.P.; Mr. Cameron Corbett, M.P.; Colonel J. W. Malcolm of Poltalloch, M.P.; Mr. Craig Sellar, M.P.; Sir Michael Shaw Stewart, Sir Wyndham Anstruther, Sir Robert Jardine, Sir James Buchanan, Sir William Thomson, Colonel Bouvier Campbell, Mr. David Guthrie, Dr. A. B. McGrigor, Colonel Buchanan of Drumpellier, Mr. Wm. Auchincloss Arrol, and Mr. James Campbell of Tullichewan.

LORD LORNE wrote as follows:—

"The question is how to span over the comparatively brief time between to-day and the years when the two greatest Colonies will be as powerful as is Britain to-day, so that this period may be used to keep in the closest alliance with us States which are independent now in all but in name. Their present comparative weakness, together with their pride in being of us, keep them within the political ring fence of the British Empire. Circumstances are yearly contributing to make their own national life the dominant ambition. They have the political organisation of distinct nations. Wherever such a system exists, time is only needed to compel independent motion. They will soon become strong enough to assert their individuality in foreign as well as in domestic affairs. How can we keep them the close friends they are now? . . . To those who have suffered from British carelessness in Colonial matters, it is an augury of good that such a league of union as that formed by the Imperial Federalists should exist. I remember speaking in 1881 to a most distinguished Liberal statesman who had himself, many years before, served as Colonial Secretary, and he asked me, to my astonishment, if Canada had yet reached the number of two million in population, and this at a time when her people were nearer five than four million! This question from such a source brought home to me the little weight in Imperial counsels and thoughts occupied by Canada. . . . You give an earnest that you will look at circumstances not only with eyes fog-bound on this tight little island, but that you will allow your vision to be illumined with the brightness of Australian and Canadian sunlight. We must all be grateful to Mr. Stanhope for suggesting, and to Lord Knutsford for conducting, the Colonial Conference. More was done by that step in six weeks than had been done before in sixty years. We may hope that the Liberal party will confirm in future the good impression thus made. Your meeting is irrespective of party. May Imperial Federation be the hope of all, the hack of none!—I remain, yours faithfully, (Signed) "LORNE."

LORD PROVOST SIR JAMES KING moved that Lord Rosebery take the chair. (Applause.) His Lordship never came to Glasgow without receiving a hearty welcome, but he was sure that they were especially glad to see him in connection with a subject which had brought them together that afternoon, and in which men of all shades of politics could gladly combine. (Applause.)

LORD ROSEBERY, who was received with applause, said: My Lord Provost and Gentlemen,—You have not come here to listen to me to-day, and my duty is a very simple one—it is that of introducing Lord Brassey to a Glasgow audience on this subject. Now, in regard to that, I would only say one thing. We are perpetually told that Imperial Federation is a noble dream, but nothing more, and that it must be put in some concrete form before it can recommend itself to men of business. Now, Lord Brassey is no dreamer of dreams; he is not a visionary philosopher, he is not a random rhetorician; he is a man of business, and, what is more than a man of business, is this—he is probably the greatest amateur traveller in the world at this moment. (Applause.) Lord Brassey has travelled through the British Empire, not in the simple broad manner in which some of us have to perform that task through want of time, but he has, so to speak, looked into every chink and crevice of the British Empire, into every part of it, and this man of business comes back to you, and will tell you that he is convinced that Imperial Federation is a necessity for this Empire, and a necessity of the near future. (Applause.) Now that is all I want to emphasise to you, gentlemen, in introducing Lord Brassey to you, and I will now ask him to address you. (Applause.)

LORD BRASSEY, who was cordially received on rising, said—I appreciate very highly the honour of being invited to address you in Glasgow in the short interval which men of business can allow themselves for the consideration of public affairs in the middle of a busy day. Appearing before you as one of the treasurers of the Imperial Federation League, I have a subject of considerable importance to lay before you. The subject may not be ripe for legislation, but it is certainly ripe for that discussion and consideration which under a popular Government must precede legislation. Well, gentlemen, what is the object of the



Imperial Federation League? The object is to keep together that noble empire which Scotsmen have done so much to build up and to maintain. (Applause.) What is the foundation upon which the maintenance of the Union must rest? It is upon the natural and mutual affection of the Mother Country and the Colonies. The first aim of the Imperial Federation League was to cultivate that sentiment of mutual affection. It is with great satisfaction that we note the many indications, both at home and in the Colonies, of the growth of that sentiment. It is striking its roots day by day more deeply and extending itself more widely. At home we have recently had the Colonial Exhibition and the occasions which it afforded for the interchange of many kindnesses. More recently we have had that successful Colonial Conference—the first, but certainly not the last, of the deliberations which must in the course of time lead up to the establishment of a great standing Council of Advice in relation to the external affairs of the Empire. (Applause.) If we turn to the Colonies, we have had offers of help from them—from every one of these Colonies—in our day of trial. (Applause.) We had a contingent from Sydney actually serving side by side with our troops in the Soudan. I have recently had an opportunity of personally gauging the popular feeling in the Colonies towards the Mother Country. I was in Australasia at the time when the Jubilee of our most gracious Sovereign was being celebrated. I saw at Melbourne a Colonial army of 3,000 men march past to the tune of "The Old Folks at Home." Again and again, on every public occasion, I heard "God save the Queen" sung by young and by old with a depth of feeling which gave it a real political significance. (Applause.) To the Colonists the Sovereign is the personal emblem of that Imperial unity for which they feel a patriotic devotion, and which they are determined to preserve and to maintain. Quite recently the Colonies have had the opportunity of expressing their devotion to Imperial union in a practical form. At the Colonial Conference they were invited, and they agreed, to provide the means for building and maintaining a special squadron for service in Australasian waters. In consenting to the proposal which was made they gave an earnest of their willingness to submit to taxation in the cause of Imperial defence. In several of the Colonial Parliaments the Australasian Navy Bill was passed by acclamation in a single sitting. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, let us proceed very briefly to review the advantages which Imperial union affords to every member of the Empire. Within the compass of a single generation we have seen the map of Europe reconstructed.

#### DYNASTIES HAVE SUCCEMBED TO NATIONALITIES.

Germans, Slavs, Greeks, and Italians are coming together. If we mean to retain the high place which we have hitherto held among the nations, we Britons must stand shoulder to shoulder as members of one nationality. (Loud applause.) Well, gentlemen, union in one Empire is a source of strength to the Colonies, not less than to ourselves. As independent States their representations at Berlin or in Paris might pass unheeded; as members of a united Empire they command attention, and our diplomacy on behalf of the Colonies will become more and more effective as it is seen that we mean to stand together, to regard the interests of the Colonies as our interests—(applause)—and the concerns of the Colonies as our concerns. Let us look at the question in relation to naval defence. As members of the united British Empire, the Colonies receive the protection of a great navy at the least possible cost, and with an efficiency not attainable in a small service; and while the Imperial connection is helpful to the Colonies, it gives a most valuable addition to the maritime resources of the whole Empire. The mercantile marine of Canada ranks fourth among the merchant navies of the globe; and the maritime population of Canada, owing to the great development of the fisheries, is numerous out of all proportion even to the great tonnage of the shipping which Canada possesses. No country in the world presents such an available field for the recruiting of a naval reserve as Canada. (Applause.) In Australia the development of the merchant shipping is less considerable, but the appropriation of public money is exceedingly liberal for purposes of naval defence. In relation to military strength, by preserving the unity of the Empire we receive valuable reinforcements—in fact, the same principle applies to military matters as to naval. We provide the standing army, the Colonies provide the great force in reserve. The census taken in 1881 shows that the male population of Canada of military age numbered 450,000, and I believe I am correct in saying that one-fifth of that great force of men are trained to arms. (Applause.) The Australian Colonies have a force of militia, including a large number of most efficient cavalry, which may be numbered by thousands, and New Zealand has a force of 10,000 Volunteers. Looking to the geographical position on the flank of India, it is evident that in a not far distant future we may rely on exceedingly valuable co-operation from Australia for the defence of our Indian Empire. Viewing the Colonies as customers for British goods, it is evident that an Imperial connection is well worth preserving. (Applause.) The Colonies take from us 35 per cent. of the total value of our exports, and the commercial figures given by Sir Henry Holland at the opening of the Colonial Conference show that even within the limits of Her Majesty's happy reign the exports from the North American Colonies have increased twenty-fold, and those from the Australasian Colonies more than fifty-fold. The trade of the Colonies has shown growth and elasticity at a time when our trade with every other quarter of the globe was stationary or diminishing. (Applause.) It has been our policy to give to the Colonies

#### PERFECT FREEDOM IN REGARD TO FISCAL LEGISLATION.

The Colonies are for the most part Protectionist, and strongly Protectionist; but they have treated the Mother Country on the footing of the most favoured nation. (Applause.) The value of that position is sufficiently attested by a comparison of our export trade with North America north and south of the Canadian frontier. The figures, with which I will not trouble you, were given in an exceedingly expressive form in a recent speech delivered by Lord Rosebery. Now, gentlemen, it is difficult to see how the interests of any Colony can be

promoted by severance from the Mother Country, and by union with some other State which will treat the Colonies with less liberality than has been shown by Great Britain. In Canada, proposals have been made for a Commercial Union with the United States. Let us trace the probable consequences of the adoption of such a policy. They have been indicated in very clear shape by the veteran Premier of Canada, Sir John Macdonald. (Applause.) A Commercial Union with the United States implies, as Sir John Macdonald has pointed out, a hostile tariff to Great Britain. (Hear, hear.) If Canada adopts a hostile tariff—an exceptionally hostile tariff—they can scarcely look to us any longer for protection. Hence it follows that the Commercial Union with the United States will lead to political severance from Great Britain, and political severance from Great Britain implied, by a short step, annexation to the United States. Annexation to the United States will subject Canada to the conditions of the fiscal legislation accepted at Washington—conditions laid down in the interests of Pennsylvania ironmasters and the New England manufacturers; conditions which must be fatal, must bring ruin on the rising industries of Canada. All this has been pointed out very forcibly by Sir John Macdonald. I have no doubt that it led, and is now leading, the great majority in Canada to the conclusion that Commercial Union with the United States would not promote Canadian interests. Well, gentlemen, I pass from trade and commerce to look at Imperial Federation under what I may call its financial aspect, and so regarding it I cannot see that the Colonies would be benefited by severing the Imperial Federation. At the present time they are large borrowers, and they borrow exclusively in this country for the purpose of developing their great natural resources. It is certain that those loans would not be effected on the easy terms which are now granted if the Colonies came to our Stock Exchanges as

#### SMALL INDEPENDENT STATES.

Well, unity of the Empire gives us yet another great advantage. It enlists in the common cause the eminent abilities of the statesmen who have been reared up in the self-governing Colonies of the Crown. (Hear, hear.) During the proceedings of the Colonial Conference the abilities of the Colonial representatives were signally displayed, and were most generously recognised in this country. Unity of the Empire, once more, seems to me worth preserving, not alone for the Imperial advantages which it brings. Citizenship of the united British Empire has an ennobling influence. It makes us all feel that we share in whatever makes the Empire great—in its commerce, in its power, in its literature, in its history, in all that we have done, and in all that we hope to do, as a bulwark of freedom. (Hear, hear.) "The passionate desire to preserve the union of the Empire," as it was very eloquently stated by Dr. Butler, the Master of Trinity, at the great banquet in London, "the passionate desire to maintain the union of the Empire is a sentiment which the cynic may deride, but it is a force which every statesman will think it his duty to use." I have urged, I am sure, at quite sufficient length the advantages which we may derive from maintaining the union of the Empire. Now, it is my duty to make the frank admission that there is a party—not considerable in numbers, not considerable in influence, but there is a party in the Colonies who advocate the severance of the connection which now binds them to the Mother Country. These men think that as independent States they will be better able to follow the path of peaceful progress upon which they have entered. They think that they will be more free from the risks of quarrels for the support of dynasties or for the adjustment of boundaries in parts of the world in which they have no interest. I think, gentlemen, that the course which has been followed by the Foreign Ministers of successive Governments in this country for some years past should tend to reassure that party in the Colonies which is in favour of separation. The objects which are now chiefly held in view in the external policy of this country are the protection of India from external foes and the maintenance in security of our communications with our Colonies. Well, surely, gentlemen, those are objects which are of common interest to the Colonies, no less than to the people of this country. I say that already the influence of the Colonies is a guiding force in the external policy of this country, but in due time we shall, I am confident, come to something more than a mere tacit understanding; and the Imperial Federation League is

#### NOT WITHOUT A POLICY

in contemplation of the changes which certainly must sooner or later come. That policy was indicated by Lord Rosebery in his speech at Leeds. The aim of the Imperial Federation League is to prepare the public opinion of this country for the admission of the Colonies to a larger share in the direction of the external policy of the united Empire. (Applause.) The first step to Imperial Federation is Colonial Federation. Colonial Federation has been effected in Canada; and I am confident that the day is not far distant when we shall have Federation in Australia. In the interval which must yet elapse before a scheme of Imperial Federation is matured, the Colonies will be rapidly growing in population, in wealth, and in culture. (Hear, hear.) With that growth we must be prepared for a demand for a larger share of influence in common concerns; and I, for my part, most entirely concur with the view expressed by Lord Rosebery when he said that he held that it would be wisdom on our part to make some sacrifice of our insular freedom for the sake of our giant offspring abroad. Gentlemen, I hope I have given you sufficient reasons for the existence of the Imperial Federation League. It was first formed under the late Mr. Forster—(applause)—a name never to be mentioned without regard and veneration; and under another statesman of great power and promise—(hear, hear)—we are pursuing the same high aims. In my opening words I introduced myself to you as one of the treasurers of the Imperial Federation League. Speaking, in conclusion, as an old yachtsman and a man of many voyages, I will venture to express the hope that I may sometimes be able to carry to the Colonies the assurance of the regard in which they are held at home—(applause)—and to bring back from the Colonies expressions of mutual affection. If I can succeed in this, the most cherished aim of my life, I shall feel



that I have been giving to my country the highest service which it is in my power to render. (Loud applause.)

SIR FREDERICK YOUNG proposed, as a Scotchman, a hearty vote of thanks to Lord Brassey. Lord Brassey had shown very conclusive reasons why the connection of the Colonies with the Mother Country ought to be more clearly defined than it was at present. Lord Lorne had said, and he heartily agreed with his lordship, that they must go slow; but if they must go slow, he, at any rate, considered that they must not go too slow. (Applause.) In reading a recent speech by Lord Rosebery at Leeds a thrill went through him at the words that this was a cause which one might live for, and, if need be, a cause which one might die for. To that eloquent expression he would add that he thought it was a cause also worth working for energetically until it was accomplished, and that Imperial Federation might be but the wise, and sound, and abiding modern development of the ancient and glorious British Constitution. (Applause.)

LORD ROSEBERY called upon Mr. George R. Parkin, of New Brunswick, who, he said, would speak to them on the subject as a Canadian.

MR. PARKIN said he had great pleasure in seconding the motion of thanks to Lord Brassey. The speech they had just heard required no commendation, and he had no doubt Lord Brassey would agree with him in thinking that the best thing he could do was to present some additional thoughts in reference to the views that had just been set before them. In travelling through England he had heard doubts expressed with regard to the attitude of the Colonies as to the question of Federation, and also opinions expressed that the interests of the Colonies lay in separation. He denied the fact with regard to Canada and Australia, and he believed it was capable of demonstration that it was as much to the benefit of the Colonies as to the Mother Country to remain part of the Empire. (Applause.) Taking Australia, he affirmed that that country was as purely an European power as France, because of the existence of the Suez Canal. Through this already fifty or sixty millions sterling of Australian trade poured every year, and the volume must increase with the growth of the country. Australia was as deeply interested as the Mother Country in the continuance of British dominance for the preservation of that waterway, in order that she might safely retain possession of her Indian Empire, and continue to command the Indian Ocean and the Chinese seas, over which the great traffic of Australasia had to pass, and through which, for her future development, it was absolutely necessary that she should continue to have free passage. The Eastern Question, then, about which European politics revolve, meant as much for Australia as for European States. What position was Australia in to-day? Germany and France were beside her, and they knew not what might happen. Had not France sent an army to Mexico, the very last place in the world they would have thought she would have gone to? Had she not gone to Tonquin and Algiers; and would it not be possible for Germany to pick a quarrel, as she was anxious to colonise? If England did not want her Colonies, there were plenty of countries besides Germany who would be willing to take these Colonies up. With these two Great Powers of Germany and France by her side, Australia could not afford to break the connection with a great naval Power, because it was impossible for her to be isolated. As to Canada, he constantly heard doubts expressed in this country with regard to the attitude of Canada. What reasons had Canada given for these doubts? Canada was founded in an outburst of loyalty—after the American revolution—to British interests. Thousands and tens of thousands would not join the new Republic, because they believed the British institutions were the best. Through a hundred years of her history this loyalty remained unchanged, in spite of the marvellous prosperity of their American neighbours, and, he might add, in spite of the fact that one of the cleverest men that England had ever produced had passed his time in arguing the Canadians into the belief that their loyalty was not worth retaining. (Laughter.) What had Mr. Bright said? He stated that the sooner Canada got away from us the better. But against that they had the words of the hard-headed Scotsman who holds his hand upon the pulse of Canadian feeling, and he had said that just wait until the Canadians knew that Commercial Union meant political union, and they would have nothing to do with it. They do not want it at all, though they would, of course, like trade on favourable terms.

#### THEY DID NOT WANT UNION WITH THE UNITED STATES,

because they believed more in their own institutions than those of the United States. What did they see at this moment in America? All nationalities were pouring in upon them, and the utmost anxiety prevailed amongst the leading men as to whether they were going to be able to manage the great difficulties that were coming upon them. What was it that gave strength to a nation? It was manhood; and the manhood which grew up in Australia, Canada, and the other Colonies was the thing to keep their country safe. They were a great race of traders, and you here in England, what do you, and what did they, want? It was safe trade, quite as much or more than fair trade. We hold all the waterways, the great naval stations, the great coaling-stations, and if we had the courage to face the destiny which God had given them, it was in their power to weld together and unite such an Empire that they could continue to hold the waterways unchallenged; they could make the channels of trade, and keep control between the countries which would make up that great Empire. (Applause.) A hard-headed Scotsman was managing the affairs of Canada just now, and they might therefore be sure that things would be pretty level and straight. (Laughter.) Let those at home look out for themselves, and they might trust Canadians to look after their share of Imperial affairs. (Laughter and applause.) Another hard-headed Scotsman (Sandford Fleming) was trying to form a cable connection down to Australia; and so with the cable from Britain to Canada, from Canada across the Pacific to Australia, and from Australia by India and South Africa back to Britain, they would be able by a touch of the electric wire to throw a string of nations into arms, if necessary in five minutes, to protect the commerce that the Anglo-Saxon nations of the world were going to

build up along these waterways. (Applause.) He felt much honoured in being asked as a Canadian to move the vote of thanks to Lord Brassey.

#### A BYE-WORD FOR IMPOTENCE.

SUCH was the language in which, a short time back, the *Sydney Bulletin* described Great Britain; and such, or something like it, is the language that from time to time some of us here at home are almost tempted to use ourselves. Perhaps, therefore, we shall be none the worse for being reminded that there are outside observers who still think that the lion is not yet so moribund that it is safe to kick him. Below we give two extracts that have lately reached us from widely different and distant sources:—

Let us not delude ourselves with fictitious greatness. There is another country at whose greatness we may well pause for contemplation. Its area exceeds eight and a half million square miles. The basis of its power is not land, but water. Its greatness is maritime, and its coast-line is 28,500 miles long. It lies on both sides of the equator, but its boundaries touch the extremes of heat and cold. Its uncultivated area, which can be made to feed unborn millions without the help of the United States, covers millions of square miles. It contains 100,000 square miles of forest, which are being jealously preserved, while ours are being ruthlessly sacrificed. Its population amounts to 345,000,000 souls, including pretty nearly all the races known to man. Its revenue for Government amounts to more than a thousand million dollars annually, only one-fourth of which is levied in direct taxation. It has nearly a million men under arms. It has one policeman for every sixty square miles of its entire area. Its 246 war-vessels are all in commission, not rotting in harbours. Its merchant navy consists of 30,000 ships, manned by 170,000 sailors. Its seagoing tonnage amounts to eight and a half millions. It surpasses in steamers all other powers on the globe, and nearly equals their combined total in sailing-vessels. Forty-nine per cent. of the carrying power of the world is under that flag. More than half the ship earnings from freight and passengers belong to it. Two-thirds of the tonnage annually built belong to it. The banks of that Empire transact one-third the business of the entire world. Its manufacturers comprise one-third those of all Europe. It uses 30 per cent. of the horse-power of the world. Its enormous debt, which it uses as the most profitable investment of its own earnings, amounts to only 9 per cent. of its wealth. It is the wealthiest State in the world, and its wealth has been made by exports. Its name is Great Britain.—*Chicago Herald.*

L'Angleterre n'est pas une alliée pour nous, messieurs, il faut vivre en bonne intelligence avec elle, mais ne rien dépenser pour attirer ses bonnes grâces. . . . Je veux seulement vous mettre en garde contre une erreur qui est fréquemment commise à son endroit; vous entendez dire souvent que l'Angleterre est au bout de son rouleau, que sa puissance décline, que c'est une nation qui tombe; cela se répétait déjà il y a cent ans et Mirabeau s'en moquait du haut de la tribune, lui qui voyait clair dans les destinées britanniques. L'Angleterre est une balle élastique, et quand vous la voyez tomber, préparez-vous à la voir rebondir; de son sac de voyageuse elle tire une quantité de choses imprévues et elle a des remèdes pour tous les maux; il faut nous en méfier. Si elle arrive notamment à exécuter un projet qui là-bas prend de la consistance, sa puissance sera plus grande que jamais; il s'agit d'une Fédération Impériale dans laquelle toutes les Colonies entreraient au même titre que l'Ecosse, l'Irlande, le Pays de Galles et l'Angleterre proprement dite; la fameuse Chambre des Lords céderait la place à un Parlement composé des délégués de tous ces Etats. . . . cela c'est la forme; le fonds du projet, c'est une union douanière et militaire formidable; ce plan d'un empire éparpillé dans le monde n'est réalisable qu'avec les inventions merveilleuses de la science moderne; nous le verrons peut-être réaliser et ce sera tant pis pour nous; mais ce qu'il faut bien nous dire, c'est qu'au cas où il échouerait, les Anglais ne seraient pas longs à trouver autre chose; c'est le propre des gens qui travaillent beaucoup.—*Extracted from a lecture on France and Europe, by M. Pierre de Coubertin.*

THE peril for us (French Canadians) is less in the aggression of the central power than in the too heavy expenditures of the provincial Governments. It is to be feared that the people, alarmed at the increase of the provincial budgets, may seek to simplify our system of Government, and perhaps look for that simplification in legislative union.—*Mr. A. D. Descelles in "Le Canada Français."*

My general conception of the British policy on that subject is this. Judging from the manner in which she has been acting towards Canada recently, I think she regards her as the chief of her Colonial possessions, and that the value which attaches to the Dominion is more particularly in connection with her commerce with Australia, India, and Hong Kong. I think Canadian feeling is growing every day in favour of annexation with the United States. No people of our blood and race and our habits of thought upon all the questions of personal liberty that have been so long existing in the Anglo-Saxon family can live in close proximity to a Government like ours, as Canada does, for any considerable length of time, without imbibing all the affection for our institutions that we possess. Our institutions are charming to everybody. The Canadians are very much in love with our institutions. Of course, they can see the material advantages in our form of Government, and in our system of administration. The contrast is very palpable. The constant drift is all in our direction. The natural tendency of the Anglo-Saxon mind, united with the great military controlling power we certainly have, will make Canada our property whenever we want to take it. We don't want to do this; but if ever it became necessary, Canada would be just as easy for us to harvest as it is for the farmer to run his sickle into the wheat-field and cut down the stalks. There is no question about it.—*Senator Morgan.*



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# Imperial Federation.

NOVEMBER 1, 1888.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

*Grip*, the Dominion *Punch*, has hit off very successfully the almost universal Canadian opinion of the recent behaviour of the United States authorities. It published recently a cartoon representing an extremely stout PRESIDENT CLEVELAND kicking a very emaciated SIR JOHN MACDONALD, and remarking, "Please don't suppose that I'm doing this to hurt your feelings, MR. CANADA; not at all. I'm only getting even with those sneaking Republican Senators."

OUR readers will be glad to learn precisely what the inhabitants of Victoria thought of the eloquent speech of PRINCIPAL GRANT that we report in another column. So we reproduce the comments of two of the leading Melbourne journals. Says the *Age*:—"We must warn PRINCIPAL GRANT against falling into the mistake of supposing that the plaudits of his audience last night when he waved the banner of Imperialism represent any widespread Australian sentiment." Says the *Daily Telegraph*:—"DR. GRANT thinks the Colonies have everything to gain by a continuance of their Imperial connection—prestige, prosperity, growth, and consideration amongst the nations. In that we believe him to be at one with most of the better thinkers in Australasia." PRINCIPAL GRANT addressed a second meeting in Sydney on September 13, at which the CHIEF JUSTICE SIR FREDERICK DARLEY occupied the chair, and SIR HENRY PARKES was also present. We shall hope to give a report next month.

A CORRESPONDENCE has "transpired" between MR. FROUDE and MR. W. W. CADELL, writing on behalf of the "British Union." The Union seeks to promote a commercial federation of the Empire by means of preferential customs duties, and MR. FROUDE, in "accepting with pride and pleasure" the post of vice-president, uses these words:—"I could put no faith in any scheme of political federation

as long as we gave no material inducements [to the Colonies] to make them wish the connection to continue. If there is any real hope for an internal commercial union, I shall regard the work as done, and it may not be too late to save Canada. It is as sure as the multiplication table that, if we do not offer Canada such a union, the Americans will, and the Canadian Dominion will be practically lost to us."

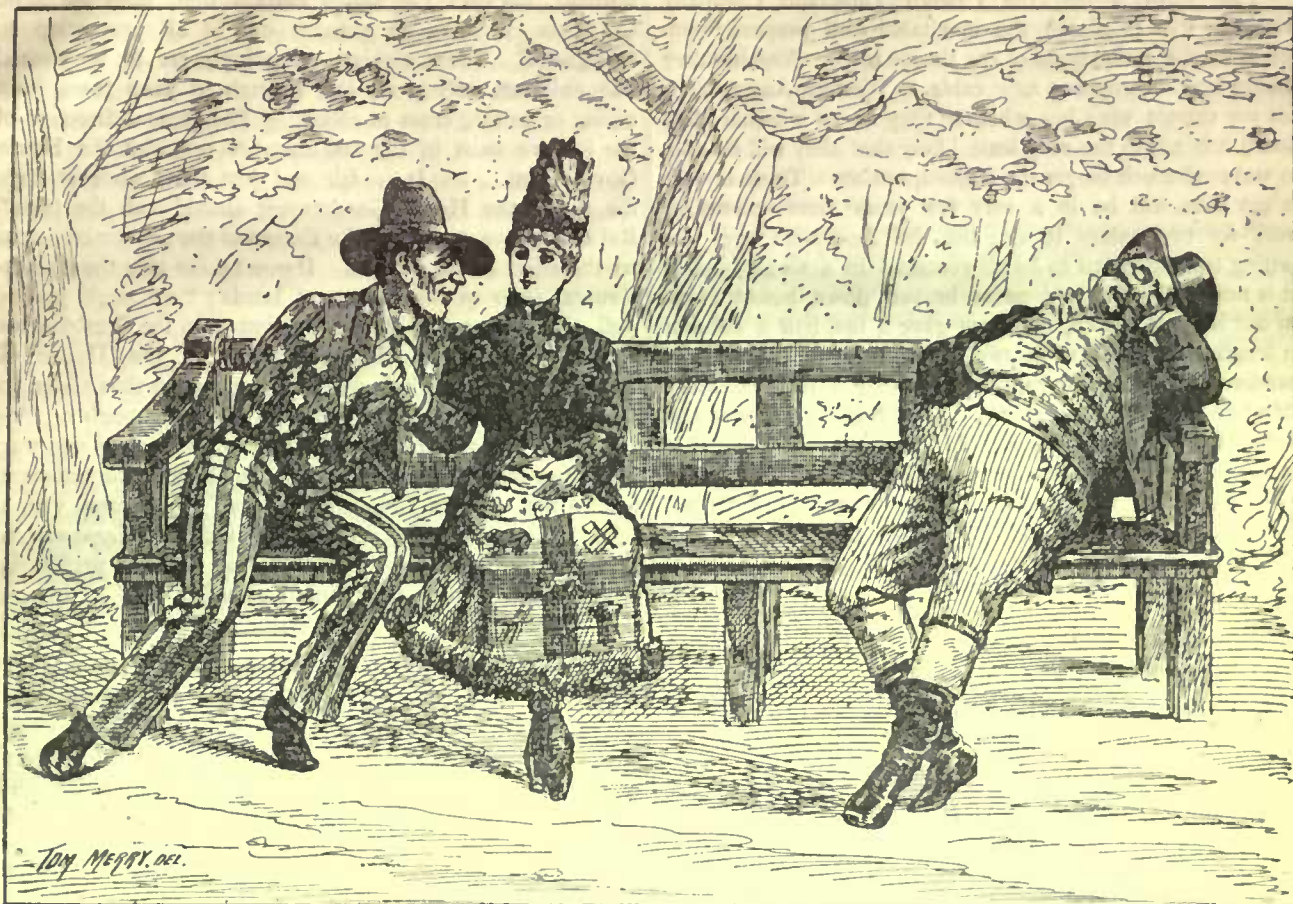
Now, we are very far from saying that a proposal by England that Britons all over the world should differentiate in favour of one another and against outside nations, would not be acceptable in most of the Colonies. In Canada, in particular, we believe it would be received with acclamation. But it is a libel on Canada—and a worse libel than usual at this present moment—to say that she will leave us unless we make it worth our while to stop. Few men have done more than MR. FROUDE to kindle enthusiasm for the great Empire that has been built up by "England's Forgotten Worthies." But MR. FROUDE has more than once failed to appreciate the drift of Colonial sentiment, and we assert without hesitation that he is once more mistaken here. But it had best be left to a Canadian to answer him. Here is what a Canadian journal writes in a leading article headed "Sentiment," but whose first line utters the words "Imperial Federation":—"Let us at once proclaim that the man who sneers at sentiment, and who is uninfluenced by it, is lower than the brutes that perish, who indeed are not devoid of it; and let us declare that, if the consideration of gain conflict with the pride and the love of country, the lower feeling must give place to the higher."

It would be as well sometimes if people would verify their facts before they drew conclusions from them. In the *European Mail* we read: "LORD HARTINGTON hesitates to take the first step towards Imperial Federation," and the *Mail* then goes on to quote from a recent speech at Inverness in which LORD HARTINGTON never once mentioned the Colonies, and, though he did use the words Empire and Imperial more than once, never apparently had them in his mind at all. His argument was that Home Rule for Ireland would imply Home Rule for Wales, Scotland, and England, and that therefore the present Imperial Parliament would cease to exist, and give place to a new federal assembly. With all of which of course we have nothing whatever to do. No one, we take it, doubts that the Colonies have got a pretty complete measure of Home Rule already. As for LORD HARTINGTON's own position, we are quite sure that he is too serious a statesman, and that he must recognise Imperial Federation as too serious a subject for him to deal with it by an *obiter dictum* interjected in the middle of a political speech.

WHILE we are about it, we should like to ask the *European Mail* another question. "A supreme effort is," we are told, "to be made to have the subject of Imperial Federation ventilated at an early period of the next session of Parliament." By whom, we should like to inquire, and why "supreme?" Last session the League, which has so far found no difficulty in making its voice heard, deprecated Parliamentary discussion as premature. Should it change its views in the immediate future, our President is not, that we are aware, suffering from *aphasia*, and hitherto he has found no supreme difficulty in inducing either the Lords to listen to him or the press to report him.

LAST month we suggested that the Imperial Government might do worse than make a bid for Alaska, and more than one of our contemporaries are, we observe, startled at the





## TRYING HER CONSTANCY;

OR,

A DANGEROUS FLIRTATION.\*

suggestion that JOHN BULL should dare to open his mouth in the neighbourhood of the sacred heights from which the American eagle is crowing—"screaming" would, we are aware, be the more technically correct word, but we hardly like to use it lest we should be supposed to intend a personal reflection on CONGRESSMAN McADOO, of New Jersey, and his fellows. But seriously, failing a purchase of the country outright, it is high time that the frontiers of Alaska were distinctly defined. Gold in considerable quantity has been found close to the border on what has hitherto been supposed to be American, but now appears to be British territory. Now miners are not as a rule the most self-restrained of mankind, and the force of police in Alaska at present is probably not overwhelmingly strong. In the existing state of public feeling in the two countries, to leave a boundary line running through a gold-field "altogether vague, indefinite, and liable to misconstruction," one moment longer than can possibly be avoided, would be an act so foolish as almost to deserve to be characterised as wicked.

THE project for a first-class line of steamers from Canada to England seems to hang fire somewhat. PRESIDENT CLEVELAND's recent action will no doubt help it forward, and a further lift should be given to it by a correspondence that has recently been published in the *Times*. That correspondence has demonstrated that the New York landing arrangements are bad, and that at Halifax they might be far better. Perhaps, also, it has shown that there is room both for the New York and the Halifax service side by side. No one can expect to see New York deprived of its prominence just yet, but year by year the relative importance both of Canada and of the American North-West is increasing,

year by year the number of immigrants for these parts, and the volume of exports from them bear a larger proportion to the total; and sooner or later these facts must be recognised, and the result will be a resolute attack upon the pre-eminence that New York has so long enjoyed. It behoves both Canadians and Englishmen to see that the rivalry with New York is waged by a line running not from Portland or Boston, but from Quebec or Halifax.

THE Pacific Cable prospects, on the other hand, look more and more hopeful month by month. A short time back SIR JOHN PENDER, at the general meeting of the Eastern Telegraph Company, prophesied to his shareholders smooth things. None of the Australian Colonies, except Queensland, were, he declared, "prepared to take action in anything that would be detrimental to the interests of the Company." He seems to have been somewhat premature in this expression of belief, as we learn from Australia that MR. GILLIES has invited the other Colonial Premiers to urge the Home Government to push on faster the Pacific survey. He desires to see the *Egeria* supplemented by other surveying vessels, and has assured ADMIRAL FAIRFAX that "most of the Australian Colonies are prepared to share in the cost of fitting out and maintaining any ships which may be sent." MR. SANDFORD FLEMING is reported from Canada as thoroughly satisfied with the prospects of the scheme that he has so long and so ably advocated. Meanwhile, as though to convince even SIR JOHN PENDER himself of the insufficiency of his single service, there has been a second break in the Eastern cables, and as we write comes news that the telegraphic communication with Australia and New Zealand is a third time interrupted.



THE truth is that the Eastern Telegraph Company would be wise to accept the inevitable and prepare themselves for the competition of the Pacific route. Whether they should lay the proposed new cable to Western Australia or not we cannot say; but whether they do or whether they don't, it is not in the very least likely that they will be able to stave off much longer the larger question. There is—or, in any case, will be in a very few years' time—plenty of work for two cables to do; but the Australian eggs are getting too numerous to be all ventured in a single basket. It is not as if cables had never broken down before 1888. In our issue of March, 1887, we gave a list, half a column in length, showing that in twelve years there had been a hundred different interruptions, causing a total of more than two hundred days' delay. And even this is not the worst, for he would be a bold man who asserted that submarine volcanoes in the neighbourhood of Java, and "black fellows" and kangaroos in the interior of Australia, were the only class of risks to which the Eastern Company's system would be exposed in the event of the outbreak of hostilities.

AFTER all there is one advantage even in broken cables—that "Our Own Correspondent," namely, has less opportunities for mischief. Here, for example, are two items of news purveyed by submarine cable for the readers of the *Tasmanian*:—"It is stated a rupture has occurred between SIR JOHN MACDONALD, the Canadian Premier, and his Cabinet." "It appears that LORD SALISBURY has enjoined upon Canada not to take any action without the sanction of Great Britain, and the Canadian Ministry all declined to resent dictation from the Imperial Government." Needless to say, the sportsman who flushed this precious couple of *arvards* had no evidence—could have had no evidence—in support of his assertions; and yet he does not hesitate to do what in him lies to make worse, rather than better, the terms on which a hundred millions of Anglo-Saxons have to live with one another throughout the world. While we are on the subject of Tasmania, we may add that the telegrams thence seem to be about as trustworthy as those sent thither. We learned by cable a month back that Tasmania was almost on the eve of annexation to Victoria. The fact seems to be that one meeting has been held. The Tasmanian papers say little about the subject; the Melbourne *Age* describes the agitation as dying out; the *Argus* adds that it has been "local and not generally, not particularly noisy, and not at all widespread."

THE final upshot of the Chinese agitation in Melbourne is undoubtedly satisfactory. The Victorian Supreme Court by a two-to-one majority has decided that the action of the Executive Government in excluding a Chinese subject from the Colony was illegal. That is, we think, well. But what is much better is that public, and press, and Government, all seem inclined to sit down quietly and accept the decision. The *Times* correspondent reports that there is already something of a reaction in favour of the Chinese. At least we may hope that Australian public men have received a lesson, that rising on the crest of a wave of popular excitement is all very well while it lasts, but that the wave may ebb even more rapidly than it swelled, and that, if it leaves a ministry stranded on a sand-bank, that ministry may end in a somewhat unheroic appeal to the bystanders to come and take them off.

THE *Liverpool Mercury* has a leading article—we cannot pretend to think it a happy one—on LORD ROSEBURY'S Leeds speech. The object of the writer is apparently not to federate the Empire, but to keep the Colonies in good

humour, because "it seems certain that, man for man, Colonists consume an amount out of all proportion to foreigners." The Colonists accordingly are to be treated like children, and given just enough to keep them from crying or getting cross or sulky. "The general direction of the Empire must in the last instance rest with the Home Government. . . . It is fair and just that, whoever pays the piper, the Home Government should call the tune." But though we can't give the Colonists the substance, let us try the effect of the shadow. It won't do to give the Agents-General seats in the House of Lords; "we might just as well give them a seat in Convocation or in the Presbyterian General Assembly." But we might try the House of Commons. "The whole number of members thus added to Parliament need not exceed ten in number probably. Assuming, therefore, even that they were all to vote one way on some grave domestic issue, they would hardly be sufficient to turn the scale in domestic politics." Compared with a scheme like this, we certainly agree with the *Economist* in preferring the *status quo*. Assuredly no bread is preferable to half a loaf of such a very inferior baking.

IN view of the approaching Edinburgh meeting, a meeting that will have taken place before these pages are in their reader's hands, the *Scotsman*, appropriately enough, has commenced the publication of a series of papers on the subject of Imperial Federation. They are headed "By a Radical Unionist." To our thinking, a heading, "By a United Presbyterian," or "By a Free Kirker," would have been equally appropriate. However, as the word Ireland is kept out of the article, and LORD ROSEBURY is described as an "ardent enthusiast and patriot," perhaps we ought not to be too particular, especially as we have every reason to be satisfied with the tone of what the author has written. We must, however, make one exception. He says: "It is sometimes complained that while we admit Colonial produce here free of duty, the Colonies levy duty upon our goods. This is perfectly true." We confess to being surprised to hear it. We had always fancied not only that England levied a pretty heavy tax upon Cape and Australian wines—to say nothing of Jamaica tobacco and Ceylon tea—but also that the duty upon Colonial wines was actually 150 per cent. heavier than upon those grown on the banks of the Gironde or the Rhine.

EVEN neglecting this, which is, we admit, only a small part of the Colonial export trade, unless the writer can show us either an instance in which we remit duties because the goods are Colonial, or one in which a Colony imposes them because the goods are British, he can hardly be said to produce much justification for the complaint, however true the facts may be upon which it is founded. The simple fact of course is that Great Britain, for purely selfish domestic reasons, taxes impartially all goods of certain classes, whatever be their place of origin, and that the different Colonies, also for purely selfish domestic reasons, tax equally impartially all goods imported into their territory. That most of the goods so imported are of English origin is undeniable. But while this may be our misfortune, it is certainly not the Colonist's fault.

IT was really rather hard upon the *New York Herald* that DR. GEFFCKEN and SIR MORELL MACKENZIE have prevented it from creating the sensation that it both desired and deserved, with its magnificently original "New Map of Europe." We need scarcely tell our readers that England is effaced not only from Europe but from the map of the other continents as well. But at the hands of a coalition of Germany, France, Russia, and Austria, we might be expected to fare



somewhat badly. Strange to say, Italy, in spite of its enthusiastic welcome of the German Emperor, is treated no better than this poor little island. There is one moral of the tale which the *New York Herald* fails to draw, and as the matter is pressing we must draw it for our contemporary. *L'appétit vient en mangeant*, and the eagles and the bears can hardly be expected to stop in the middle of their repast. Defenceless as England may be, the United States is many times more so, so the sooner our cousins set about fortifying New York, and constructing dynamite guns, the better.

THE author of "Greater Britain" has made public the fact that he has in contemplation the issue of that most interesting and valuable work in a revised form. He is leaving England this autumn for the Afghan frontier, and we trust that before his return he will manage to pay another visit both to Australia and to Canada. A report by so competent an observer of the changes that twenty years have wrought would be of the utmost value. If we mistake not, the growth of material prosperity will not be found to have outstripped the growth of the sentiment of the unity of "Greater Britain."

WE are always glad to chronicle improvements in the postal communication between the Mother Country and the Colonies. The postage for parcels to the Australian Colonies, Ceylon, and the Cape has recently been reduced, and a parcel post to the Falkland Islands has just been established. We would appeal, however, to the Post Office authorities whether it is not possible to secure something more like uniformity in the parcel-rates. At present their diversity, which must be terribly puzzling not only to the public but to the post-masters and post-mistresses of the smaller towns and villages, reminds one of our home arrangements in the pre-ROWLAND HILL days. Here are a few samples of the recent reductions: Cape Town, 1lb., 9d., each additional lb., 9d.; Australia, 2 lbs., 1s. 6d., each additional lb., 9d.; Hong-Kong, 1 lb., 10d., each additional lb., 6d.; Straits Settlements, 1lb., 9d., each additional lb., 6d. We are glad, too, to learn on the authority of a letter in the *Times* by MR. HENNIKER HEATON, that the rate of letter postage to Australia and the Cape is likely before long to come down from 6d. to 4d.

WE have adopted a new and still more precatory form of headnote to the intelligence that we publish month by month under the title of "Progress of the League," so perhaps we may expect that for the next two or three issues of the journal at least our friends will notice it. We would especially appeal to the secretaries of branches to remember that it is impossible for us to report their proceedings unless information is sent to us. Let us give an instance. Reuter telegraphed on September 26, "A branch of the Imperial Federation League has been organised at Sydney, Cape Breton." It may be true, we hope it is; but we can find no notice of the fact in the Canadian papers, and no communication from Cape Breton has reached our office. We may add that much inconvenience would be saved if correspondents would distinguish between the editor and the secretary of the League—would send, for instance, direct to the editor matter intended for insertion in the journal, and would address requests for extra copies, or complaints of non-delivery, to the secretary.

SIR HENRY PARKES addressed a large meeting of his constituents on October 18th. The Premier maintained that the Imperial constitution must be re-cast to be permanent, and concluded as follows:—"In uniting the outlying Colonies to the Mother Country, England must present an object for love and loyalty, and for the young passion for national authority in Australia, which would be more attractive than any elsewhere to be found within the wide circle of the family of nations." The speech was received with enthusiastic applause.

## A QUESTION OF FREEDOM.

(From the *Melbourne Argus*.)

BY A NORTH BRITON.

"WE claim that however statesmen in England, trammelled by great questions of Empire, and hampered by many foreign complications, may hesitate over these matters, we, at least, are able to act fearlessly and decisively."—*Professor Pearson in the Legislative Assembly.*

Then there were cheers, and the words and the cheers seem either to set up a claim for pity, or to make a call for contempt. They are so thoroughly inconsistent with a proper understanding of our union with England, our partnership in the British Empire, and the obligations which bind us while union and partnership are maintained. Can the master be bound and the servant free? Can the ruler be bound and the subject free? If the ruler of the Empire is trammelled by great questions of Imperial moment, and hampered by many foreign complications, is the subject at liberty to make great questions difficult questions, and to create the complications which the ruler desires to avoid? These questions were very pertinent to the matter, and to men of a common understanding and lowly status it is utterly inexplicable how and why they have not occurred to those of such superior wisdom and lofty status as Professor Pearson—and Sir Henry Parkes, let us say. Perhaps, because the times are easy; or, at least, not so hard as they may be and are likely to be.

Let us try and realise a little what sort of complications they are which concern the British statesmen, and how they may possibly affect us. The peculiar set of complications with which our recent Chinese action may be mixed up are those probably which involve the possibilities of a war, wherein France and Russia may, in the beginning, form one side, and England with the central European Powers the other—a war wherein all the powers of all the Empires would be put forth, and every weakest point be assailed. Should we be free of the risks and the issue of that war? If so, why pay our subsidy towards the Imperial squadron? Why man our forts, drill our men, establish our arsenal? The question is too ridiculous to require any consideration. We know that we share all the risks of the Empire, and how, then, can we be free of responsibility for actions that may tend in any way to affect those risks?

To make the matter a little clearer, or a little more interesting perhaps, it may be as well to imagine a hard time, in which complications have become utter entanglement, and the sword has been drawn to cut them through. Russians and Austrians and Germans and French are locked in the Armageddon struggle; the fleets of France and Russia are pressing England and Italy hard; a Russian force of 150,000 is on the frontier of India, and Russian intrigues have had their effect amongst the native races. It is really doubtful what the issue may be, and China, with some few warships in her ports and a strong land fighting force, still holds aloof. England and Russia are wooing at her hard, for the weight of her sword would turn either scale. Our ports are closed, our guns are loaded, but our Parliament is still going on. Would Professor Pearson rise in the House then and claim "that however statesmen of England, trammelled by great questions, and hampered by many foreign complications, might hesitate over these matters, we at least were able to act fearlessly and decisively"? Suppose his fearless and decisive action was calculated then, as now, to render a British alliance with China impossible; that, instead of crossing the Amoor, the Celestial troops came down the Irrawaddy, and, instead of their by no means insignificant navy joining the British Pacific squadron, they attacked the British merchantmen. Suppose, further, that China then, as she has not done yet, did make this matter of the free landing of her subjects a national question, and, purchasing American or other vessels, poured them by tens of thousands on our northern coasts. Would the Colonial statesman be free of the responsibility of his fearless and decisive action then? It is exceedingly doubtful if he would keep himself free of the halter with which an exasperated populace would swing him from the scaffolding of his own Parliament-house.

And the difference of responsibility in the hard time and the easy time is only a matter of degree. If he would dread so fearfully to intensify the perils of the Empire, and to increase our own share in them, should he not be careful how he increases the complications from which the perils would result?

This foolish boast or inane twaddle about freedom from Imperial obligations is indeed one of the most contemptible features of Australian politics. It arises from a narrow-mindedness, or selfishness, or lack of foresight which, in men who in various ways have displayed some capacity, is difficult to understand. For let us calmly consider how things stood six weeks ago, when the Chinese craze first possessed us. Was there a presage and a dread of war abroad or not? Was there anticipation of such a war as would try England to the uttermost, and imperil the safety of all her Colonies? Would it have been a question of the first importance in such a war that



China should have been England's ally? Had the treatment of the Chinese in Australia provoked the resentment of the Imperial Court of Peking? Then, on the other hand, what was the extent of our peril from the peaceful Chinese invasion? Was our Anglo-Saxondom in Australia seriously menaced? Was there any fear, within twelve months, let us say, of our "labour being degraded," our family life being undesirably affected? And then might not a statesman have been free to trust to the long results of time in the matter, and, still holding himself bound by his obligations to the Empire, have entered on such a course as would not have hampered the Imperial statesmen on the questions of supreme importance with which they were then beset?

There can hardly be any hesitation in making answers to any of these questions. We did believe ourselves to be near war, and terrible war; and if we had any competent knowledge of the strength of the possible contending Powers, we knew that the Chinese alliance would be of great importance to the British Empire. We knew that representations had been made by the Chinese ambassador to the British Government, and five minutes' reflection would have convinced us that the law, as it stood, was quite sufficient to protect us from any immediate peril. But as to the freedom of the statesman, he was free of everything apparently but desire of office, and abject dread of the *brutum fulmen* of the mob. Such freedom is not very noble, not worthy of even a paltry reputation or of any high-sounding phrases or eloquent words. It is indeed more to be despised than the foolish talk of "Cut the painter" and "Australia for the Australians," which would at least be prepared to accept its own responsibilities, however it might bear them.

There are two great facts, however, which, once grasped and realised, would quash in every rational and honest mind the foolish notion of remaining incorporate with the Empire and shirking Imperial responsibility, and the crank or callow idea of separation and unallied Australian nationality. The first has already been fully set forth, but may be crystallised in a simple phrase. We share all risks of Imperial war; we are not free, therefore, to unreasonably increase Imperial complications or imperil the relations of the Empire with other Powers. The second is a matter of honesty. Australia does not belong to the Australians, but to the British Empire. It was paid for with a price, and was taken and held in the days when England poured out her treasure like sand and her gold like water. There are many fine lines in the great cantata which Kendall wrote for the Sydney Exhibition, but none better than these—

"Sons of those who fought for right  
When the world's wronged face was white."

It was in the days of Trafalgar and Waterloo, when the world's face was white with dread of an ever-advancing and apparently invincible tyranny, when the slightest surrender on the part of England would have placed the world beneath the heel of the French aggressor, that her heritage here was held, and at a cost which we can only understand by looking up the figures of her national debt. She need not have stirred out of her insular fortress to save herself; her battles were for her Colonies, which, under certain conditions, she has surrendered to her Colonists all around the world. She gave them the privilege of settlement, of self-government, of liberty to dispose at will of the freehold of all the lands, but never released them from their obligations of loyalty, which should stand as matters of primary duty in every true man's mind, no more to be shirked or denied than any other responsibilities of citizenship, or of social or family life.

FROM Cape Breton to Vancouver, from the Peace River to the shores of Gaspé, Senator Sherman will receive his answer, couched not in terms of insolent defiance, but in tones of honest loyalty to Canada and the Empire: "South of the Canadian Boundary you are all-powerful, but no foreign flag shall ever float over one foot of Canadian territory."—*Empire* [Toronto].

A REMARKABLE thing is the apparent ignorance of Senator Sherman in regard to current public opinion and the facts of history. According to him, we would find union easy and natural, because, among other things, of similarity of habits and institutions. We have in Canada no eagerness for their laxity of morals, their wheat-corners and oil-rings, their Goulds and their Wimans, their railway-elected judges; their costly Presidential elections, with their interruption of business every four years; their political methods, which cause most decent men to be kept out of politics, and send such men to their legislature as are capable of the antics seen in both Houses at Washington of late.—*The Empire*.

THE honourable thoughtful citizens of the United States must see that only unpleasant consequences can result from persistence by their country in regarding this Dominion as destitute of national spirit, helpless to resist wrong-doing, and without a future, save such as the United States chooses to permit. We are five millions of British subjects, and although in the past we have submitted patiently to United States interference by methods more offensive than language can well express, the time has at length arrived when, on both sides of the international boundary, all fair-minded men must agree that the dignity and the honour of both countries call for the abandonment of an attitude which conveys a standing insult and menace to the Canadian Dominion.—*The Empire*.

### LORD KNUTSFORD AT IPSWICH.

THE Colonial Secretary spoke at Ipswich on October 12th in reply to an address presented to him by the Conservative Club. He said:—

Lord Salisbury will, I think, on the 9th of November, be able to show at the Lord Mayor's dinner that this country maintains as proud and high a position, and that her opinion is as much respected in the European Councils, as at any time in former years. (Cheers.) I pass to the Colonial questions, in which, of course, I am more directly interested. I do not think it is possible to exaggerate the importance of our Colonies to this the Mother Country, and it therefore follows that it is our duty in every way to strengthen the links that unite the Colonies to the Mother Country (hear, hear), and it is our duty and our desire as far as possible to ascertain the wishes and to sympathise with the wishes of the Colonists, and as far as possible, consistently with Imperial interests, to meet them. With respect to the value of the Colonies to the Mother Country, if we only looked at it from a selfish point of view we should all be persuaded of their importance. There is no maxim more true than that "Trade follows the flag," and Lord Rosebery, in

#### A MOST EXCELLENT SPEECH

which he made the other afternoon, pointed out the enormous proportion of the goods of this country that our Colonies took, compared with the proportion that was taken by what was formerly a Colony—the United States. By Australia alone a much larger proportion of English goods is taken than by the whole of the United States. It was with the object of promoting English trade with the Colonies that the Colonial Conference—of which such kind mention is made in this address—was held last year, and I think I may say that the results of it were most satisfactory. (Cheers.) Perhaps the greatest and best result of it was that, for the first time, there was a distinct demand by these great, and rising, and most prosperous Colonies that they should contribute to the Imperial Defence, that they should bear some share towards the expenses of the fleet by which their commerce, as our own commerce, is protected. (Cheers.) I am happy to say that effect has been given to that, and that in the last Session Parliament voted us the money for the building of the ships which are to strengthen the Australian squadron. (Cheers.) It was with the same view of strengthening the Colonies that the Sugar Conference was held this year under the able presidency of my colleague Baron H. de Worms.

#### A FAIR FIELD AND NO FAVOUR.

We hope we shall secure a fair field—and we ask nothing more—for our great sugar-producing Colonies, who have suffered so much from the bounties which have been paid by foreign nations on their sugar. And I am bound to say, while not professing to be great at figures, that, as far as I can judge, I do not believe the consumers in this country will have to pay one farthing more for their sugar than they did before. (Cheers.) There is one part of this globe where all Secretaries of State for the Colonies have experienced great difficulty, and I have not been spared them. Of course I refer to South Africa. There, again, by the excellent management of our troops under General Smyth and Governor Sir Henry Havelock, the war has ended happily with very little bloodshed. We have declared a sovereignty over Zululand in the interests of the natives, whose territory was being gradually encroached upon by the Boers; and in the interests of the natives we intend to maintain that sovereignty. (Cheers.) Great difficulty has been experienced in South Africa in making people believe that we intend to keep to one continuous policy. What has passed in former years you all know very well, and the result has been that British policy has been greatly distrusted. They believe that after a defeat we shall always give in. I hope that we have persuaded them by this time that we intend to keep a firm hand upon the countries that we have annexed, and that also our desire is, as far as possible, to keep in prosperity the great and really noble tribe of Zulus. (Cheers.)

WE have nothing to fear from the Imperial Government. We have neither to apprehend absorption nor effacement on its part; . . . its relations with us could hardly exercise an evil influence upon that which we hold it paramount to preserve, upon the national heritage which is dear to us, and for which fusion with America would mean ruin.—*La Minerva*.

MR. GOLDWIN SMITH . . . represents us as having a supreme ambition to be ceded over to France. Mr. Smith does not know us. We hope that we shall never be ceded to any one, and it is not towards France we turn our eyes. The soil we inhabit was discovered, colonised, civilised by our fathers, and it is to it we are devoted. . . . It is Canada that we love; we desire its greatness, and that is why we do not wish to drown ourselves by means either of annexation or federation. We wish to remain Canadians, and nothing more.—*Le Journal de Québec*.

THE *Montreal Witness* suggests that the Dominion Government might do worse than encourage the development of the Hudson's Bay route to the North-West by promising to exempt all goods imported that way from Customs duties. Russia has, it states, done this in the case of the northern entrance to Siberia, and the precedent might be found worthy of imitation.



## PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

*Members of the League and others are requested to send newspapers containing reports of meetings, summaries of lectures and addresses, and any other matter referring to Imperial Federation, to the Editor, "Imperial Federation," 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, W.*

*The attention of Branch Secretaries is especially called to this request. The Editor will be greatly obliged if correspondents will mark the passages to which they desire to call attention, and forward their communications as promptly as possible.*

BRIGHTON.—Mr. E. J. Marshall, the head-master of the Grammar School, and an enthusiastic supporter of our cause, has spent this summer in Canada, visiting his old boys in their homes along the line of the Canadian Pacific as far west as Victoria. On his return he was received at a special meeting of the Old Boys' Club, where, after narrating his experiences, and pointing out the splendid openings that Canada afforded for those who were prepared to walk "without crutches," he concluded his speech as follows:—"We have already commenced a Colonial section in our library. The library walls will carry mementoes of the Colonial life of Old Boys; that empty glass case in this lecture hall is reserved for Colonial products; it must show, amongst others, grain from the farms of Old Boys in Ontario, Manitoba, and the North-West; horns from their cattle on the ranches of Calgary; potted salmon from their canneries on Fraser River; wool from their sheep on Australian and New Zealand sheep farms; sugar and coffee from our West Indian planters; tea from our own tea-planters in Assam—when and where shall I stop? But I must not close without reference to another question which goes home to my heart. Not until I visited Canada did I know what it really was to be an Englishman—(applause)—nor did I fully realise the great mission of the Anglo-Saxon race, or the solemn importance of the great question of Imperial Federation. In what shape this great Federation of our race is to appear, I know not. That is not now the question; we who feel the duty laid upon us to promote it, must keep it well to the front till its solution appears, and appear I am confident it will. Neither can I conceive any better way of hastening that solution than by sending to our Colonies men who, by their home training, their early associations, by their education, which has given them in a marked degree the power of adaptation, and above all has made them value as priceless the culture, the history, the glorious traditions of their Mother Country."

EGHAM (HOLLOWAY COLLEGE).—Mr. Parkin delivered an address on Imperial Federation to the members of this college on Friday, October 19, by invitation of the Principal. About seventy ladies were present, and the lecturer found both an intelligent and sympathetic audience.

HUNTINGDON, PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.—September 14.—On the occasion of the annual fair, an address on Imperial Federation was given by Mr. R. C. Smith, a member of the Montreal Branch of the League, and a rising lawyer. From a private source we learn that over 1,000 persons were present. "Every expression of loyalty evoked enthusiasm, and there was no evidence at all of any counter-sentiment; the subject in the main seemed to be favourably entertained." This is the more remarkable, seeing that, both in the Dominion and in the Provincial Parliament, Huntingdon is represented by members of the party that still submits to the leadership of Mr. Mercier, and has, to a considerable extent, identified itself with the Commercial Union idea.

Mr. Smith began by pointing out that annexation would mean to begin with heavy direct taxation, and that trade with England was much more valuable to Canada than that with neighbours in circumstances similar to their own. The cardinal idea of Imperial Federation was, he declared, to preserve a united Empire without sacrificing the interests of any portion. There should be an Imperial Parliament, in which all parts of the Empire should be represented. At present Canada was not represented in the Imperial Parliament, though it was subject to it. The first and principal idea was that they should have representation in the Imperial Council; and the second, that the different portions of the Empire should be bound by a Customs union. If it meant that they should surrender their Parliamentary institutions, he would oppose it with all his might, for his first duty was to Canada. Another great objection was that they would likely be taxed to maintain the Imperial Army and Navy, but that would not mean necessarily that they would be drawn into African or European wars. They would pay their portion of the expense of the service on a peace footing, and in special cases where extra services were required a special assessment could be levied. This would be infinitely cheaper than maintaining their own service, as they would have to do were they independent. The great benefits would be that they would have the whole strength of the Empire at their backs, and would have great trade advantages. They were told it was a grand dream, but where would the world be without its dreamers? If they were true to the British Empire and to those principles of

truth, justice, and liberty, which had built it up, they might unite in a brotherhood not only British Colonies, but all the English-speaking people throughout the earth—an alliance that would preserve the peace of the world. If the scheme proved to be inimical to the interests of Canada, however, he would withdraw his support, for as a native of Canada his first duty was to her, and he placed her interests before all.

Dr. Cameron, M.P.P., moved a vote of thanks to the lecturer, which was seconded by the Mayor of Godmanchester, and carried with enthusiasm. "When Mr. Smith finished," writes the Huntingdon paper, *The Canadian Gleaner*, "there were several hundred favourably disposed towards Imperial Federation who had not seriously thought of the subject before. . . . Huntingdon does not favour Commercial Union; it favours the fullest measure of reciprocity, but would strenuously resist surrendering the independence of the Dominion as the price of access to the United States market."

JEDBURGH.—On October 22nd Lord Stratheden and Campbell gave an address on Colonial Federation before the Jedburgh Literary Association. Provost McDougall presided. Lord Campbell, after narrating the history of the movement, said the Conference at Westminster in 1887 ought not to be regarded as a goal, but rather as a starting-point. He suggested a commission of inquiry, which should chiefly direct its investigation to Australia, where the difficulties of obtaining an authoritative expression of opinion were greater than in other Colonies. Several gentlemen having made observations in support of the address, Mr. T. Y. Bell, president of the Association, moved the following resolution:—"That in the opinion of this meeting the Colonial Conference of 1887 ought to be followed by other measures calculated to promote the federal union of the Empire." Bailie Young seconded, and the resolution was unanimously approved of. A vote of thanks to Lord Stratheden and Campbell was also passed.

LEEDS.—Mr. G. W. Balfour, the Conservative member for Central Leeds, and the younger brother of the Irish Secretary, addressed his constituents on October 16. In the course of his speech he referred to Lord Rosebery's "manly and able utterance before the Chamber of Commerce." Dealing with the question of the defence of the Empire he used these words:—"Two Bills have been passed for dealing with the defence of the Empire. Now, I am sorry to say that in my opinion it has been the habit of Governments of both sides of late years largely to neglect the question of our national defence, and yet no question could possibly be more important. These two measures—one for the defence of our coaling-stations and ports, and the other for the establishment of a fleet in Australian waters—have been undoubtedly a great step in advance in the matter of our national defence. (Cheers.) But I will take this opportunity of expressing my conviction that enough has not yet been done. (Hear, hear.)"

SALFORD.—A meeting of the Working Men's Constitutional Union was held on October 9, in the rooms, Bexley Square, for the purpose of hearing an address by Mr. A. Morris on "Imperial Federation." Mr. J. Bye presided. Mr. Morris, who was received with cheers, said he had come to teach them something about Imperial Federation. He said that at present the Imperial Federation League had no definite policy. Now, Imperial Federation was a pious aspiration—an aspiration which was very good in itself, but which was without substance. It seemed to him to be very desirable that the League, if they intended continuing this agitation, should put forward some definite scheme by which Imperial Federation could be carried out. (Hear, hear.) Taking their nine great Colonies, they would find that all of them were capable of being used as the food market of this country. Manitoba alone, he had been informed, could produce wheat sufficient for the whole of Europe, and yet England did not buy the wheat she needed from Manitoba or any of her Colonies, but from the United States and Russia. (Cries of "Shame.") He thought it would be easy to transfer their food custom from those countries which refused to deal with them in fair exchange to the Colonies who did. (Hear, hear.) This scheme of Federation wanted a kernel. He would tell them how this matter struck him.

He should like to see adopted a scheme of mutual preferential duties between the United Kingdom and the Colonies—such as would give the Colonists an advantage over the foreigner in English markets, and as would give English manufacturers the same advantage in the markets of the Colonies. (Applause.) This policy of mutual preferential duties was a great deal more popular in the Colonies than it was in this country at the present. This policy, he believed, would furnish the cement necessary for building the different materials he had referred to into a magnificent Empire. (Applause.)

WE are glad to see that Mr. R. Burdett Smith, M.L.A., one of the earliest members of the Council of the League, is occupying the post of Executive Commissioner for New South Wales at the Melbourne Exhibition. His portrait appears in a recent number of the *Sydney Mail*.



### THE PRESS ON THE GLASGOW MEETING.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION is not only a necessity for the Empire, but it is a necessity of the near future. So says Lord Rosebery, and as he is very closely identified with the policy, even to the extent of being credited with the design of mustering a new political party around it, he ought to know. But the worst of it is that neither Lord Rosebery nor anybody else tells us how Imperial Federation is to be effected. Let it be at once admitted that Imperial Federation is a fine idea—a thing worth hoping and striving for. Let us also admit that it is a scheme about which all the scattered members of the British Empire have a pious opinion, joined to keen sympathetic interest. But do not let us delude ourselves by mistaking the desirable for the feasible. Imperial Federation may come about by the force of circumstances—perhaps, as Mr. Froude suggests somewhere, under the pressure of a great danger from without; but it will not be manufactured to order. It may prosper as a natural growth; never as an artificial creation.—*Glasgow Herald*.

Yesterday's meeting in the Glasgow Merchants' House will no doubt be of service in bringing home to those who are engaged in commerce the importance of the Federation of the Empire. No one who has given the slightest attention to the subject will deny that the foundations of the whole edifice of British power throughout the world would be greatly strengthened if a plan could be devised by which our self-governing Colonies would have a just share and voice in the Imperial Government. Even the stand-still politicians who regard Federation as a dream admit that it is a noble dream, and that its realisation would be an achievement of the highest value. It is hardly necessary to insist upon the advantages which would accrue from that closer union of all parts of the Empire which is the object of the Imperial Federation League. Lord Brassey laid stress upon the naval, military, and commercial advantages, and the increased political weight which British counsels would carry in foreign affairs. His sound and solid address was well suited to business men, and we can agree with all he said, except his expression of contentment with the treatment given to British trade by the Protectionist Colonies. They simply include the United Kingdom among the countries entitled to the "most favoured nation" tariff. That is not enough. If the Mother Country gives the Colonies Free Trade for whatever they like to send us, they ought to allow Free Trade in return; and if we are to have Imperial Federation, one of its conditions and links ought to be Free Trade within the Empire, leaving each Colony at liberty to deal as it may please with other nations.—*North British Daily Mail*.

Imperial Federation is not to be thrust aside in the future as it has been in the past. Thanks to the energetic advocacy of Lord Rosebery, the movement in its favour gains weight and impetus every day. A meeting under the auspices of the Scottish branch of the Imperial Federation League was held in Glasgow yesterday to hear an address on the subject from Lord Brassey. Lord Rosebery was in the chair, and both he and Lord Brassey said many things which deserve to be carefully considered by all who have at heart the future greatness of the Empire. The spirit in which they advocate Imperial Federation is not one of shallow and boastful Imperialism. There is nothing of what the French call Chauvinism in the proposals they make. They have regard to plain and obvious facts. The looseness of our relations with our Colonies, which was wise, is fast becoming dangerous, and it must be changed for other arrangements which will fully recognise the fact that our Colonies are part of ourselves. This is the work which Lord Rosebery has with great foresight taken in hand, and which Lord Brassey so well advocated yesterday. It is not a party question, and it ought never to become one in the sense in which other and less vital matters are made party questions. But Imperial Federation will become the rallying-cry of a party comprising all men who wish to see the greatness of our Empire maintained, and the prosperity and happiness of the people guaranteed by the best of all possible securities.—*Scotsman*.

When a movement is recommended to the public as one in which men of all parties may combine, it is not wise to be sanguine of any sensible outcome—such unanimity between politicians fundamentally opposed being usually obtained at the expense of logic. Examples were rife at the meeting of the Imperial Federation League yesterday. At an early stage of the proceedings a showy letter was read from the Marquis of Lorne, who has been an ex-Governor, is now a Unionist, hopes to be a forwarder of Imperial Federation, and stands a chance of remaining for all time a very indifferent legislator. On his side, Lord Rosebery was content to say that Imperial Federation was constantly spoken of as a "noble dream," and to recommend Lord Brassey as a hard-headed man of business, recognisable to the public as the last to deal in phantoms. It is going at once to the heart of the matter to urge that the visionary character of the Imperial Federation idea is much more obvious than its nobility. Barring a certain tempting imaginativeness in the conception of a political union embracing the whole English-speaking peoples, the tone of Lord Brassey's address was distinctly backward, bourgeois, and by no means business-like.—*Scottish Leader*.

Who does not wish to see the different members of the British Imperial family united and blessed? Who does not desire to see all moving together harmoniously, under one flag and dominated by one Parliament, towards sublimer destinies? It is a splendid dream, and probably within the reach of realisation. But how to do it, that is the question; and on this part of it, of so much pith and moment, Lords Rosebery and Brassey are delightfully vague. We would venture to suggest that it is safer to work from the centre to the circumference than from the circumference to the centre. We can do something at home in furtherance of the grand design by establishing a cheaper and more uniform system of postage between the Mother Nation and her children; and the children might benefit themselves and their Mother by diminishing—and, better still, by demolishing—protective duties. Interests and sentiment are mighty factors in the big business—particularly interests. Will Lords Rosebery and Brassey descend from

the clouds and walk the solid earth with firmer tread? Let them do so, and they will get more friends and followers.—*Echo*.

With Imperial Federation in the abstract we have often expressed our hearty sympathy; and we are glad to welcome the words of wisdom spoken at Glasgow by Lord Rosebery and Lord Brassey. Lord Rosebery is a practical and, in some respects, a far-sighted statesman, and we may be sure that he would not confess to a "passionate desire" for Imperial Federation if he thought that it was only "a noble dream." Lord Brassey, again, is above everything a practical man, not a rhetorician of platitudes—sagacious and widely travelled. The only objection, if it is an objection, is that all present schemes are wanting in definiteness; but we may hope and believe that men like Sir Charles Dilke and Lord Rosebery and Lord Salisbury will be able to put the idea into practical shape. But in the details as well as in the general plan we must invite the co-operation of Colonial statesmen. There is some hope, if we may judge from Sir Henry Parkes, that the initiative will proceed from the Colonies. In that case the success of Imperial Federation may be regarded as assured.—*St. James's Gazette*.

It has often been urged, in opposition to Imperial Federation, that the Imperial Government could not be controlled by Colonial opinion in matters of foreign policy. But if Imperial Federation became an accomplished fact the Government would also be Imperial in the widest sense of the term; and we are not sure that the influence of the Colonies in determining the course of our foreign policy would be entirely without advantage. We have, at least, no doubt that such influence would be used to keep the Empire out of foreign complications unless really Imperial interests required our intervention. Of late years we have adopted, to a great extent, a policy of non-intervention, and have virtually ceased to meddle in matters that do not concern us. Imperial Federation would certainly emphasise this policy.—*Daily Chronicle*.

Lord Rosebery, at a meeting held yesterday at Glasgow under the auspices of the local branch of the Imperial Federation League, brought before a Scotch audience Lord Brassey, who has submitted the question of our connection with the Colonies to the closest tests of a practical examination, and who is an uncompromising advocate of Imperial Unity. It is from no lack of good-will that we hesitate to go so far as Lord Rosebery and Lord Brassey in the cause they have at heart. The Imperial Federation League have done and are doing excellent service to the State, not only by impressing upon the public mind, too often indisposed to take large views, the supreme importance of preserving from disintegration the Empire—the splendid fabric built up by the genius and the sacrifices of the greatest of Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen—but still more, perhaps, by keeping the subject clear, which is seldom possible in these days, from the contamination of party strife. Lord Rosebery has recently described the policy of the League as the preparation of public opinion at home for "the admission of the Colonies to a larger share than they had yet obtained in the direction of the external affairs of the Empire." If this can be done—and, undoubtedly, some considerable advances may be made towards the ideal indicated by Lord Brassey—Englishmen and Colonists alike will have reason to rejoice. We must be careful, however, not to be tempted into any system which would paralyse our central and initiative force, already too much enfeebled by the necessary results of democratic government. Lord Rosebery and a few of those who think with him propose, with a light heart, to give the representatives of the Colonies a controlling power over the foreign policy of the Imperial Government. If that system be practicable at all, it must involve a complete re-modelling of our forms of government, both in the administrative and legislative departments. But others may well hesitate to throw the Constitution of the United Kingdom into the melting-pot. Imperial Federation may make its way, safely and surely, through the small beginnings of Imperial co-operation, and, when the time comes for its larger development, *Fata viam invenient*.—*Times*.

### THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY AT GLOUCESTER.

MR. W. H. SMITH delivered a long speech, reviewing the political history of the past session, at Gloucester on October 8th. In the course of it he spoke as follows:—

There is one Act of Parliament to which I am anxious to call your attention, and that is the Act called the Imperial Defences Act. We have, many of us, heard a good deal of Federation. We have, many of us, great sympathy for the idea which is conveyed in Federation with the Colonies, but here in this Imperial Defences Act we have an illustration of what the Colonies are prepared to do, what the Colonies have bound themselves to do, and what the Mother Country can do with their assistance for the common good of the United Empire. (Cheers.) Four or five different Colonies said to the Government of this country, "If you will supply the ships, if you will find the crews, we will pay the cost of maintaining those ships and those crews as an increased means of defence for the commerce of Australia." (Cheers.) They have gone into partnership with the Government of this country in order that their lives, their property, their trade, and their commerce, and yours, shall be more secure against an invader and against an enemy. (Cheers.) Talk about Federation!

#### THIS IS THE SPIRIT OF FEDERATION.

(Hear, hear.) It is an evidence that when the necessity arises, as it arose on the occasion of the Egyptian war, our cousins and children, our relations abroad, have the same feeling for this country that they had when they left it. Ay, separation seems to draw them more acutely to the Crown as the emblem of unity, and the separation of miles



of seas seems to give them a deeper and warmer interest in the glory and prosperity of this mighty Empire. (Cheers.) We are all interested in our Colonies. There are, I will undertake to say, hundreds of men in this room who have relatives who have gone out to the Colonies to make their fortunes, to push their way, and to obtain a livelihood, and so find markets for the labour of this country, for where the flag goes there the trade is found—and Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and other great centres of industry in this country, give a large portion of their industry and of their employment and capital, which is prospering and producing profit, to the business which arises from Colonial engagements and Colonial orders. (Cheers.) The Colonies are

#### THE LIFE-BLOOD OF THIS COUNTRY.

(Cheers.) The Colonies in time to come will, like the family of an old man, grow up and become stronger and more powerful than the Mother Country even. Until that day comes we are bound to do all we can to help them to discharge all their obligations, and we are glad to find that was recognised in the case of the contingent sent to Suakin a few years ago. As in the case of this subsidy for the increase of naval defences on the coast of Australia, ratified by the Parliament of Australia, there is the old feeling still in existence of a great and a common interest in this respect. (Cheers.) If I talk of their ability, of their willingness to discharge duties, I may also talk of the magnificent moderation and judgment which they exhibited. We have all of us heard during the last few weeks of the differences which have existed with regard to the fisheries on the coast of Canada. Mr. Chamberlain (cheers)—I am glad to hear that cheer (loud cheers) because, when appealed to to render his services to the country on that occasion, he cordially consented to do the best he could to bring about a settlement of the differences; and he effected an arrangement which was held to be just and fair. The President of the United States admitted it to be a just, fair, and reasonable arrangement. We all know that, owing to the exigencies which I need not now refer to particularly, owing to the fact that there is a Presidential election about to take place in the United States at the present moment, that fair, just, and equitable arrangement has not been carried out. It is in abeyance at the present time. It has been refused ratification by the Senate of the United States.

#### THE MAGNIFICENT MODERATION OF CANADA.

But what has been the result? The Government of Canada, the people of Canada, the Parliament of Canada, have exhibited moderation in the matter, and the result should hold them up to the admiration of the world. What is the result? They are willing to bide their time. They knew that this country would obtain from the United States when they got their fresh President a just, equitable, and fair arrangement, and nothing less than that will be accepted by the people of Canada and the people of England. (Cheers.) We are too good friends—we, the masses of the people of England, the masses of the people of the United States and of Canada—to quarrel over a question of this kind. There is a right and wrong, and we believe that Mr. Chamberlain and the United States delegates have arrived at the right solution of a difficult and dangerous matter. (Hear, hear.) We believe that the result will be one that will not in the slightest degree derogate either from the honour or the interest of these two great peoples. (Cheers.) I will say a few words about a question that has been a matter of conversation during the past few days. It is said we are about to give Bechuanaland over to the Government of the Cape—the Government of the Constitutional Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope. There has been

#### SOME MISCONCEPTION ON THE MATTER.

There is no intention whatever of receding from the obligations which we have incurred towards the chiefs and natives of Bechuanaland. We are bound to care for their interests and rights, and to protect them, and we believe that for the present, at all events, those interests will be better protected by the Government of the United Kingdom than by handing them over to the guardianship of the Cape of Good Hope. (Hear, hear.) We express thereby no want of confidence in that Government. It has been wisely and well administered, but they have difficulties of their own to face. I may express some satisfaction that the disturbances in Zululand have been happily terminated, and that without the shedding of blood, which is a most painful accompaniment of many of these troubles got up by persons who stir up the exciting elements in the native mind. These troubles are at an end, and that result has happily been obtained without the loss of blood. (Hear, hear.) I cannot pass from this subject without saying a word as to

#### THE ATTITUDE OF THE TRANSVAAL GOVERNMENT.

We have had troubles with them some years ago; but with reference to the transactions in Zululand they have behaved with admirable self-control and good faith, and have contributed to the peaceful settlement we all desire to see. (Hear, hear.) These questions—though not often dealt with in provincial towns—are of enormous moment to this country. We are living in a small island. I have been speaking of tracts of country covering millions of miles and capable of finding homes for many millions of English-speaking people, growing every year in prosperity and power to provide clothing and happiness for the people.

## MEETING OF THE OXFORD BRANCH.

### FROM THE COLONIAL POINT OF VIEW.

A GENERAL meeting of the University branch was held in the hall of University College on Saturday, October 20th, under the presidency of Professor Burrows, to hear an address from Mr. G. K. Parkin, of Canada, late resident in the University, on "Imperial Federation from a Colonial Point of View." Among those present were the Master of University, Dr. Franck Bright, Professor Napier, Mr. Lyttleton Gell, Mr. Heyes, &c.

THE CHAIRMAN said Mr. Parkin was well known to many members of the Universities, and to the older members years ago. He had come from Canada to make the members of the University and others acquainted with his ideas as to this Federation of the British Empire.

MR. PARKIN was well received, and said he felt highly honoured by being asked to appear before them that evening. The task involved the fact of a man born and brought up in the backwoods of Canada speaking to Englishmen in the hall of a college at Oxford, of which, he believed, they were proud to think that it was founded by King Alfred. It was perfectly clear that within thirty years the population abroad would be as large as the population at home. English feeling must compel a consideration of this subject. The basis of our Government was founded on the representation of the people, and the basis of Federation was the representation of the Colonies. He told Earl Rosebery the other day that within twenty years this question must be settled. The Earl said, "Give us longer than that." No great Anglo-Saxon community, from the nature of the Anglo-Saxon race, would consent to be ruled without having a voice in its ruling. Things were changing with marvellous rapidity. As Lord Rosebery said, "You must admit them to a larger share in public affairs." That was the only way in which they could get out of the difficulty. He admitted that he had met many men who had said, "The Colonies must go; that is but the natural result of things." He did not wonder at that years ago. Mr. Gladstone was saying so. Professor Goldwin Smith was saying so, and the whole chorus of them seemed to be taking that way. He did not suppose that English national feeling was taking that way, or that that was any proof that Englishmen who said those things represented the general opinion of Englishmen. As far as Canada was concerned, they were more English than they were in England, and he would tell them why. When in 1766 they threw away that piece (pointing to the United States on the map), there were only 6,000,000 people there. From them there came a section who founded Canada. From the United States there gathered a people who to-day boasted of being descended from ancestors whose loyalty was untarnished. The day that Britain gave up Canada she yielded her position as one of the first Powers of Europe, because that was the beginning of the end. In Australia there was a section which said, "Let us be independent." That was, no doubt, a grand thing, and there was an attraction about it. But Australia was European, and could not help it. She sent £50,000,000 sterling's worth of goods to England every year, and that passed through the Suez Canal. From an American point of view, he was convinced that it was as much to the interest of the United States that Federation of the British Empire should take place as to those of the British themselves. He had sketched out his ideas upon that subject, and had given them to the leading American magazine. The editor told him that they agreed with his ideas, and he was going to print what he (Mr. Parkin) had written, which showed what the Americans thought about it. The ideal which the British mind, whether at home or abroad, should hold out before it, was that this great Empire should be oceanic. They must not be insular, they must not be continental, they must be oceanic. The English were the most unimaginative people in the world, and an American had said to him, "I regard any British subject who does not look upon Imperial Federation with enthusiasm as a Philistine of the Philistines." (Cheers.) He (Mr. Parkin) had said that the ideal they should hold up before themselves was a great oceanic Empire. What did he mean by that? There was one thing which had built up this country and had made this Empire; it was the thing upon which our future depended: it was an instinct which existed in our minds. We were a race of traders, not shopkeepers. This was not a thing to be ashamed of. We had proved as a race that this trading instinct was consistent with all the fighting energy of the Roman, and with a large part of the intellectual energy of the Greek, and he thought it was not inconsistent with the moral energy of Christianity. Certainly, this trading instinct gave Christianity the greatest weapon with which to diffuse and spread itself all over the world. It was in the interests of trade that they must maintain the Empire, and he said the ideal they had to place before themselves was a great oceanic Empire, holding the waterways of the world. England held them to-day. She held three routes to the East. Were they going to give them up? The future of Canada, Australia, and the United States, and the future of England, were bound up in the interests of trade. Trade must go on more and more, and therefore the safety of trade became an important factor in the world. With such an oceanic Empire, holding the waterways of the world, we could paralyse any nation that attempted to interfere with us. Was not that a thing to strive for? (Cheers.) He believed the most ardent advocate for peace would be the man who would be inclined to do the best he could to support them. (Hear, hear.) The Americans were willing to spend hundreds of millions of money and thousands of lives rather than have any separation in the national life; they sacrificed everything for it, and he maintained, we ought to do the same, and if we did not do so, we were not worthy of our heritage. He wished to say one word more with regard to Canada. He (Mr. Parkin) was often asked, "Is Canada likely to be annexed with the United States?" and all he said was he did not believe they had any reason to ask the question. For 100 years Canada had stood beside the United States. Their loyalty had deepened and strengthened during that period, and he did not think they were likely to change at the present time. They did not want to join themselves to American



civilisation; they believed the difficulties were very great. They had a cold climate in the north, which kept out the negro and the southern nations generally, and they believed they were building up a stronger and harder race, with more British nationality about it, than there was in the South. They thought this worth preserving, and that they had worked out a better sort of government than they would get under a republic. This was the age of steam and electricity, and the foundation of steam was coal. Coal had made England, and he asked his audience to look at the question of coal in its bearing upon the great oceanic empire such as he had described. If they went over to Nova Scotia they found a solid mass of coal—that was to say, on the point where England touched upon the American continent she possessed absolutely unlimited quantities of coal. The island of Vancouver was a great bed of coal, and the great Canadian deposit of coal was in the centre of that country. In South Africa they had a deposit of coal; New South Wales had its Newcastle, which meant as much in the way of coal as Newcastle here meant; and New Zealand also had its coal deposits. They had not only the naval stations, but coal for their ships. Were they going to give it away? He was going to give them another argument—the Christian argument. He believed that the domination of Britain as a great Power in Asia, in Africa, and in Australia, was of infinitely greater consequence in the interests of Christianity than the domination of Rome was in the days of St. Paul. So long as it was necessary that the missionary should be safe under the British flag, so long he believed it was the duty of every British Christian to vote that this Empire should not be broken up, that it should remain one and the same; that they should hold it together as a great unit in dealing with the world, and form this magnificent oceanic Empire with the distinct object of making it the great lever for holding together and propagating the principles of civilisation, of progress, and of Christianity. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN reminded them that at their last meeting a sentiment of exactly the same kind which they had heard that night fell from the lips of an American professor, as to the United States sharing the fate of England and her Colonies, and being interested in much the same manner as we were in the development of Imperial Federation.

MR. GELL proposed the following resolution:—"That this meeting most cordially thanks their Canadian fellow Englishman, Mr. Parkin, for his address, and wishing him all success in his endeavours to convince his British fellow-subjects throughout the Empire of the immediate necessity of Imperial Federation, will do its utmost to promote the principle which he advocates in Oxford." (Cheers.) He felt that the real proof of the validity of Mr. Parkin's arguments was his presence there that night. Mr. Parkin had proved conclusively the points which he came to prove. He thought it was perfectly certain when one link in the chain was broken, when one of our Colonies went, all would go, and when once we lost control of the seas, we lost control of our food, and would be at the mercy of anybody, and starvation down to six or seven millions, which was all these islands could support, would be our ultimate fate. One question before them was whether they had the will to rise to such a programme as Mr. Parkin put before them; another, whether they had the force to do it; and another, whether they could devise the means. He could not but think they would gradually build up the will. They had not got it at present, because, as a rule, the British voter was so profoundly ignorant of the most important points on which the Empire ought to be based. He wished they could get more colonists to come and talk to the men of our cities and make them understand this problem.

MR. LONGLEY, in seconding the resolution, which was carried unanimously, took the opportunity of stating that the League was very anxious to increase its membership in the University, and, if possible, to get college secretaries. He would be very glad if any gentlemen who wished to join the League, or become college secretaries, would see him after the meeting, or write to him at 6, St. Aldate's.

The CHAIRMAN cordially thanked the Master of University for the use of the hall, and the meeting terminated.

### LEAGUE NOTICES FOR THE MONTH.

MR. W. SEBRIGHT GREEN, Organising Lecturer of the Imperial Federation League, will deliver lectures during the coming season upon Imperial Federation. Mr. Green's addresses are largely descriptive of the Colonies, and will be illustrated by means of specially selected lantern views, affording an opportunity of obtaining an exact and intimate knowledge of the great countries of the Empire, their progress and institutions, and pointing to the necessity for the maintenance of the unity of the Empire, and the complete enfranchisement of our fellow-citizens in the Colonies as regards Imperial affairs. Terms.—Two guineas per lecture, and two return fares, second class, from London. Special arrangements for a series of addresses in the same locality.

The Secretary is also prepared to receive applications from secretaries of debating clubs and others, for addresses (without illustrations) upon Imperial Federation, by gentlemen who will attend for this purpose on payment of expenses only. The number of engagements being limited, early application is recommended. The Imperial Federation League comprising members of all political parties, its lectures will be addressed to any kind of meeting, irrespective of political colour, and it must be understood that they will bear no party character. Engagements will be made according to priority of application. All communications on the subject of lectures and all payments to be made to the Secretary, Imperial Federation League, 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, W.

A LARGE outline Map of the World, specially designed for lecturing purposes, fifteen feet by twelve, with the British Empire

coloured in red, the self-governing Colonies being distinguished by a deeper tint of that colour, can be obtained by members of the League for the purposes of lectures on application to the Secretary, subject to the conditions of prompt return and payment of carriage both ways. The member who borrows the map must make himself responsible for any damage which may be done to it during its absence from the office. Early application is recommended, as during the lecturing season the map is much in request.

A SERIES consisting of twelve large scene-pictures of the Empire, in black and white, each eight feet by four, strongly bound and mounted on rollers, is also ready. These pictures are now available for use by members of the League upon the same terms as the large map. They are packed in a wooden case, and travel as "Panoramic Views" at a special railway rate.

BOUND volumes of IMPERIAL FEDERATION for the year 1886-7 complete with Index, can be obtained, price 6s. 6d.

"A SYNOPSIS OF THE TARIFFS AND TRADE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE," prepared by Sir Rawson Rawson, K.C.M.G., C.B., can be obtained, price 2s. 6d., post free 2s. 9d., bound in cloth, 6d. extra. In accordance with the terms of membership, the book has been sent free to all members who subscribe one guinea and upwards.

A SECOND PART, dealing with the growth of trade since 1854 and with the shipping of the Empire, will be published at the end of the year.

THE Dominion can bid defiance to the most aggressive trade measures that the combined wisdom at Washington could possibly devise. Canada desires to do business in a business style with her neighbours to the south of the line. If they will not trade without suggesting treason as the consideration, then the Government of the day must look for and establish other markets. Our mail and passenger transport must be the best, the short ocean voyage must be adopted; and by that time we imagine our American friends will have recovered from a combined attack of election and sulks.—*Ottawa Daily Citizen*.

A DESPATCH to some Boston and New York papers states that the British Government has called for a report upon the state of the Canadian defences, including the condition of the volunteer force. We hope the report is true, if for no other reason than that it will put an end to the extremely absurd statement of certain American papers to the effect that England has abandoned Canada to her fate. The fact is that England is more concerned than Canada about the hostility of the Americans, as made manifest through their press, and would be quick to move should that hostility be more than "expressed."—*Kingston Daily Whig*.

CANADIANS cannot foretell what may happen, but they are resting easy under the conviction that greater cause than any yet offered in connection with the fishery difficulties must be had before they and the Americans will go to war, or dream of doing so. The time may come, may be near at hand, when some one may raise his gonfalon bearing the magic legend, "The North American Union, one and inseparable," but it will be to the music of "God save the Queen."—*Kingston Daily Whig*.

THE American Senate can't have Canada for the asking just now, but we warn the politicians of both sides that they are at an appreciable rate creating an annexation sentiment in this country. Fifteen years ago it would have been treason to think of such a change, and any one openly expressing a favourable opinion of it would have been exposed to personal violence. To-day the question can be discussed with the utmost freedom, and an espousal of the cause is tolerated without a thought of violence. This change has been brought about by a variety of causes, all created by the professional politicians. The only thing that can check the swelling tide of annexation sentiment in this country is a higher patriotism in our public men, the filling up of the great North-West, and possibly a scheme of Imperial Federation.—*Montreal Daily Star*.

"I BELIEVE that those persons on both sides of the border who think Canada is prepared for annexation are most grievously mistaken. It is true that there has been a considerable growth in Canada of the sentiment favouring a political union; but that in the hearts of the great mass of the people there is any such desire is, I am sure, not the case. Indeed, if a vote were polled to-day throughout the country districts, there would be a majority of ten to one against any such union. If, on the contrary, a vote were polled in favour of a union on a commercial basis and obliteration of the commercial barriers that divide the two countries, the vote would be in favour by at least five to one."

Loyalty to Great Britain has been imbibed with mother's milk by a large proportion of native-born Canadians. It is only a very short time since a man would be called a traitor who openly advocated annexation. Even to-day if in the Board of Trade at Montreal or Toronto, or any similar body, a proposition for annexation was made, the proposer would be simply hooted and run out of the room. There is no sentiment so generally pronounced to-day in the Dominion as that of allegiance to Great Britain and the desire for the preservation of the political autonomy of Canada. I say this advisedly.—ERASTUS WIMAN.

THE total population of Australia on January 1st, 1888, was 2,800,886, showing an increase of 100,921 over the previous year. It was distributed as follows:—Victoria, 1,036,118; New South Wales, 1,042,919; Queensland, 366,940; South Australia, 312,421 (a decrease of 337 over the preceding year), to which should be added about 5,000 for the Northern Territories; Western Australia, 42,488. In addition, Tasmania had 142,478 inhabitants, and New Zealand 603,361 (an increase of 13,975). Thus the total population of Australasia was 3,546,725. In Australia proper the number of persons to the square mile is less than one; in Great Britain it is 300.



### THE PRESS ON LORD ROSEBERY'S LEEDS SPEECH.

FROM the *Times*:—Every month the foreign questions in which our Colonies are concerned grow more numerous; every year the European questions in which Great Britain is concerned grow fewer and more simple. The centre of gravity in our foreign politics has decisively shifted from Europe to our Colonies. . . . We take a pleasure in acknowledging that throughout the whole of his remarks to the Leeds Chamber of Commerce he never ceased to be interesting and instructive. . . . It was to be expected that Lord Rosebery would gradually lead up to Imperial Federation. The "dominant passion" of Lord Rosebery's life is one which every Englishman would be heartily glad to see gratified, and he has the good wishes of all parties for his success. A grave responsibility is incurred by those who are in an exorbitant hurry to stamp Imperial Federation as a visionary scheme. No doubt any cut and dried plan of federating the different parts of the Empire must be surrounded with difficulties on all hands. We have always deprecated the premature formation of such a scheme, believing that the object in view will be more surely attained by gradual approaches. A plan of Colonial defence and of postal union is the sort of foundation upon which may be built up by degrees the fabric of Imperial unity. The utilisation of the Agents of the Colonies is another idea which promises well. But any ambitious proposal would provoke all sorts of opposition and jealousies in the Colonies, and perhaps throw the cause back indefinitely. It is a delicate business, in which excess of zeal might spoil everything. In the meanwhile, Lord Rosebery is quite right in insisting that we should take stock of our position. He considers that the relations between the Mother Country and her Colonies cannot stay as they are, in which, looking at the tendency of all human institutions, he is no doubt correct.

From the *Morning Post*:—Since the idea of Imperial Federation first took firm hold on the imagination of the English people Lord Rosebery has held a prominent position among its votaries. There are few public men in this country who are better qualified, by age, ability, and position, to take a leading part in a movement directed to the realisation of this splendid idea. In the press and hurry of minor interests at home, the cause of Imperial Federation has of late attracted comparatively little attention. That its chief advocates, however, have not given up their faith in it is shown by the able and patriotic speech which Lord Rosebery delivered to the members of the Chamber of Commerce of Leeds.

From the *Globe*:—On the great question of Imperial Federation Lord Rosebery is always worth hearing. That our Colonies will demand, sooner or later, a share in the direction of our external policy, is a proposition scarcely admitting of argument. Their rapidly increasing populations, their growing wealth and importance, above all, their keener sense of Imperial responsibilities and duties, already entitle them to make this claim. Nor is there any disposition on the part of the Mother Country to turn a deaf ear to Colonial aspirations. . . . It seems to us that the first step should be to obtain the notions of the Colonies themselves. Serious antagonisms of opinion exist among them on many matters more or less connected with Imperial Federation; they are not of a quite united mind even about Chinese immigration. It might probably be discovered, therefore, at the very threshold, that an Imperial Council would be too torn by irreconcilable divisions to agree upon a common policy. Lord Rosebery need not fear that the Mother Country would grudge large sacrifices for the welding together of the Empire. But she requires to have it proved beforehand that these sacrifices would produce the intended effect. And how can that be demonstrated until we learn the exact length and breadth of the Colonial desire, and how far England's many offspring are in agreement?

From the *Yorkshire Post*:—Lord Rosebery's address at the Leeds Chamber of Commerce was a very practical, thoughtful, and suggestive address. The point that the public will seize this morning is the argument in favour of what is loosely called Imperial Federation. This is not an idea of yesterday, and it is not an idea that has, as yet, taken, or is apparently likely to take definite form and shape. But in a vague and hazy way it is an idea that is floating in the minds of Englishmen all the world over, and it is an idea which, in the course of the next twenty years, will probably find expression in a policy, which, if it does not give us Imperial Federation, will, at all events, knit together the scattered possessions of the British Crown in a compact and powerful body of a very different complexion from that which the British Empire presents at present. Imperial Federation at present is not even an idea. It is only a sentiment. But it is one of the strongest, and, to our thinking, one of the most satisfactory sentiments to be found in the whole range of current political ideas.

From the *Manchester Examiner*:—There have been great changes in our Colonies within the last twenty years, but Lord Rosebery warns us that there will be greater changes within the next twenty. We entirely share his opinion that our relations with them cannot long remain what they are. Here, as might have been expected, Lord Rosebery's views on Imperial Federation come flashing to the light. He admits that it is the question which lies nearest to his heart. It is the dream and object of his life. It is an object which is worth living for, and for which a man might be content to die. As a matter of sentiment we largely share his sympathies. There is probably no Englishman who would not feel a pang at the breaking up of our Colonial Empire. Yet it is on the cards as an event which we may witness. No doubt Lord Rosebery wants to give us a wholesome fright, but the terrors he invokes are not wholly fictitious. Our Colonial relations generally have reached a critical stage, and it is impossible to foresee how things will shape themselves.

From the *Manchester Guardian*:—At present what is called Imperial Federation, "for want of a better name," is an aspiration and nothing more. Lord Rosebery confesses that it is the dominant passion of his public life. He says: "Ever since I traversed those great regions which own the sway of the British Crown outside these islands, I have felt that

there was a cause which merited all the enthusiasm and energy that a man could give to it." We respect the warmth of feeling with which he entertains this "larger hope" for our future. Equally do we respect the broad spirit with which he contemplates its realisation. He has no affinity with those who have no higher notions of "Imperial Federation" than that of a close Customs Union. Such notions are the product of a short-sighted selfishness. He reminds us that sacrifices will be required, risks undertaken, and freedom of action surrendered. The question of our future relations with the Colonies is indeed a great one, and should not be approached except in the spirit of the highest statesmanship. It is one, moreover, which will not be settled in a day, and much more light will be needed before the way to its solution can be at all clearly discerned.

From the *Lincoln Gazette*:—In a masterly and thoughtful address delivered on Wednesday to the Leeds Chamber of Commerce, Lord Rosebery has done a useful work in stating the Federation problem anew, in handing it over to the slow processes of public opinion. His speech is a nut to crack for Chambers of Commerce all over the kingdom. He has launched his ideas, and it is for those to whom he speaks to provide the understanding.

From the *Canadian Gazette*:—In all this we need hardly say that we are in substance at one with Lord Rosebery. It is, above all things, important that the business community of the Mother Country should realise the true bearings of this question, and the more they seek to do so the more anxious they will become that every practical means should be taken of bringing the Colonies and the Empire into more intimate relations the one with the other. "Imperial Federation," in the generally, though it may be wrongly, accepted sense of the word, namely, a hard and fast political and commercial union, is of course, for the present, impossible. Lord Rosebery will be the first to admit that. But we may constantly bear in mind that it is upon such foundations as a plan of Colonial defence and a system of postal union that a lasting fabric of Imperial unity may by degrees be built up.

From the *Weekly Budget*:—Lord Rosebery's utterances on Colonial subjects are always interesting. They are so not only because his lordship is a man of superior ability, both of thought and speech, but also because he has decided views upon the subject. His lordship is strong for Imperial Federation. In this speech he not only expressed the opinion that the connection between the Colonies and the Mother Country should be rendered closer and firmer, but also that, if this were to be done—if we are to retain a strong, a united, and a peaceful Empire, we will have to admit the Colonies to a much larger share in our affairs than at present. This seems a hard saying. We have already given them what is practically absolute self-government. Instead of compelling them to accept our goods and to pay taxes to us, we have given them the power to compel us to pay a duty on our goods when brought to their markets—a power which they do not hesitate fully to use—and we have handed over to them millions of acres of good land in their respective neighbourhoods, and now Lord Rosebery tells us we must make more sacrifices to induce them to respect the slender connection which remains between us and them. He may be right, but the people of this country have certainly a right to demand that they shall be shown what are the advantages to be secured by the further sacrifices required of them.

From the *Guardian*:—Lord Rosebery has the right to speak on Imperial Federation which is conferred by an ardent belief in it. Lord Rosebery has no delusions about Colonial loyalty. If Australia and Canada are to remain English they must be admitted to a much larger share in Imperial affairs, and to a much more influential voice in the determination of Imperial policy than they at present possess. No great benefit can be obtained without a sacrifice, and the sacrifice England must make, if she wishes to keep her Colonial Empire, is the diminution of her insular freedom of action. That is very different language from the artless commonplaces which are for the most part considered good enough for a speech about the Colonies, and we are not at all sure that when Imperial Federation comes to be understood in Lord Rosebery's sense it will be quite so popular a cry as it is now. But he is undoubtedly right in thinking that it is the only sense in which it can be understood to any useful purpose. The Colonies have a very precise idea of what they want from us, and though they are probably quite willing to give an equivalent in return, the transaction will be in the strictest sense a bargain.

From the *Economist*:—On Wednesday Lord Rosebery explained to the Chamber of Commerce, at Leeds, the faith that is in him in regard to Imperial Federation. Imperial Federation, he declared, was the dominant passion of his public life. Unless the Colonies were kept attached to the Mother Country, the Empire would go to pieces, and the only thing to keep them attached would be some form of Imperial Federation; and although that could not be obtained without sacrifices on the part of England, yet the Empire was worth such sacrifices. Such was the general drift of Lord Rosebery's speech. Surely, however, this fussy instance on the part of the advocates of Imperial Federation, that we must be up and doing something, we know not exactly what, but, at any rate, something to save the Empire, is in reality very mischievous. We are quite as ready as Lord Rosebery to admit the immense advantages which flow from keeping the Empire together, and we would do nothing that could possibly relax our ties to the Colonies, or prevent the connection from growing gradually closer by the silent working of common interests and sympathetic intercourse. We refuse, however, to admit that we must therefore adopt the plans of the Imperial Federationists. Indeed, it seems to us that the more men care for the Empire, the more they will hesitate to wantonly interfere with the *status quo*.

Lord Rosebery and the Imperial Federationists are put off their balance by the greatness of the Empire, and if not restrained by wiser counsels they are likely enough to injure it in their well-intentioned but ill-judged efforts to keep it together. Let us assume that at this moment Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the Cape want to be brought into closer political relations with England. Shall we satisfy this want by forming an Imperial Federation, governed by some body



in which all the Colonies and Dependencies shall be represented? Most assuredly we shall not, for such a scheme will bind the Colonies, not merely to us, but to each other—a result for which they are by no means anxious. Canada has no desire to be drawn closer to Australia, or Australia to the Cape, though each might not object to a political partnership with England.

Federation demands that the Federating States shall be of equal or nearly equal importance, and shall, at any rate, enter the Federation on absolutely equal terms. But from this Federation Lord Rosebery and his followers evidently shrink. They want to find a half-way house, to get a hybrid between Federation and Imperial Government by England. This is impossible. You cannot have an Empire unless either one State is supreme, or else all the States combine on an equal footing to form a common authority. At present we have the former condition. The Colonies are willing to admit for Imperial concerns the supremacy of England as long as that supremacy is wisely and fairly wielded. Some day, perhaps, it may happen that we shall be able to adopt the other alternative. That, however, cannot happen till Canada, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand are able to treat with England as equals in population, wealth, and power. Then, but not till then, Federation may cease to be a dream, and we may be able to build up an entirely new State out of the countries over which England now exercises an Imperial authority with the consent, and by the wish, of the inhabitants of the scattered lands which have been colonised by the Anglo-Saxon race in every quarter of the globe.

### CANADA, AUSTRALIA, AND THE MOTHER COUNTRY.

ADDRESS BY PRINCIPAL GRANT.

PRINCIPAL GRANT, of Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, delivered an address, on August 23, in the Scots Church, Collins Street, Melbourne, on the subject of Canada, Australia, and the Mother Country. The church was crowded, the audience being ministers of various denominations, a large number of members of both Houses of Parliament, several of the judges of the Supreme Court, the professors of the University, and a large number of prominent citizens. The chair was taken by Sir James MacBain, M.L.C.

PRINCIPAL GRANT, in opening his address, said that a few months ago a very sensible physician had sent him away from home on a long voyage, under orders not to preach or lecture except occasionally, and to very small and select parties. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) It was with no thought of disobeying those orders that he had consented to lecture on this occasion; for, as he had been oracularly informed again and again that the whole subject of our relations with the Mother Country—or, as it was popularly called, Imperial Federation—was a mere fad, existing only in the minds of a few dreamers, he had concluded that this meeting would be a very select party indeed. He was not to know that, in a city so busy as this with practical matters, and at a season when everybody had Centennial Exhibition festivities on the brain, there would be so many dreamers. But, judging by the appearance of hard-headed-looking men, and of women by no means hard-looking, representing the "dreamers" of Melbourne, he could only say that if the bulk of the wide-awake population were, as commercial travellers put it, "up to sample," it was no wonder that the original discoverers called this part of the island-continent Australia Felix. Having to address a small party, he had chosen a large subject. Canada was a large country; bounded on three sides by three oceans, and on the fourth by the watershed of the continent of North America, a Dominion composed of Provinces formerly as different and separated from each other as the different Australias were now, Provinces that had busied themselves for a long time in the interesting occupation of cutting each other's throats with rusty razors they called tariffs, on the manufacture and constant repair of which their public men had bestowed a great amount of care and labour that was sometimes called statesmanship. They had emerged out of that state of interprovincial chaos, and the effect of their union had been altogether good, especially its effect upon national character and national aims, surely the first point of view from which to look at any public subject. This union had widened their horizon by lifting them a little above parish politics, and it had at the same time made them a little more modest.

CANADIANS AND THEREBY BRITONS.

They were beginning to feel that while it was a good thing to be a Canadian, the special glory of being a Canadian was that thereby and at the same time they were Britons. (Applause.) Yes, Canada was a big country. Not that it grew to its present size at one bound, nor that it was done growing. The whole mainland was now one dominion; Newfoundland was negotiating for union, and, no doubt, would soon enter; and the West Indies were also likely to join them, commercially if not politically. Canada had a good appetite, which, physicians said, was one of the best signs of perfect health. If Canada was big, so also was Australia. He had seen a great deal of it already—in the Centennial Exhibition—and had come to the conclusion that if he were a Victorian he could honestly blow a pretty loud trumpet. The Mother Country was not so large as Canada or Australia, but which of us loved his mother for her size or her weight in pounds avoirdupois? Although little, they loved her all the more. When they left her and went abroad to carve their way in the world, that did not mean separation, because distance never separated hearts. (Applause.) It did not in the past, and would not now. They loved the Mother Country in the past, loved her now, and would love her in the future. (Applause.)

Time but the impression stronger makes,  
As streams their channels deeper wear.

The hospitality extended to him had been so cordial and generous that he hardly knew how to express his thanks. He stood there

on a broad platform, the one on which Knox stood when Queen Mary asked him, "Who are you that venture to speak about her duties to the Sovereign of this realm?"

"A SUBJECT OF THE SAME REALM, YOUR MAJESTY,"

was the reply. (Applause.) What was the position relatively of Australia and Canada? They were next-door neighbours, yet they knew nothing of each other, and did nothing to bring themselves into closer relations of any kind. That was not to be wondered at in the days when, to get at each other, they had to go against the sun round the greater part of the globe, but the possibilities of intercourse had changed by the construction of the Canadian railway. (Applause.) Now they could go to each other or around the world, by sea, or partly by sea and partly by land, without stepping on foreign soil. (Applause.) What did the position in which they stood to one another and to the Mother Country involve? With submission to the judgment of those locally better informed than he was, it meant, in the first place, a United Australia. (Applause.) Without such a union it was almost impossible to have common action even on matters of common interest. (Applause.) Without common action their interests might be imperilled, their aspirations thwarted, and their national sentiment dwarfed and enfeebled. (Applause.) He would take as much unity as he could get. He would take the union of some of the parts if he could not get the whole. (Applause.) He would seek union at the earliest possible moment and in the frankest possible way, for delays were dangerous. When men were not engaged in building bridges to connect each other, they were very likely to become engaged in digging ditches to separate each other. (Applause.) Let the matter be submitted to the judgment of the people, and when it was put plainly they would know what to do. Let him state positively that one secret of the material and political development of the United States and Canada was to be found in the union which each had cultivated within itself. No man in the United States would now dream of proposing the erection of barriers between the different States, and some of them were as populous as the whole of Australia. (Applause.) Canada was older than Australia. They had had to contend for existence and self-government as Australia had not been compelled to contend. In 1812–15 they had to fight, aided of course by the troops of the Mother Country, against neighbours then thirty times more numerous than themselves. Canada decided for the second time that she would stand true to the Mother Country. (Applause.) She decided it then on more than one field of battle. (Applause.) In 1837, when Victoria was just coming into being, Canada broke out into little rebellions, not for the purpose of obtaining separation, but in order to obtain the British system of Parliamentary government by ministers responsible to the people. They succeeded, and their success probably smoothed the path of Victoria, because Canada had taught British statesmen that British Colonists would be satisfied with nothing less than the full rights of British free men. (Applause.) In securing the union of divers Provinces under a federal system, Canada had advanced to a state of political development not yet attained by Australia. The first conclusion that followed a review of their positions was that Australia should unite and develop a distinctive Australian nationality. (Applause.) The difficulties must be grappled with, no matter how great they might be. Obstacles would disappear like the pricks of a nettle if grasped resolutely, but like the nettle they would sting if only toyed with. (Applause.) In the second place, Australia and Canada should cultivate the closest relations with each other, because they were as Colonies on the same plane in the British Empire. He was pleased with the energy shown by the Premier (Mr. Gillies) in pressing forward the necessity for a cable being constructed *via* Vancouver's Island. He looked at the benefit which would accrue, not from a commercial, political, Imperial, or newspaper point of view. Those interests could look after themselves, but he could not help looking rather to the effects such works had on the social relations between great continents. (Applause.) Immediate results would be an escape from monopoly, and cheap cabling. Think of what that meant. It meant the bringing together of families that had been separated by thousands of miles of ocean; it would cement those ties which should always exist no matter how far the son was separated from father and mother. (Applause.) The more we could multiply these facilities for communication, the more wise and statesmanlike would be our action. Besides this, he hoped to see steamship services and cheaper postal communication; for the cheaper and easier the means of communication, the more the people would write. Trade relations too should be cultivated between

CANADA AND AUSTRALIA AS SISTER COLONIES.

He hailed with pleasure the recent movement in Canada, when representative bodies joined in asking, through Lord Lansdowne, for a conference of public and authorised individuals to study up the whole subject of mutual trade relations between Canada and Australia, and the wise and thoughtful tone of Lord Lansdowne in promising to bring the matter before the Privy Council. If this conference were appointed it would, he believed, be warmly approved by the different Australian Colonies, and he trusted that it would lead to results. However desirable free-trade between the Mother Country and the Colonies might be, probably it was impracticable, because of two things—the necessity for the Colonies to raise so much of their revenue by duties on imports, and the great difference in the conditions of the two parties to the contract. But Colonies similarly situated were on one and the same platform, and as there would not be any large trade suddenly created, there could be no disturbance of existing interests. There could be nothing but gain. Canada could take Australian wool, wine, and other products. Australia could take their salmon, coal, lumber, agricultural implements, and so-called Yankee notions, all of which were not made in Yankeeland. This trade would grow to the benefit of both parties, and if not made absolutely and universally free, it could be arranged on a *quid pro quo* basis, which everyone admitted was fair, even though he were not prepared to go in for Free Trade. Here, again, trade would lead not only to friendship, but would promote the political and social development of both countries.



Here we came to the greatest question of all, one which underlay all he had been saying, that the relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies should be on a basis that will be permanent and satisfactory to all parties. Some people said it was not wise to raise such a question. The answer was that the question could not be buried, because unfinished questions, as a great thinker has said, have no pity for the repose of nations, and this question was unfinished. Until they disposed of that question as far as they were concerned, Germany, Italy, Austro-Hungary, and the United States were unable to do anything either at home or abroad, and there were as great difficulties in their way as in ours, though not the same. He who talked of uniting Germany was laughed at once. Italy was spoken of by a great statesman as "a geographical expression." Austro-Hungary was called "an ethnological museum." The United States, even after the revolutionary war, found the difficulties of uniting the various States as great as those that now lay in the way of uniting the Mother Country and her Colonies. On the other hand, Spain, the greatest country in Europe three centuries ago, had with her colonies sunk into insignificance because they had been unable to solve the problem the fates presented to them. This was the time to keep the question before our public men, because it was a time of peace, in which men could sift out and examine and find the best arrangement. To those who might say that union was impracticable, he would say he was not alarmed by that word.

IMPOSSIBLE BUT ACCOMPLISHED.

In his short life he had seen Canada succeed in at least four great undertakings that were pronounced "impracticable"—(1) to cross the Atlantic in steamships; (2) to unite the Maritime Provinces with Quebec; (3) to make railways in the country north of Lake Superior; and (4) to put a railway across the Canadian Rocky Mountains. The fact was that in this matter the Unionists occupied a middle position. He liked the name "Unionist" better than "Imperial Federationist." He did not like the word "Imperial." Britain was never an empire. It was always the land of freedom. It was a commonwealth. And he did not like the word "Federation," because that meant being bound down to some particular form. Therefore he said "Unionist." The Unionists, then, occupied a position midway—the truth was always in the middle—between extreme Tories on one side, desiring no change, and extreme Radicals on the other, who would change everything. To those who said, "Why should not the present state of things continue for ever?" he would answer, "Because a living society cannot be stationary." In a free, living society there must be progress. We had been going on progressing from the beginning, and must go on. When we stop we die. The people of Canada and Australia had reached such a stage of political manhood, that it was inconsistent that they should occupy a dependent position any longer. They must go forward to a position of equality with their fellow-citizens in Great Britain. On the other hand, it was asked, "Why not break off from the Mother Country?" The Unionist answered, "Because such a separation means all loss and no gain." (Applause.) Let them remember that this was the age of great empires, and the discoveries of science, and the development of steamships and men-of-war. Let them remember the strength of some of those empires—Russia with its 109,000,000, and China with its 400,000,000. Did they think that in the face of such mighty empires a continent like Australia could occupy a position of isolation? (Applause.) One would think they had forgotten the multiplication table. Some would say, "But we are growing." Yes, and so were the empires of which he spoke. Even if they had three times three million of people scattered over the continent or Australia, what would it avail them? Again, any nation that would play a worthy part in history must be true to honour and duty. (Applause.) It was only in the path of honour and duty that the true interests of individuals or nations were to be found. (Applause.) He confessed that he was talking sentiment. But he would like to know what differentiated man from the brute? There was a difference. It might be said that courage and chastity, faith and friendship—all sentiments—were not worthy the consideration of practical men; and that patriotism and principles were only the last refuge of scoundrels. He was told that they would sell all these for a few dollars. No, they would not. (Applause.) They were not half so bad as they would make themselves; they would not subordinate any of those sentiments to the deluding hope of gain. (Applause.) If they were capable of doing so in order to secure immediate gain, they were doomed, and would experience the pithy saying, "Soon ripe, soon rotten." (Laughter.) When he was told such a thing was sentiment, he asked was it right sentiment, and was there enough of it? He wanted nothing better, because he knew it would win. Trust a moral and religious people, and they would vindicate the trust. He believed it could be proved that separation would not be to the interest of the Colonies. (Applause.) He had never met a statesman in Canada or Australia who did not agree with him in that belief. Then let them take the advice of their wisest statesmen rather than that of the demagogue. (Applause.) He put the matter in the case of a nation, as he would in the case of an individual, on higher grounds than interest or fear of aggression from a foreign Power. Burns said in his address to a young friend—

"The fear of hell's the hangman's whip,  
To keep the wretch in order;  
But where you feel your honour grip,  
Let that aye be your border."

The grip of honour should be equally binding on nations. If it were not, the doom of that nation was the doom of Sodom. (Applause.) The doom of Sodom was the sin of Sodom—"pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness." He might be told that the United States rebelled against England and set up for themselves. Yes, but they had a cause. (Applause.) And yet that rebellion was a disaster to the world, to the English-speaking race, and to the United States. They might have secured the whole of their marvellous material development without the revolution which lowered the tone of the national character for more than a century. There was a quarrel, and the United States were in the right. How would their example

vindicate Australia if they had no cause, and if, by bully and bluster, they put themselves in the wrong? (Applause.) They put themselves in the wrong if they even thought of making a break in the continuity of their national life. (Applause.) Now they were members of the greatest, the most ancient, and the most renowned commonwealth the world had ever seen—(applause)—and they were coolly asked to break from it. With what loathing must every rightly constituted man contemplate such a proposal! (Applause.)

THEY MUST EXTEND THEIR VIEWS.

Mere continentalism had no charms for any one who was patriotic or cosmopolitan. What were the links which bound them to the Mother Country? There were the governors appointed by the Imperial Cabinet; the right of veto; the right of appeal to the Privy Council; the fact that they were represented by the consular and diplomatic staff of the Empire; that the whole Civil Service was open to them and their children; and also the fact that in time of war they had a right to expect to be defended by the whole force of the Empire. They would see that the links meant a good deal. They represented the common citizenship which they prized above everything else, and which they enjoyed in consequence of their organic union with the Mother Country. The individual symbol of that union and the unbroken continuity of the present with the past was the Queen, and the permanent symbol was the flag. (Applause.) Surely if that was so, the man who refused to honour the Queen was one that would insult the flag. He was a traitor whom, perhaps, they did not take the trouble to punish in these days, because they had ceased to break butterflies on a wheel. They pitted him because he was a fool, and despised him when he bragged. But in some countries he would have a very bad quarter of an hour, with the probability of being taken to the frontier and asked not to show himself again on pain of sundry eventualities he might not like. (Laughter.) In the United States let a man refuse to pay the ordinary courtesy to the President, or insult the Stars and Stripes, and he (the speaker) would not care to be in his boots for all the wealth of Broken Hill or Bendigo. (Laughter.) Yet they said America was a free country! So it was. But they drew the line somewhere. If he were asked to define the highest condition of society, he would say that that commonwealth was of the highest type in which all citizens were free, justice and equal rights secured to all, and in which at the same time most opportunities were open for the noblest men and the noblest kinds of public service. The rights of the meanest men were sacred, and so were the rights of great men—God's best gift to the world. Tried by this test, what empire was comparable to Great Britain? From the days of Alfred its motto had been liberty, on this condition, that the subject did his duty. And never did it offer such a field for the loftiest ambition as in our day. An Australian could rise to any position either here or in Britain, or in India where two hundred and fifty millions lived securely under the "Pax Britannica." This was our Empire;

WE DID NOT MAKE IT; WE DARED NOT BREAK IT;

we dared not rob our children and our children's children of the inheritance it had taken a hundred generations to form. (Applause.) In distinguishing those points on which there must be change, we must learn to discern between local and general, or home and foreign affairs. Home affairs were already under our own management. But there were foreign affairs in which there must be unity. An indispensable outcome of union would be a great fleet, in which arm of the service we must be partners. There would also have to be agreement as to peace or war, treaties and ambassadors. But we must be patient, and be contented for a time with a succession of conferences, such as that held last year in London. A scheme based on the United States Constitution might be suggested. There might be a Senate of something less than 100 members, representing the United Kingdom and the Colonies, to deal with foreign affairs, such as peace and war and treaties. The unit of representation might be, say, half a million of population; or it might be arranged on other bases. But he believed a satisfactory scheme would be at length evolved. At present we must not think, to use the language of the Premier of Canada, of wrecking the ship in the hope of saving some of the pieces. (Applause.) Unification would lift us up to the platform of full citizenship and lead to closer commercial relations; we might legislate in our own favour as against the rest of the world, and it would probably lead to the United States joining the federation, or making with us a permanent offensive and defensive alliance. Only, let us beware of fancying that we can get union by beginning with disunion. (Applause.) But results were not for us; duty was, and he would ask whether it could be right to cut ourselves off from the country to which we owed our national existence and all that made our civilisation precious. He would conclude with the prayer of a man who might be called a "dreamer," but he would rather dream with a poet and statesman like Milton than eat husks with swine:—

"May He who hath built up this Britannie Empire to a glorious and honourable height, wth all her daughter lands about her, stay us in this felicity. Amen."

(Loud applause.)

MR. MURRAY SMITH, in moving a vote of thanks to the Rev. Principal Grant, said that the address was the most earnest, powerful, and eloquent speech he had ever heard upon a subject that was dear to all interested in the future welfare and consolidation of Australasia. The Rev. Principal Grant had taught them a valuable lesson, and re-kindled the torch of Australian unity—(applause)—which had been checked and smothered during the last few years by petty rivalries and discontent. The address revealed the fact that unity was not a dream, but the possibility of a glorious and not very remote future. (Applause.)

MR. SIMON FRASER, M.L.C., seconded the motion, which was carried enthusiastically.

The CHAIRMAN, in conveying the thanks of the audience to the lecturer, remarked that the course of Imperial Federation would progress at a far greater rate than it had done if they could secure the advocacy of such men as the Rev. Principal Grant.

The latter having replied, the proceedings terminated.



# Imperial Federation League.

30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London, W.

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(Vice-President Royal Colonial  
Institute).

## NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

At a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."

That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.

That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.

That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.

That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.

That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.

That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.

That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.



# Imperial Federation.

DECEMBER 1, 1888.

WILLIAM BEDE DALLEY.

THE past month has by no means been destitute of events of serious import in more than one quarter of the Empire. But for all that, we must give the first place to the expression of the deep grief with which every member of the League throughout the world must have heard of the death of the Right Hon. W. B. Dalley. Our memories are short for public affairs nowadays; but though the death of Gordon and the fall of Khartoum seem like events that happened to a former generation, we have not yet forgotten the despatch of the Soudan contingent from New South Wales. It may be, however, that we scarcely remember the full significance of the step. England has gone through many a dark hour in the course of her history, and perhaps the contemporary newspapers that spoke of February, 1885, as the darkest hour of our history exaggerated somewhat. But that the hour was dark no man can deny. The critical nature of our position in Egypt, and the feeling of stupor with which the nation heard that Gordon was dead, no one can have forgotten. But these troubles came by no means alone. With Germany we had been for months past on the worst of terms. One misunderstanding had been removed only to make room for another and a more serious one. The popular feeling as to the position into which we had been brought by the then Colonial Secretary was summed up in the bitter irony of *Punch*, which represented Prince Bismarck as demanding, and Lord Derby as conceding, the instant surrender of the Tower of London. As for Russia, it need only be said that the Penjdeh affair happened while the New South Wales contingent was on its way to Suakin. Such was the moment chosen by Mr. Dalley to announce to all the world that he and his fellow-Colonists were Englishmen, and prepared to fight for England.

Never was there one more remarkable instance of the power of ideas, even in the domain of mere material force. New South Wales despatched a few hundred men—some three companies, according to the German reckoning. But the effect was felt throughout Europe. And not Europe alone. Colony after Colony stood forward to claim their share in the defence of the Empire. Canada, indeed, had offered to take her part before ever New South Wales spoke. And the rest of the Australasian Governments were only a day or two behind. Even little Fiji volunteered to send fifty men, and the Cape sent all good and loyal wishes, though its internal circumstances made it impossible to do more. But time blots out the details, and leaves only the broad outlines visible, and history will record that the first instance in which a Colonial contingent took part in a war on behalf of the Mother Country was in 1885, and with the fact she will couple two names—those of New South Wales and William Bede Dalley. Elsewhere we have dealt with the personal life and character of the man; here we are concerned only with the one great epoch-making event of his life.

In reference to this matter, our readers will, we are sure, read with interest the following account of how the New South Wales contingent ever came to be despatched at all. The offer was at one time within an ace of being declined. That it was accepted, and that the greatest stride forward in the direction of Imperial unity that has perhaps ever been taken was thereby accomplished, is in no small degree owing to the energy of that good friend of our cause, Sir Saul Samuel, the New South Wales Agent-General. The telegram from Sydney offering a contingent of 500 infantry and 400 artillery, free of all expense to the Mother Country, was received in London on a Thursday afternoon (12th February, 1885). Sir Saul went off

instantly to the Colonial Office and showed the telegram to Lord Derby, the then Secretary of State. "Write me a letter," said Lord Derby. "No, my Government want an answer at once," was the reply. "But I can do nothing," pleaded Lord Derby; "it is for the War Office to decide." "Well, then, may I go to them?" and consent being given, off went the Agent-General forthwith. Lord Hartington was at the House, but he saw Lord Morley (Under Secretary), Sir Archibald Alison (the Adjutant-General), and the Permanent Under Secretary (Sir Ralph Thompson). "We have got more men in the Soudan than we know what to do with already," objected the military authorities. "You'd better not decline the offer, for all that," was the reply. "Well, you must ask Lord Hartington."

Off went the Agent-General down to the House, saw Lord Hartington there and then, who expressed his admiration for the spirit displayed in the Colonial offer, but could only promise that it should receive immediate consideration. In despair, Sir Saul returned again to the Colonial Office, and implored Sir Robert Herbert to see what he could do. Sir Robert promised to do so, and was as good as his word; and the next time they are tempted to feel savage at the obstinate officialdom of the Colonial Office, we trust our readers will remember it to him for righteousness. Next day there was much consultation among high officials, on Saturday the Agent-General was informed that the offer was accepted, and on Sunday Mr. Dalley received a telegram announcing the fact, two hundred miles up country from Sydney. Monday brought the further news that Canada, Victoria, South Australia, and Queensland had also volunteered assistance, but that their offers had been declined with thanks.

We can hardly doubt that if the offer of New South Wales had waited a day or two, and all the proposals of the Colonies had come forward for consideration together, the Home Government would have ended in refusing the whole of them. Let us hope that Lord Derby and Lord Hartington may both live long enough to realise, as members of the Parliament of an Empire united in a perpetual league of peace, how perilously near they once ran to letting slip a golden occasion that might never have returned a second time. It should be added in fairness to the War Office, that once the offer was accepted the utmost eagerness was shown to work in harmony with the Colonial authorities. Sir Saul Samuel testified, we believe, at the time in a letter to the public press his sense of the satisfactory spirit in which he had been met, and on the return of the contingent to Sydney, the Home and the Colonial Governments vied with one another in generosity. The War Office presented the artillery with the battery of guns that they had been using, and the Admiralty sent them home free of expense in one of their transports. New South Wales, not to be outdone, presented all the horses of the contingent to the Imperial Government.

Let us conclude with two extracts, to show what was thought of the action at the time. The first is from the *Times* of February 18th, and expresses the absolutely universal sentiment at home at the time. It runs as follows:—

It is difficult to exaggerate the feeling that has been called forth in this country by the Colonial offer. . . . It is no exaggeration to say that the offer has given a new meaning to the phrase "Imperial Federation." It has shown that such Federation would not be the one-sided affair which some have believed that it would be. To the opponents of the Federal idea it has seemed that the scheme was merely one for enabling the Colonists to command with more effect the defensive forces of the Mother Country. . . . To that view the action of the Colonies at the present crisis has given a severe blow. Moreover, it has shown Imperial Federation in its most practical light. . . . The moment is well chosen. It needed some such proof that the ties of blood remain strong and real between ourselves and our kinsmen. The proof has been given, and the world will not be slow to realise its significance.

The other shall be from the words used by Mr. Dalley himself in a speech a few days after the contingent



sailed. And with his words we may well conclude, in the belief that, as Mr. Dalley said, the noble little band will yet prove to have been but the advance-guard of a glorious Imperial Federation:—

We have awakened in the Australian Colonies an enthusiasm of sacrifice, of heroism—(hear, hear)—of all the nobler qualities which are to the loftier national life what the immortal soul is to the perishable body of humanity. We have lifted up remote Colonies to equal companionship with chivalrous nations. . . . We have shown to the world that in a sense and with a meaning of sacred patriotism, the watchword of disloyalty is the very motto of our devotion; that England's difficulty is our opportunity—(hear, hear); that we have watched and waited for the moment when we could aid, however humbly, that Empire which, after all, is the guardian and depository of the noblest form of constitutional freedom that the world has ever seen. We have acted from the ambition to stand before the world as a part of the great brotherhood of freedom, and under the inspiration of that weighty Norse proverb which says, "Bare is back without brother behind it." Will there ever again be any justifiable ground for the apprehension of even the feeblest believer in the loyalty of the Colonies that we are insensible to the honour of England—(Never)—unequal to sacrifices for its protection, or unprepared to face all perils for its maintenance? . . . As I have said elsewhere, the statesmen who contemplate the disturbance of the world's peace will from this time not limit their calculations, so far as England is concerned, to her ironclads and her armies. They will consider the rapidly-increasing millions of her Colonial subjects, their boundless resources of all forms of material wealth, their capacity of swift and effective organisation for purposes of offence as well as of defence; and, above all, their triumphant resolve to stand by the great Empire in her troubles, and to spend and be spent in her service. (Cheers.) No ill-considered and uncalculated wars will be engaged in by even the most reckless of military despots; and our joyful sacrifices will aid the cause of peace. Gentlemen, you will not think for a moment that I am speaking as if all this will be the instant consequence of our single act in this Colony. But you know that that which we were by our promptitude enabled to accomplish, the other great Australian Colonies were most anxious to assist. The great neighbouring Colony of Victoria felt as deeply, aspired as nobly, was as capable of sacrifice and devotion, as ourselves. Nothing could possibly have been more honourable and gratifying than the conduct of its Government and people towards ourselves. They have covered us with congratulations, even as our own citizens covered our departing soldiers with flowers in the streets of the city as they marched to the ships. Their Governor sent a last touching message of sympathy and admiration, which was read to our men at the very moment of embarkation. Their Premier did the same, in language of heartfelt enthusiasm, which I caused to be sent after the men to Adelaide. Had an Australian contingent been accepted (of which I should have been proud if it were practicable) we could have sent a force of as many thousands as we sent hundreds. (Loud and continued applause.) And this will be known to the world. Our little noble band is but the advance-guard of a glorious Imperial Federation.

#### THE APPOINTMENT OF COLONIAL GOVERNORS.

WE warned our readers last month that trouble with Queensland was in store for us. Our words have come true even sooner than we could have expected. In our Parliamentary intelligence, and in the telegrams from Sydney and Melbourne that we have subjoined to it, will be found practically the whole of the information available with reference to the important constitutional question that the Queensland Government have raised. Of the method in which it has been raised we desire to say as little as possible. The warmest supporter of Sir Thomas McIlwraith can hardly, we think, congratulate him on the tone which he has adopted or the temper which he has displayed, more especially when the Brisbane despatches are compared with those that have reached this country from Sydney and Adelaide. Nor is it easy to sympathise with the specific objections to Sir Henry Blake. Queensland, we are told, is entitled, on the ground of its importance, not only to be informed beforehand of the name of the proposed Governor, but also to demand that he shall be a man of proved ability and discretion in the administration of a Responsible government. Great, however, as the importance of Queensland undoubtedly is, Queensland can obviously only claim to take precedence of two other colonies possessing responsible Government—Tasmania, namely, and Newfound-

land—and even to these two it is inferior in point of seniority. Sir Thomas will hardly assert that the Governor-General of Canada, the High Commissioner from the Cape, or even the Governors of New South Wales or Victoria, ought to look upon it as promotion to be removed to Brisbane; and yet when a gentleman who, whatever may be known or thought on the subject in Brisbane, undoubtedly has administered Responsible Government with discretion and success, is appointed, the disapprobation of the appointment in the Colony is "spontaneous, immediate, and general." Perhaps it would be as well if Sir Thomas McIlwraith, who seems to have no objection to communicating his views to Her Majesty's Ministers through the medium of the public press, would kindly inform us who there is that would meet his somewhat exalted estimate of Queensland's deserts. Lord Dufferin—if, indeed, his recent experiences among Asiatics be not a disqualification—might possibly pass muster, but we have difficulty in suggesting a second name.

Turning from the local and personal, which, if not a small, is at least a smaller, matter, to the general question, we may take for granted that the New South Wales and South Australian Ministers—if the telegrams are to be trusted, the New Zealand Ministers also—agree in principle with the Queensland claim that the Colonial Ministers should be informed beforehand of the name of the intended Governor, and that in Victoria, on the other hand, the objections put forward in Lord Knutsford's most able despatch to Sir Arthur Blyth have been felt to be unanswerable. On the other count, however, of its claim, we may notice Queensland receives no support from its neighbouring Colonies. Sir Henry Parkes only asks that, in plain English, future Governors shall be persons of distinction. This is really knocking at an open door. If there ever was a time when, in the graceful language of the *Sydney Bulletin*, "the cast-off duds and club-loungers of London" were sent out as Governors, that time is so long past that we may really begin to forget it. That "no man ought to be appointed merely for the sake of the salary attached to the office" cannot be more unanimously resolved by the Sydney Parliament than it will be unanimously admitted by the Government and the public at home. We have pointed out one objection to Sir Thomas McIlwraith's demand that Australian Governors shall always be persons who have already successfully administered responsible government elsewhere, namely, that it narrows the field of selection almost to a vanishing point. Let us point out also one or two objections to Sir Henry Parkes's suggestion that Governors should be largely recruited from politicians who have become prominent in the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Is not this something very like what is known in America as the "spoils" system? Is it not tantamount to inviting the Home Government to reward the smart debater, the keen party politician, with a snug £5,000 a year? Further, is it not the very way to complicate domestic and inter-Imperial politics? Let us take an instance. Queensland is said—we have elsewhere given reason for thinking that the statement is erroneous—to object to Sir Henry Blake on the ground of his previous career as a magistrate in Ireland. If such an objection is conceivable in the case of a mere executive officer, will it not be felt with tenfold force in the case of active party politicians? To balance the Queensland objection to Sir Henry Blake as a Coercionist, we shall have, say, the Conservative Ministry of Sir John Macdonald protesting against the appointment of someone else as too pronounced a Radical! Of course, an objection taken by, say, a new Griffith Ministry in Queensland to a Governor approved by the present Ministry, that he was a partisan, and merely McIlwraith's "man," would be unfounded and unjustifiable; but will any one acquainted with the lengths to which party spirit can be carried venture to assert that such a charge would never be made? As for communicating the names of Governors to the Colonial Ministers in advance, we confess to thinking that the Colonial Office is in the right, and that matters had much better be left as they are. But that they will be so left in spite of the protests of three Australian Colonies, or even that they ought to be so left, is more than we are prepared to say. Perhaps it may be possible to come to some compromise in the matter—for the retiring Governor, let us



say, to discuss informally with the Premier the names of suggested successors. Even this, we fear, is not without its dangers. The Premier who acknowledges that A, B, and C are all unexceptionable, may still have a decided preference for C, and feel proportionately chagrined if B is appointed. The responsibility in the last resort rests, it is admitted, with the Home Government. It would certainly be as well that there should be no appearance of dividing it. Given as honest a desire as exists here at present to make proper appointments, and an honest desire there to live in harmony with the Mother Country, the present system seems the one best fitted to avoid friction. With an inclination to pick a quarrel, the proposed reform would certainly do less than nothing to avert it. If nothing short of an ex-Prime Minister will satisfy the dignity of Queensland, and there is no ex-Prime Minister available at the moment, what is the Colonial Office to do? Is it to go on suggesting names till Queensland gets tired of objecting to them? For our own part, after the telegram read by Baron Henry de Worms in the House of Commons on November 12th, we cannot dismiss the suspicion that potential Governors might object to have confidential discussions taking place as to their acceptability—if the upshot of such discussions were liable at any time to be communicated to the public press. Of course, from the point of view of an Imperial Federationist, the moral of the whole business is so obvious as scarcely to need drawing. The *status quo* is becoming daily more impossible. The great Colonies are reaching man's estate, and are inclined, as young men often are, to be touchy, and to suspect unnecessarily that their elders do not fully appreciate their virile dignity. If the Colonial Secretary, instead of being a member of the English Cabinet, were a member of and responsible to an Imperial Council in which Queensland was represented precisely on an equality with Great Britain, it would have been impossible for this difficulty ever to have arisen.

#### "IS AUSTRALIA REASONABLY SAFE FROM INVASION?"

SUCH is the title of the first leader in *Young Australia*, the somewhat oddly-named Colonial Naval and Military Gazette. "We have no hesitation in replying, No," are the opening words of the article, which goes on to say that, though Melbourne and Brisbane occupy what are naturally very strong positions, "Sydney and Adelaide can both be shelled from the open sea, and there are thousands of fertile districts on our coast where troops could be landed absolutely unmolested, could entrench themselves and leisurely establish a base of operations." To this last entirely indisputable point we called attention in these columns some months back at the time of the Chinese scare. Let us add two facts that have not hitherto received the attention they merit, as showing how far Australia is as yet from being self-sufficing. The one that the Colonies have at present only got as far as discussing the possibility of establishing a military powder factory, the other that the railroad system is very far from having been laid down from a strategic point of view. The gauge in South Australia is 3ft. 6in., in Victoria 4ft. 8½in., in New South Wales 5ft. 3in., while in Queensland it comes back once more to 3ft. 6in. Further, the lines are of course almost universally single. Everybody knows what break of gauge and single line means when it comes to the transport of troops and of munitions of war.

This being so, the position assumed by the Nationalist party that Australia ought to provide for its own defence becomes simply futile. It is no good discussing the "ought" till we have solved the preliminary question whether she can. And to that question the unhesitating answer of every one who considers that, rich and prosperous as the Colonies are, they cannot afford to reconstruct their railways and to fortify and garrison points all along their coasts, must be that they can not. Brisbane itself may be safe, and we are glad to see that the Queensland forces—a gunboat and two torpedo boats—had some naval manoeuvres of their own not long since, but what of all the rising towns along or near the coast? What of Cairns and Rockhampton, and Townsville and Normanton, and the rest of them? Will the Queensland fleet be able to detach squadrons sufficient for

their protection? Whatever the rank and file may think—perhaps it would be more accurate to say that they have never thought at all on the subject—the leaders of the Nationalist party must know that it is all talk that they can defend themselves, and in their secret hearts must be perfectly well aware that they are relying on the fact that if the worst comes to the worst England must protect them.

An ignoble calculation enough, whether it be inspired by a desire to shift from their own shoulders burdens that they ought in fairness to bear themselves, or by the still less worthy desire to score a party victory over Sir Samuel Griffith, careless of the weapons that they employ for the purpose; for a third explanation that has been offered, that there is a considerable section of the Queensland population actively desirous to humiliate the Mother Country, we refuse to believe. But we fancy the Queensland politicians may be reckoning to some extent without their host. As far as the United Kingdom is concerned, they are probably correct in thinking that we should go on defending Queensland from external foes, however that Colony might behave towards us. The mother is accustomed to spend and be spent on behalf of her daughters, even though their language and their actions may cease to be filial. But daughters are not so complaisant one towards another. And Queensland has a good many sisters, who may flatly refuse to pay one farthing for her defence. Indeed, this very point has just been raised in the New Zealand Parliament. The Imperial Defences Act—to give it the English title—was passed in that Colony with the special proviso that New Zealand was released from the obligation to contribute unless all the other Colonies accepted their share of the burden. And as long ago as last August a member of the Assembly urged that the time had already come for New Zealand to retire from a one-sided bargain. We may expect before long to hear the same thing said in the other Colonies, who already perhaps may not have been exactly soothed by the recent large increase in the Queensland import duties. To so just and natural a complaint it will be impossible for the Home Government to refuse to listen. Having listened, it can make but two answers. The one that they are prepared to resume unaided the whole burden of the defence of Australia—an answer which would, we firmly believe, induce even that long-suffering worm, the British taxpayer, to turn and refuse to ratify their undertakings, the other that the Australasian Squadron shall not be employed in Queensland waters. And neither result, as far as we can see, would be satisfactory to Queensland.

#### A LIFE-AND-DEATH STRUGGLE.

LORD KIMBERLEY, who if not a markedly successful is at least an experienced Colonial Secretary, was one of the chief speakers at the Liberal banquet on the Colston Anniversary at Bristol on November 13th. In the course of his speech he referred to Imperial Federation in these words:—

Both parties fully recognised [the inestimable value of their Colonies to this country, and the only thing he was afraid of was that, in their eagerness to draw closer the ties between the Colonies and the Mother Country, they might possibly go a little further than the circumstances of the case might warrant. (Hear, hear.) What he meant was this. They heard a great deal about Federation. Now Federation was an idea, a grand idea, and he had great sympathy with it under certain circumstances. Nay, more; he could conceive that, with the wonderful changes taking place in the world and the extraordinary facilities of communication which were now every day increasing, it might be possible some day that some federal system, which now they did not anticipate, might be practicable; but of this he was certain: that if they endeavoured to press upon our Colonies prematurely any tightening of the links between us and them, not only should we not increase our ultimate prospects of success, but such a policy might be attended with great and serious risks. (Hear, hear.) Suppose they had anything in the shape of a federal connection or anything which gave the Colonies and the Home Country a joint voice in foreign affairs, the home voice would be so potent that they would be in a hopeless minority, the result of which would be constant discontent on the part of the Colonies. But he and every one rejoiced at what was done last year by bringing them in closer contact for defence, which was likely to lead to a still closer alliance for common defence. In dealing with these young communities they must have regard to their sentiments, and in local affairs they could not be too careful or



cautious. Interfere with their local affairs—with what they regarded as their true independent province—and strong as might be the feeling toward the Old Country, the links which bound them might run very thin or snap.

A few days earlier another ex-Colonial Secretary was the guest of the Mayor at a banquet in Liverpool; and on the strength of that speech we intend, without his permission—we are very sure we must do it without his permission, or not at all—to claim Lord Derby as a supporter of our cause. The words to which we desire to direct attention were as follows:—

They would expect him to say a few words as to the state of affairs in this year 1888. My opinion, proceeded his lordship, may be worth very little, but at least it is that of one who has been compelled to watch public life pretty closely for a considerable time, who has no interests to serve and no antipathies to gratify, and who has always tried to look at contemporary events from a national and administrative rather than from a party point of view. (Hear, hear.) On some former occasions I have talked to you about the industrial prospects of the country. I shall not do so now, because I believe that the despondency which it was then my object to combat has passed off, and that, as regards industrial questions, the public mind is exactly in that state which is most desirable—hopeful without over-confidence, and cautious without being discouraged. (Hear, hear.) We have before us in all probability a return of better times, but what it now most concerns us to remember is the presence of two dangers which we must face, which we cannot escape by ignoring, and which it will need all our care to guard against. One is that of a constant growth of population at a rate more rapid than that of the corresponding increase of capital; the other is the competition to which in the markets of the world we are exposed—a competition in many cases actually fed and stimulated by English capital, a competition in which victory rests with the race which can work most effectively, and produce most cheaply. (Hear, hear.) Asia is in the field as well as Europe—Oriental frugality and docility, backed up by European science—and though I believe we shall hold our own in the long run, I believe also we shall be harder put to it than we have ever been yet. And for us the struggle is one of life or death. We have made for ourselves a great and peculiar position. We cannot now return to the simple existence of a merely agricultural country. We are bound to go on or to collapse.

We have said the same thing ourselves times without number. Mr. Lyttleton Gell said it at the Oxford meeting last month, when he declared that starvation, down to the 6,000,000 or 7,000,000 that these islands could feed, would be the ultimate fate of Great Britain if she hesitated and paltered and drew back inside the limits of the four seas, like a snail into its shell. Lord Derby was, of course, speaking of trade, and not of Colonial policy specially so called. But does any one question the truth, one might say the truism, that trade follows the flag? And is it possible to separate our extra-European trade from our foreign and Colonial policy? Take the two most obvious instances. Suppose England to declare, in the words of the *Spectator*, that under no conceivable circumstances would we go to war for “Canadian cod,” or, in plain English, that we wished to be rid of the responsibility of defending Canada. Does any sane man doubt that Canada would be forced, reluctantly, perhaps, but still necessarily, to come to terms with the States, and that the first article of the new understanding would be the adoption by Canada of the United States tariff? Again, we grow tired of our Australian difficulties. Why, say the sapient followers of Mr. Labouchere, should we squabble with our Australian cousins? What is it to us what Governor reigns over them? Let them choose a man to rule them for themselves. In other words, let us leave Australia wholly to itself. Australia then, calling the tune, must expect to pay the piper; must, that is, provide for her own external defence.

Whether Australia would be strong enough to do so is a separate question. Lord Carrington warned the men of New South Wales not long since that there was no rule of international law which would entitle Australians to claim North West Australia on the ground of actual occupation and colonisation; that, to use his own expression, the earth-hunger of France and Germany was only kept off by the Union Jack. But, be that as it may, this much at least is certain, that the first action of the independent Australian Colonies would be to form a new United States of Australia. This they would be absolutely forced to do in self-defence.

And it is equally certain that they would imitate their elder namesake in adopting a sternly protective tariff against outside nations. We are sometimes told in this country that our Colonies treat us badly—they levy protective duties on their imports from the Mother Country. The answer is obvious, that they are neither more or less selfish than the Mother Country. We impartially tax no imports—with two or three exceptions for revenue purposes exclusively—to suit our own convenience. The Colonists impartially tax all imports to suit their own convenience. We treat Victoria no better than the United States. Victoria treats the United States no better than Great Britain. Once, however, our existing connection is gone, good-bye for England to its present most-favoured-nation treatment. Not only will Germany or France be only too ready to negotiate Reciprocity treaties—which would mean to start with the bankruptcy of Leeds and Bradford—but the manufactures of Sydney and Melbourne themselves would be enormously stimulated by their access to a threefold wider market. Protection in a small area like Victoria may perhaps be a failure, but that a country with a sufficient internal Free Trade market to fall back upon can thrive under Protection, is shown conspicuously enough by the twenty years' experience of the United States.

“But,” says Lord Derby's senior colleague, “why be in such a hurry? Imperial Federation is all very well; it is a noble idea; perhaps soon after the Greek Kalends we may be ready for it. But, *surtout*, *Messieurs, point de zèle*, let us not endeavour ‘prematurely’ to tighten the links. Such a policy may be attended with great and serious risks.” Are there no risks then, we ask, at the present moment? Are the links that bind us to Queensland, for example, just stretched to the convenient point of tautness and nothing more? Are they not, in fact, being subjected to what is perilously near their breaking strain? When one Colonial Premier repeats half-a-dozen times in his place in Parliament that he doesn't care a straw what the Imperial Secretary of State may say or do, when a second Colonial Minister, to whose words we called our readers' attention last month, can tell his constituents that the Cape Government will annex Bechuanaland “notwithstanding contrary statements by Her Majesty's Ministers,” is it a time for a responsible English statesman to assure his audience—an audience, we presume, as lamentably ignorant as English audiences usually are of Colonial affairs—that everything is for the best in this best of all possible worlds? Would he not have done better service to his country if he had told his hearers, “The position of affairs is very serious, gentlemen, let us at least not make it more serious by neglecting to attend to our business till it is too late”? One word more, and we have done with Lord Kimberley. The Colonists have at present no more voice in Imperial foreign affairs than if they were children or certified lunatics. With that position they are, so he gives us to understand, content. But if we gave them a voice, on the same terms that it is exercised by Manchester or Glasgow, a voice in rough proportion to their numerical importance, “the result would be constant discontent on the part of the Colonies.” An ex-Colonial Secretary should know something of Colonial temper. For our own part, all we can say is that, if Lord Kimberley has gauged it accurately, Colonists are such very unreasonable persons that it is a bad look-out for the Empire.

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THE highest aim of Canadian state-manship will now be the strengthening and improvement of our relations with England and the sister Colonies. We do not favour immediate discrimination against the United States, because that might be misconstrued as “retaliation,” and Canada would then look as ridiculous as the United States. But it is obvious that if our commerce is checked permanently in one direction, it must be encouraged to find new channels.—*Montreal Star*.

RUNNING through the comments of the London journals is a kindly feeling towards the Colonies and a distinct desire to draw closer the bonds that hold them to the Mother Land. There is none of that spirit visible which prevailed some years ago in the Manchester school of politicians to the effect that if any of the Colonies were dissatisfied with their position they could go. The necessity and the advantages of closer connection between Great Britain and her dependencies are more apparent to our fellow-countrymen over the water than they ever were before, and Canada especially is the subject of thought on the part of the publicists. Out of all this mental activity in regard to our country some good must ensue, for at the present time Canada's resources, Canada's tendencies, and Canada's future are subjects of interest to the politicians on both sides of the Atlantic.—*Montreal Star*.



\* \* In order that the Journal may be a complete record, we insert all matter bearing on Imperial Federation, without reference to the quarter from which it may proceed, but it is hardly necessary to remind our readers that party politics, whether at home or in the Colonies, are wholly alien to the League in any shape or form, and that the League is in no way responsible for the opinions stated therein.

## THE TWO SIR THOMAS McILWRAITHS.

FROM A CORRESPONDENT.

"IMPERIAL FEDERATION" has often complained of the ignorance in which the editors of the great journals are content to leave the British public in reference to important events that happen in our Australian Colonies. It has surely never had better grounds for complaint than at the present moment. So little information has been vouchsafed in reference to the affairs of Queensland, that I fancied—and I am convinced that the majority of your contemporaries shared my belief—that the present Premier of that Colony was the gentleman who held the same position a few years back. Knowing something of the previous record of ex-Premier Sir Thomas McIlwraith, I was not a little surprised at the evident desire of the present Queensland Ministry to pick a quarrel with, and to endeavour to humiliate, Her Majesty's representative, the late Governor, Sir Anthony Musgrave. But a document that has recently reached me resolves my difficulties by, as I say, convincing me that there are two Sir Thomas McIlwraiths—an ex-Premier and a Premier—in Queensland public life. It may be thought surprising that the Queensland papers make no mention of this remarkable coincidence, but a moment's reflection will show that nothing is more likely than that writers on the spot should assume in all their readers the same familiarity with a conspicuous fact as they possess themselves. I propose shortly to state the evidence upon which my own belief is based, and I think that when I have done so, your readers will agree with me in thinking that no other hypothesis is adequate to explain the facts of the case.

As I write, there lies before me an election manifesto. It purports to be "extracted from the *Sydney Bulletin* of April 21st," but a large part of the four-page pamphlet consists of paraphrase and condensation printed in a different type. The whole is headed "North Brisbane Election"—North Brisbane being, it will be remembered, the constituency for which the present Premier sits. In case any of your readers should wish to obtain copies of the manifesto—for it is really most interesting throughout—I may add that the printers are Alex. Muir and Morcom, Creek Street, Brisbane. Here, then, is the standard beneath which the present Premier marched to victory. "The natal day of a new nation is dawning in Australia. . . . The approaching Queensland election has resolved itself into a question of Australian Nationalism *v.* Imperialism, and the victory of the McIlwraith party will be virtually a demand for independence in the near future—the united protest of a great Colony against Imperial servitude." Sir Samuel Griffith and his party are, we are told, "pledged to make Australia a tributary of England; to postpone, if possible for ever, the birth of Australian independence; to prop up the old régime by which this great Continent is ruled by a set of sleepy and ignorant clerks at the Colonial Office, and the cast-off dudes and club-loungers of London are sent out to serve as the heads of the Australian States." After this, one is not surprised to find that the present Queensland Premier from his place in Parliament stated that "he did not think it worth while" to answer the Governor's dispatch, and that "the decision, whatever it might be, of Lord Knutsford did not matter a straw to him." The manifesto continues: "The Naval Defence Bill on which he [Sir Samuel Griffith] staked his political existence in return for the meanest and cheapest pewter degradation which the Queen can confer—the degradation which he shares with successful British grocers and cheesemongers, and with apoplectic mayors without sense or grammar—is a distinct attempt to perpetuate in Australia the system of taxation without representation which awoke the less servile Americans to fierce revolt." It was this passage, I may say, about the pewter degradation which first put me

upon the track of my discovery. The Sir Thomas McIlwraith who has hitherto been known in England is, like Sir Samuel Griffith, a K.C.M.G.; if the present Premier had had the honour to belong to that distinguished order, even the most vulgar of his hangers-on could scarcely have been senseless enough to pen the lines I have just quoted. A few extracts more from the manifesto of the present Premier, whom I may for convenience sake call Sir Thomas McIlwraith No. 2. Your readers will see the reason for them—apart from their grace of style—when they come to compare them with the utterances of Sir Thomas McIlwraith No. 1:—"The central point of McIlwraith's creed is that Australia was meant not only to be peopled but to be ruled by Australians, and in his eyes the Naval Defence conspiracy is merely a scheme by which the country is to pay for foreign ships and foreign guns to suppress its aspirations for independence. . . . The establishment of an Australian Republic is the ultimate goal towards which McIlwraith's policy is directed. . . . So long as this Continent is dependent on the British Empire, internal reforms only tend to enrich and improve a land which is not our own, to strengthen a people who are forbidden to become a nation, and whose energies—if Griffith and Dalley are to be believed—are to be for ever employed in propping up a rotting monarchy on the other side of the globe."

And now let us turn from the unsavoury spectacle of this ill bird fouling its own nest to the other Sir Thomas McIlwraith, ex-Premier of Queensland. That gentleman was here—"home," he would have called it—no longer ago than 1884, and he was received with well-merited honour, not only in his native town of Ayr, where his family live still as respected citizens, and in Glasgow, but also in the capital city of the Empire. Naturally, his opinion upon Colonial matters was sought as that of a representative statesman. And here are some of them, as recorded in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of August 15, 1884:—"I am all for co-partnership between the Colonies and the Mother Country for purposes of self-defence. It will help you materially; it is absolutely essential to us. . . . From every point of view it is a question of vital importance to the English in all parts of the world that the English realm, wherever it is scattered, should be as one against all foreign foes. I think that the vast expanse of uninhabited lands which you have handed over to us ought never to have been handed over to us; for what right have 300,000 persons, settled upon the mere outside fringe of a Colony like Queensland, to dispose of the absolute ownership of 400,000,000 acres in the interior?" Sir Thomas further declared that he had formed the deep conviction that the Liberal leaders "would not stretch forth a finger to save the Colonies to the Empire. . . . It has been a bitter disappointment to me." His interlocutor assured him that was not the feeling of the Liberal party, that "to us the English beyond the sea and the English at home are but one family and one State; and the maintenance of its integrity and unity is, to our minds, a question immeasurably greater than any now before the public." "I think so," said Sir Thomas in reply, and going on to speak of the "Expansion of England," he exclaimed, "Have I read it! I read it through twice from cover to cover. It is a great book, a prophetic book, a book which presents truths to you in such a fashion that you marvel you never realised them before." But I need quote no more. We can only regret that the statesman who uttered these words, Sir Thomas McIlwraith, K.C.M.G., has disappeared from public life. If further proof were needed that he can have no connection with the more recent Sir Thomas Ilwraith of the North Brisbane hustings, it may be found in the fact that the *Sydney Bulletin* supports this latter politician because "his past career makes it certain that he will adhere to the last to the cause he has adopted."

WITH the exception of a few unimportant individuals scattered over the country, and at least two newspapers, there are no annexationists in this country. The people of Canada have no intention of "hauling down the British flag;" but if the time should come when a desire for a change shall be manifested, we may be certain that an independent national existence, for which the country is not at present prepared, would be sought rather than union with a foreign nation, which would result in the complete absorption of Canada, and the abandonment of every feature of government which now makes that of the one country distinct from that of the other.—*Ottawa Daily Citizen*.



### In Memoriam.

WILLIAM BEDE DALLEY.

DIED OCTOBER 30, 1888.

UPON the spacious chess-board of the world  
'No timid trafficker with pawns wert thou ;  
Thy lip, methinks, with noble scorn had curled,  
A flush of shame had clothed thy manly brow,

Had any meaner soul essayed to mar  
The working of thy bold Imperial plan,  
What time Australia, listening from afar,  
Heard Gordon's agony in the waste Soudan.

She heard—she came ! To avenge the mighty dead,  
With feet unflinching and with eyes afire,  
Swift over seas the faithful daughter sped,  
By loyal love sustained, and stern desire.

The nations marvelled, "What is yon array  
That from the Southward sails into our ken?"  
And cheerily rang the answer, loud and gay  
As martial music, "We are Englishmen!"

And thou, the author of that gallant quest,  
Didst mark the word, and know that it was well.  
Death claims thee now—enough ! upon thy breast  
Britannia lays this wreath of asphodel.

H. F. WILSON.

The Right Hon. William Bede Dalley was born in 1831, and called to the Sydney Bar in 1856. Shortly afterwards he was elected member for Sydney. He was Solicitor-General in the Cowper Ministry from November, 1858, to February, 1859. He then retired from public life entirely, and devoted himself exclusively to the practice of his profession. He never re-entered the Assembly, but in February, 1875, he became Attorney-General with a seat in the Council. He held that office till March, 1877, again from August to November in the same year, and a third time from January, 1883, to October, 1885. It was owing to the illness of his chief, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Alexander Stuart, during the latter part of his tenure of office on this occasion, that he was acting as Premier at the time of the dispatch of the Soudan contingent.

Below we give some personal reminiscences that will, we are sure, be interesting to every reader of this journal.

SIR SAUL SAMUEL, K.C.M.G., Agent-General for New South Wales, writes :—

I can add little to what has already been published in the *Times* and elsewhere as to the public life of Mr. Dalley. No one, I think, ever knew why he remained so long outside public affairs. He was a born orator—a gift which, no doubt, he owed to his Irish blood ; but the effect of his oratory was largely reinforced by his personal popularity, and his winning geniality of manner. He had a charming voice, and, eloquent though he was, was at the same time a thoroughly practical speaker. As representing the Government in the Upper House, it fell to his lot to have to explain their financial policy ; and he did so in a manner that moved the admiration of men of business. With us, it must be remembered, the Attorney-General is the Public Prosecutor, and this difficult position he filled to universal satisfaction. He was a favourite with all parties. He could not suppress his exuberant kindness of disposition. If he called a cabman to drive him down to the Assembly, it would be, "My dear old boy, I want you to be so kind as to take me—." Mr. Dalley was Acting Colonial Secretary at the time of the Suakim Expedition, as the Premier, Sir Alexander (then Mr.) Stuart, had gone on a voyage to New Zealand for the benefit of his health. Sir Edward Strickland has, I believe, the credit of being the first to suggest the idea of the dispatch of a Colonial contingent ; but it was Mr. Dalley who took the responsibility of doing what constitutionally of course he had no power to do, and to him belongs the credit of carrying out the plan. It is a remarkable thing perhaps that, in spite of the prominent position Mr. Dalley occupied for so long, there is no important Act of the Colonial Legislature that is associated with his name. I was much grieved, on the occasion of my recent visit to Australia, to see how entirely his health had given way, so I cannot say that the sad news we have received ought to have been entirely unexpected. I listened to what was, I believe, the last speech he ever made—that on the second reading of the Influx of Chinese Restriction Bill, in the Legislative Council, on May 30th. He did not oppose the Bill, but suggested alterations, some of which were adopted. His physical weakness on that occasion was manifest ; a good deal of the speech was read.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT, C.B., M.P., writes under date, "Imperial Parliament, House of Commons, November 18," as follows :—

It was this very day four years ago, at the beautiful Government House of New South Wales, that I met one who was more than a

Colonial legislator, more than an able lawyer, more than a charming individual—one who has done much to cement together the links between the Mother Country of Britain and the great Colonial Empire which constitutes at once her present strength and her limitless future. Alas that that cheerful voice is still, that that friendly expression is gone ! It is all too soon. The Right Hon. W. B. Dalley would have done much more had he been given better health and longer life. But his work has not—will not follow him. It will be taken up, pursued, and strengthened by many an Australian-Britisher. To him belongs the honour of having prompted the first drawing of an Australasian sword in defence of a common Empire. May that sword never do other work ! This is not a biography ; this is not a chronicle of dates, of appointments, of speeches ; it is but an expression of personal sorrow at the untimely death of a truly great and noble brother. It is re-echoed by all who knew him, by all who ever held that honest hand—over island, over continent, and over ocean. It is re-echoed in the Parliaments, in the Courts of Justice, and—ay, most assuredly—even in the Privy Council of our Sovereign Lady the Queen.

It was late on in the night when Dalley and I last parted in hospitable Sydney. He had but a few minutes to reach the pier, ere the last steamer started for his island-home in that most exquisite of havens, where he was father and mother both to his motherless children. To the traveller he said, 'Good-bye.' To Dalley I repeat it now. Ah ! I can almost hear him saying to his driver, as he did that evening under the Southern Cross, with the friendly ring that knew no degrees, but greeted all alike, "To the boat, dear boy !" Yes, Dalley has gone home—to his long home ; but he has left a statesman's name behind him, and to all an Imperial example.

LORD BRASSEY writes :—

I had the great privilege of meeting Mr. Dalley when I was at Sydney, and was specially impressed with his many accomplishments and his great eloquence. Mr. Dalley had the tone and style of a scholar and statesman, as sometimes so happily combined in the Old Country.

On the occasion of my being entertained by the Association of Contractors of New South Wales, at a luncheon at which the leading men of the Colony were present, Mr. Dalley made the speech of the day.

I was much touched by his graceful reference to my father's career, and to the biography which was published some seventeen years ago by Sir Arthur Helps.

### GOOD SEED ON GOOD GROUND.

SUBJOINED are extracts from letters recently received at the League offices. They should be read with interest by every one who believes that it is not only necessary but possible to awaken the British electorate to the fact that they are citizens not merely of Great but of Greater Britain :—

Mr. William Crowther, Public Library, Derby, writes :—"Thank you for the copy of *IMPERIAL FEDERATION* you are good enough to send us. My experience is that everything bearing on our Colonies is read most eagerly."

Mr. C. F. Harrison, Borough of Harrogate Free Public Library, writes :—"Thank you for *IMPERIAL FEDERATION*, I consider it an acquisition to our list of papers."

Mr. H. T. Tolkard, Wigan Free Public Library, writes :—"The paper *IMPERIAL FEDERATION* is much appreciated here."

Mr. C. R. Rowe, Free Public Library, Devonport, writes :—"I am glad to know that we shall receive copies of the *Empire*. From a residence on the other side of the Atlantic my sympathies are largely Canadian, and as opportunities arise I have utilised my information in all that helps Imperial Federation. The people of England do not understand much about Canada, or her importance to the Empire."

Mr. William May, Free Public Library, Birkenhead, writes :—"Thank you for your kindness in sending us *IMPERIAL FEDERATION*, which has a great amount of popularity with the public of this town who use the reading-room of this Library. It was only the other day that the question of providing a proper supply of papers giving the best accounts of the doings of our fellow-countrymen in the Colonies of America and Australasia was brought before the committee. The supply of your paper will be a valuable aid to us in our aim to provide papers of a like nature."

Mr. William Gibson, Librarian, Truro Free Library, writes :—"The copy of *IMPERIAL FEDERATION* was received, and immediately placed upon the table. From its present appearance I should say it has been well perused."

ENGLISH statesmen having admitted Federation of the Empire as a possible issue in Imperial politics, the question assumes in the eyes of Canadians an importance which hitherto it did not possess. In its broad outlines the scheme has a grandeur well calculated to captivate the imagination. But those who have assumed the direction of the movement on this side of the water have not identified themselves with the current of Canadian thought, and sadly fail to keep their touch in the march of Colonial progress. . . . Imperialism in Canada has reached high-water mark under Sir John Macdonald, yet it is no straining of the metaphor to say "after him the deluge," in which Imperialism will be drowned out for ever.—*Montreal True Witness*.



## CANADIAN NOTES.

(FROM OUR TORONTO CORRESPONDENT.)

ON Tuesday last, the 6th inst., our American cousins, from Maine to California, were vigorously engaged in polling their votes in the Presidential election. It is no exaggeration to say that this quadrennial convulsion is a national calamity to our neighbours. For weeks beforehand—it would almost be proper to say months—the business of the country is interfered with on this account. And I do not need to tell your readers that the methods resorted to by the professional politicians of the country, in order to make capital for one side or the other, are not calculated to act in the same way as oil does on troubled waters.

The struggle between the two parties, coming as it does once in every four years, has become a national calamity to the United States. It is not out of place to compare their system with ours! When one of our Governors-General has served his term, he leaves the country peaceably and quietly, and returns to England. The next incoming steamer brings the new incumbent of the gubernatorial chair, and he proceeds to Ottawa, and assumes the reins of government. There is no accompanying excitement—a few forms and hospitalities, and that is all! Needless to say we don't envy our American cousins this portion of their system of government. The result, as you know already, is that Cleveland has lost and Harrison (the Stalwart from the West) has won the election.

The reason of Cleveland's defeat is not difficult to point out. The great issue—the one that overshadowed all others—was the Tariff question, and Cleveland, representing as he did the principles of Free Trade and the former slave traders of the "Solid South," lost the day on account of the preponderating influence of the great Northern manufacturing States, and also the Western agricultural States and territories in favour of Protection. The cry of "Protection and Prosperity" won the day for Harrison, involving as it did the maintenance of a policy which excluded the hated British manufactures from the Yankee markets. It was the anti-British vote which held the balance of power in this great struggle, and the party which advocated the exclusion of the British trader secured this vote for itself. Cleveland tried, though too late, to attract this party to his side by dallying with the Retaliation question, but the sop was not sufficient for Cerberus, as the thin disguise was too easily seen through. Had Cleveland won the election we would have heard nothing more about Retaliation, as all his actions showed that he was in favour of a conciliatory policy, and valued highly the friendship of England. The result of Harrison's election will be, in the States, the maintenance of the present protective tariff, and the inauguration of a vigorous foreign policy. To this they are committed.

The Republican party it was that rejected the Fisheries Treaty, and elected to stand by their strict rights; they have said that these should be vigorously defended. To us in Canada the election has two very important bearings. In the first place the party in power is not friendly to us, and we may look for a renewal of trouble with regard to our fisheries. To show you the importance of this industry, let me mention to you that there were sixty thousand men employed in it in 1887, and that the value of the yield was eighteen and a half million pounds. Our Government has pledged itself to stand by our strict rights, and to maintain them. It is not too much to say, therefore, that there are troublous times in store for us.

In the next place the opinion is general throughout the country that the accession to power of the Republican party inserts the last nail in the coffin of Commercial Union and drives it well home. Had Cleveland won the election, the effect on the Commercial Unionists would have been very different, as their theory was based on the assumption that we might be able to obtain favours from the American Government. Cleveland might have listened to the voice of these charmers, but the party of Protection will have none of them.

Some of the actions of these politicians who sought to cater dainty morsels to tickle the palate of the British-haters and Tail-twisters call for a passing comment. Across the street of Broadway, New York, I saw great streamers stretched, bearing the legend, "Down with the British!" and hundreds of campaign badges bore the same motto. The newspapers were full of all sorts and descriptions of articles calculated to please this section of voters. In the New York *Sun* I read the report of an interview with the Secretary of State for the Navy of the United States, stating that about a year ago his Cabinet had fully considered the question of the possibility of difficulties arising between Canada and the States, and fully determined on the line of action they would take in that event, giving a complete and accurate statement of the various militia forces in Canada, with their numbers; also of the Imperial troops at Halifax; also giving the exact tonnage and measurement of the various vessels comprising the Atlantic and Pacific squadrons, and concluding with remarks upon the various vulnerable places at which the Dominion might be attacked. If any nation in Europe conducted its affairs in this manner, I take it that it is not too much to say that such an interview would become a *casus belli*.

The New York *Tribune* published maps of the fortifications of Bermuda and Halifax quite recently, and gave a full statement of its views on the subject of how these two fortresses might be easily captured! I said that these matters called for a passing comment. This I will leave to your readers.

I am glad to be able to say that the very latest reports go to show that the wheat crop in Manitoba will prove a great success this year. The total amount available for export is estimated at about fifteen million bushels, but twelve millions would be a safer figure. This result bears out the estimate of Mr. W. J. Harris, F.S.S., in his article on the wheat crop of the world in the *Colonies and India* of September 12th last, and shows his calculations to be surprisingly accurate.

A matter which is attracting a great deal of attention just now is the question of the Pacific Cable to Australia. The successful floating of this enterprise and of its sister-undertaking, the steamship line to Australia, are matters of vital importance to Canada in particular and to the cause of Imperial Unity at large. It is confidently expected that the increased facility for inter-communication will open up a very important trade with our sister-Colonies at the Antipodes. This question is now all the more important on account of the action taken at the meeting of the Council of the League held in Toronto on the 8th inst., when it was decided to take active steps to bring about the holding of Colonial conferences from time to time to discuss matters of trade chiefly, and also such matters as inter-communication, postal and telegraph facilities, &c. The League in Canada has taken this action because it has felt that the holding of such conferences would bring about a large measure of profitable trade between the Colonies, and would ultimately lead to reciprocal tariffs being adopted. It has been felt that, if this result can be brought about, the Mother Country would then recognise, more fully than she does to-day, the necessity of strengthening the commercial ties between herself and her Colonies by some method similar to the one suggested. At this meeting of the Council a committee was appointed to deal with this subject, and committees were also appointed to organise branches and to endeavour to enlarge the circulation of your journal in this country. There were some thirty members of the Council present, and a very interesting discussion was had. At the suggestion of Mr. D. R. Wilkie, of Toronto, the committee appointed to deal with the Conference question will also consider the reduction in postage, both to points in Canada and in the rest of the Empire. It is certainly an anomaly that an American may post a letter in San Francisco and send it to Halifax for two cents, whereas if a Canadian post a letter in Canada and desires to send it to another town five miles distant he has to pay three cents! Since the last meeting of the Council the following branches have been properly organised, and a resolution was passed affiliating them with the League in Canada:—Brantford, St. Thomas, Port Arthur, Orillia [these have already been announced in our columns, *Ed. IMPERIAL FEDERATION*], Bracebridge (Ontario), and Sydney (Nova Scotia). It is expected that other branches will be formed shortly, as it is the intention of the League to take up this work actively.

CUDO SED CURO.

Nov. 10, 1888.

THERE seems little question that the navigable channel in the Detroit River opposite Amherstburg lies wholly within Canadian territory. It is therefore open to question whether the Dominion Government might not exercise a greater control over our lake commerce than we could over that of the Canadians. When it is noted that that commerce is said to be greater than five times the tonnage passing through the Suez Canal, the question of Retaliation assumes formidable proportions.—*New York Herald*.

MR. BLAIR had the boldness to allege that "undoubtedly a majority of the people of Canada are in favour of union with the United States." In the course of his political career Mr. Blair never made a statement more opposed to an actual condition of facts than he did in this matter. The overwhelming mass of the people of Canada do not favourably regard any such movement. They are loyal to Canada, loyal to the great Empire of which Canada is no inconsiderable part, and the sooner Mr. Blair and those who are deceived as he is on the subject learn the reliable facts from reliable sources, the better for their intelligence.—*Ottawa Daily Citizen*.

THE scheme providing for the confederation of all parts of the British Empire appears to be rapidly gaining favour in England, where it is being generally discussed. Mr. Gladstone, it is said, has long had it in mind, and that his plan of Home Rule for Ireland was the beginning of his efforts in that direction. Lord Rosebery has made open proclamation of his belief in the practicability and desirability of the scheme, and very commonly public sentiment, as reflected by the newspaper press, advocates it. But the success of Imperial Federation will depend not so much upon what England thinks of it, but what the Canadians, Australians, and the people of the other dependencies think of it. Naturally Englishmen wish for and urge it: it is not patriotism so much as business which inspires the wish. They want the Colonies for their market, and they want the market a free one. . . . The truth appears to be that Canada is as little likely to agree to the British Confederation scheme as she is to induce or coerce the United States into a Commercial Union. The former she does not want, the latter she does; and she will probably get neither. Her annexation to this country is likely to occur much sooner than the establishment of free-trade relations.—*Philadelphia Evening Telegraph*.



## A REPRESENTATIVE COLONIST.

MR. WESTGARTH IN AUSTRALIA.

MR. WILLIAM WESTGARTH needs no introduction to the readers of this journal, or else we might tell them, in the words of the *South Australian Advertiser*, how he landed in Port Phillip as long ago as 1840, how a few years later he represented Melbourne in the New South Wales Parliament, how in 1851 he became one of the original members of the first Victorian Parliament, occupying at the same time the position of President of the Melbourne Chamber of Commerce. Since 1857 Mr. Westgarth has been a resident in London, but this summer he has revisited Australia once more. Landing in Victoria, where he was received as a guest whom all parties united to honour, he went on to New South Wales, thence to Queensland. Next he crossed to New Zealand, back again to Melbourne, and so home *via* Adelaide. With his experience and his opportunities, Mr. Westgarth's opinion should be worth hearing, and here is what he told an Adelaide reporter on the eve of his embarkation for England on October 12th, apropos of a question as to the value of Colonial securities, a point on which Mr. Westgarth is probably the greatest living authority:—

I believe that a Federated Australia would command a higher price for its bonds than Canada, because we regard Australia's resources as superior to those of Canada. Moreover, we think there is not the slightest danger of Australia seceding from the Empire, whereas there is at any rate a possibility of Canada doing so. She appears to be sliding towards the United States, although I don't say that she will ever become a part of that country.

But we are getting on too fast. Let us go back to the farewell that Mr. Westgarth took of his fellow-citizens in Melbourne. On October 1st he was entertained at dinner by Mr. Francis Henty, the President of the Old Colonists' Association. Mr. Service, Sir James McBain, President of the Legislative Council, Mr. Purves, Q.C., of Australian Native fame, the Mayor of Melbourne, and the President of the Melbourne Chamber of Commerce, were among the large and representative company assembled to meet him. Next day Mr. Westgarth delivered an address on "Imperial and Intercolonial Federation" at the Banking Institute. At the dinner, owing to Mr. Henty's unfortunate indisposition, the task of proposing the health of the guest fell to Mr. Service.

MR. SERVICE said: Mr. Henty and Gentlemen,—I think it is exceedingly appropriate that, as one of our oldest Colonists, Mr. W. Westgarth should be honoured by the Old Colonists' Association. (Hear, hear.) When I came to this Colony in 1853 I found Mr. Westgarth already an old and respected Colonist, a man who at that early stage had made his mark in the history of the Colony. Not many years after I landed in Victoria Mr. Westgarth removed, to use a clerical expression, to a sphere of greater usefulness: and it was not until I began to make my visits to Europe that I became particularly acquainted with our guest. I then found that Mr. Westgarth occupied quite a unique position in reference to the Old Country and this Colony. He was like some of our constellations—he was visible in both the northern and the southern hemispheres. (Laughter and cheers.) Mr. Westgarth was well known here and in London, and the peculiar feature about him is that, whilst he has been over thirty years away from Australia, throughout the whole of that time he has been an Australian in London. (Cheers.) Although he became a true Londoner, he never ceased to remain a true Australian. (Cheers.) All Colonists who have visited London will know that Mr. Westgarth occupies a high position in financial circles; in fact, he has been almost the adviser-general of the Colonies upon matters financial. (Cheers.) On all occasions, whether in times of prosperity or in times of adversity, whether one wanted to float a loan or get information upon some abstruse matter connected with finances—and there are abstruse matters in connection with financial undertakings—(laughter)—although they resolve themselves after all into the question of whether your pocket is full or empty—on such occasions, Mr. Westgarth was never found wanting. (Cheers.) As one of our Agent-Generals at this table can testify, Mr. Westgarth has always been ready and able to advise in the best direction for the interests of the Colony. (Mr. Murray Smith—"Hear, hear.") And I might say the same with regard to the interest he has always taken in regard to the other Colonies. (Hear, hear.) But Mr. Westgarth has also taken a great interest in matters affecting these Australian Colonies outside of what may be called the financial sphere—not as a party politician, because he has never been a party politician—(hear, hear)—but the curious and unique thing about Mr. Westgarth is that whilst he has never been a public man in the ordinary acceptance of the word, he has been one of the most prominent men, both in England, at all events in London, and in Australia that we could name on the present occasion. (Cheers.) Among other questions in which Mr. Westgarth has taken a lively interest is that of Intercolonial and Imperial Federation. (Cheers.) And whilst we regard him as one who has always evinced the greatest interest in Australia, its progress and prosperity, we welcome him here also in the capacity of a citizen of the great Empire to which we have all the pride and honour to belong. (Cheers.) Speaking of Imperial Federation, I have often felt that the word federation in connection with the word Imperial has a tendency to lead to misconception, and I have always preferred myself to use the term Imperial unity, as signifying the oneness of the Empire for ever and for ever. (Loud cheers.) People say, "What is the meaning of this Imperial Federation? How can it ever come to pass?" I say it can never come to pass if its accomplishment is to mean that the various branches of

this great Empire are not to rule themselves in all things belonging to themselves. (Cheers.) But there need not be any fear on that score. England has shown that it is her disposition, her resolution, and her policy to give us everything we want, and in some cases more than we deserve. (Loud cheers.) Whatever may be the nature of the bond that ties us hereafter, it will be a bond of love and affection. (Cheers.) The time has not come for us to speak of separating from the Old Country, and I hope sincerely that the time will never, never come. (Loud cheers.) And hearty as would be our greetings to Mr. Westgarth if he were a friend from America or from some of the great countries on the Continent of Europe, we greet him with tenfold warmth because we meet him as a brother, a fellow-citizen of the grand old British Empire to which we all belong. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, I ask you to drink to "The Health of Mr. Westgarth." (Cheers.)

Mr. Westgarth's reply dealt lately with matters referred to more fully in his lecture the following day, so we need only note that he advocated a liberal policy in respect of immigration, and that in reference to New Zealand he said: "There have been bad times in New Zealand. My decided impression as I travelled through that country was that New Zealand had seen the worst."

Turning then to his lecture, from which we must quote much more fully, Mr. Westgarth said:—

The present "Imperial" Parliament and Executive, although legally ranked as imperial, cannot command the strength of the Colonies. That Executive can only, if it will so far condescend, ask the Colonial Parliaments for help, and the Parliamentary vote, for or against their mother, may or may not give the help. Gentlemen, is this united Empire? It is that scattering of our strength which the well-known fable inferentially warns us against when it alludes to the tying up of the separate sticks into one bundle as giving the greatest attainable strength. Twenty years ago this subject attracted but slight attention at home. When about that time the question of the unity of the Empire was started, chiefly by a few of us within the walls of the Royal Colonial Institute, the indifference of the home public and Government alike was actually appalling, and we of that public already look back upon it with utter amazement. But all that is now entirely changed, and since the establishment of the Imperial Federation League the agitation for union has been alike energetic and systematic. When this movement had gradually become so objective as at last to attract attention outside of us—that is to say, about ten years ago—a leading Paris newspaper, whose name, however, I have forgotten, noticed the subject, and gave it "a leading article." This was to the effect that if England persisted in this action, and brought it to a successful conclusion, the international distribution of the power of the world would be so seriously altered, as to require that question to be publicly reconsidered. Could language be to us more significant?

Dealing with the financial advantage of Federation, Mr. Westgarth showed that the value of Colonial securities would be raised some 13 to 18 per cent. by Colonial Federation, with a still further and greater gain by Imperial unity. He went on:—

Let us now turn to the greater question of the Empire's Federation. Here, again, are difficulties. Yes, and difficulties will never cease in political conditions requiring to be mended, wherever active ingenuity is disposed to seek for them. But I will venture to say that the imaginary part of the difficulties far—indeed, very far—exceeds the real. The tariff difficulty in the Empire question I hardly look at, it is so comparatively small. If you federate with the tariffs as they are, while you have gained all the strength of union, what the worse are you in the tariff direction? As with the Intercolonial Federation, when once you are a united Empire you may leisurely consider the tariff question in a spirit that must, far more than before, tend to mutual concord. I therefore dismiss the tariff difficulty. But there is another difficulty much more serious than the tariff. That consists in the natural tendency of our Colonies, politically situated as they now respectively are, to gather together, each with its own special hedge, and when once thus gathered, most unwilling to remove the separating and, so to say, protecting hedge. This is obvious, even already, in Australasia; more so, perhaps, than even in Canada, with its much longer Colonial life; for the latter has an object in sticking to her Mother, as the alternative to being swallowed up and socially and politically lost in the adjacent great republic. This tendency, then, suggests to my mind the risk that in another one or two, or possibly as much as three generations of the present lax Imperial relations, if they be suffered to remain so long, the separative may have overbalanced the federative tendency, with the result that, in spite even of a general loyalty of feeling—hardly, perhaps, if at all, decreased in the interval—political unity will have become impossible, and the Empire be as surely doomed as if it had never existed. Now, the difficulty that arises out of this natural tendency in each separate Colony to hedge itself within its own relations, is the fear that an Imperial Federation would encroach upon their freedom of local government. They have an idea that they will place themselves under some undesirable bondage, and that they are much better simply as they are, and to go on in the old accustomed way. This is an impression rather difficult to remove, and apt to make the mass of such Colony hesitate, in spite of theoretical approval of unity, at taking practical action towards it. There is not, in my humble opinion, even the shadow of reality in this apprehension. I believe that the Colonies might all glide into the most effective Federation without any one of them, so far as visible practical change was concerned, being even aware that a change so momentous, or, in fact, any change whatever, had taken place. As the case appears to me, there is nothing to prevent the Colonies, just as they are, entering into adequate Federation, so soon as they and the Parent State have agreed upon the political method of the union. Our "constitutional" or representative system guides us to the following two great principles, upon which the unity



of the Empire must be based; first, that all the force, military or naval, of every part of the Empire be placed under one and the same executive; and second, that the Colonies be duly represented in that executive.

Mr. Westgarth then went on to urge the admission of Colonial representatives to the Home Cabinet as the true solution of the Imperial Federation problem. We do not reproduce his views on this point, as they may be found *in extenso* in two valuable letters which he contributed to our columns in June and July last, where also will be found what seem to us the obvious, though possibly not insuperable, objections to them. He concluded as follows:—

The question is often asked, how are we to begin, and what is to be the first step? I reply in the old maxim, that "where there's a will there's a way." Seeing that our venerable mother has at length aroused herself to show that she does care to retain her children, let the first summons come, as it naturally ought, from her. From what I have seen of Colonial loyalty, I cannot doubt that the response would be instantaneous, and the question would open at once over the Empire. The Colonial Conference of two years ago, a most significant departure in the new direction, was really this opening; but it was too vague and indirect, seeing that, although it discussed Colonial questions of a representative Empire, it left wholly untouched the question of that representation. . . . [Let the Queen, pending the elaboration of a scheme for Colonial election, *nominate* Colonial members of the Cabinet forthwith.] Such nominations, made, let us say, with the concurrence of the Colonies, would be practically a distinct approach to the constitutionally-completed Executive, and it would arouse, as with an electric shock, the whole Colonial Empire, because it would realise that, by a step so significant, the unity of the Empire was already even half attained. I hardly feel it necessary to pursue my subject into such details as the contributory proportions of Colonies, or as to what are Imperial and what only Colonial or local questions. These matters, as well as that of the tariffs, will gradually and leisurely adjust themselves as the Empire rolls on in her grand future. But the strength of Colonial loyalty to an united Empire is already, I am told, not free from certain weak links of the binding chain. A "national" party—an antimongarchical or republican party—is at times to the front, and Queensland has apparently installed, as her national motto, the words "Alliance, not Dependence." All this only confirms my remarks upon the naturally separative tendencies that have already been at work. Queensland, if there really is in this movement any strength worth speaking of, may well be excused under the supineness, the indifference as to the Colonies' future shown by home Government and home public alike up to within the last twenty years. Perhaps this is what she understands when she uses the term "dependence." If so, that state of the parental feeling, I assure her, has departed years ago. Our mother thinks but of a perfect equality; she begins even to foresee an early date when the Colonial element will outweigh the home; but there is not with her, as there ought not to be, any dread of such a prospect as between Englishmen all over the Empire. But if we cannot doubt that there are really some men amongst us, Englishmen as we all are, who contemplate the break up of this great Empire of Englishmen, let us try to realise what may pass in their minds when exercised on this subject. Possibly they declaim to their grandchildren upon a coming Australasian Empire of fifty millions of Englishmen, which is to arise in their far-off time through the parental efforts of to-day. Why, gentlemen, the Empire of fifty millions of Englishmen already exists, and does not require the dire sacrifice of putting ourselves out of it for the sake of our grandchildren. No, far rather hold to the fifty millions now, and thus bequeath not fifty only, but a hundred and fifty millions, to the grandchildren. I have but one more subject in conclusion. If we are, as I doubt not, destined to be an united Empire, let us not lose more time than we can help. Let us be prompt; not only because we are now like the soldier who, surrounded by those who may possibly be enemies, still hesitates to buckle on his armour, but in order that the great deed may be accomplished during the life and reign of our Queen—of that noble Lady whose Jubilee her people with one mind commemorated last year. They commemorated a fifty years' reign of purity and righteousness, more precious by its example to her people and Empire than all else. May she yet head an Empire which, united as we propose, will be the greatest the earth has yet witnessed, because its aim is to maintain industry and peace and the true progress and civilisation of the world.

CANADA will always be disposed to live in perfect harmony with her neighbours, and has proved this in the past. But the Canadians will never be the first to demand annexation. They live happily under the shadow of the British flag, and desire to rest under the constitutional régime which controls them.—*Le Canadien*.

THE New York *Herald* asks "why Ottawa should not be the capital of the United States?" There is no objection, but it must be on the condition that the constitution of Canada be adopted, and the flag of England continues to float over Rideau Hall, the residence of the Viceroy of the Dominion of Canada.—*Le Monde*.

IF America is ever to get hold of Canada by annexation, Commercial Union or otherwise, this is the time to act. The Dominion is getting bigger every hour, and what is much more important, is developing a spirit of nationality that will before long become assertive and independent. Once this reaches a climax all talk of a peaceable annexation will have to be thrown to the winds. There are some very shrewd and far-seeing men in the Dominion, and they are fully aware that Canada is a young giant, who is growing at a very satisfactory and remarkable rate of speed. If she gets much bigger and is still backed up by England it will be a more serious matter when she shakes her fist in America's face—as she has done during the recent Retaliation wrangle—than it is now.—"*Blakely Hall*" in the *New York Sun*.

## THE QUEENSLAND AMBASSADOR TO THE COURT OF ST. JAMES.

OUR readers will, we think, be amused at the following extract from the *Queenslander's* report of the proceedings in the Queensland Legislative Assembly on Wednesday, October 3rd. As Mr. Drake and Mr. O'Sullivan seem to take an interest in the views of their Agent-General on questions of English domestic politics, they may perhaps like to know that Mr. Archer not only resigned his membership of the League because it is "presided over by one whose principal object in life seems to be the breaking up of the union between Great Britain and Ireland," but also that he adds to the letter announcing his resignation the following words:—"While that brave and loyal statesman the late Mr. Forster presided over the League I gave it my warmest sympathy and support, and when a man of his stamp is got to preside over it again I will support it again, but not till then."

### THE AGENT-GENERAL.

MR. DRAKE asked the PREMIER: Is it true that Mr. T. Archer, Agent-General for Queensland, was until recently a member of the Imperial Federation League? Is it true that Mr. Archer has resigned his membership on the ground that the League is presided over by Lord Rosebery?

SIR T. MCILWRAITH: The answer to both questions is, "I don't know." (Laughter).

MR. DRAKE rose to move the adjournment of the House, saying that he was not satisfied with the answer. No doubt it was true, but the question was one of great importance, and the Government should have taken some means of ascertaining the facts in the case.

SIR T. MCILWRAITH pointed out that it was out of order to discuss a question relating to an answer given in the House.

SIR S. W. GRIFFITH said that it was the invariable practice of the House of Commons that if an answer given to a member was not satisfactory to him, he could raise a discussion upon it.

SIR T. MCILWRAITH said that the practice of the House of Commons was that a member might raise a debate provided that he got a certain number of members to rise in their places to support him. He should decline to spend one penny of Government money to find out the information asked for.

After a long discussion on the point of order as to the right to debate an answer given by a Minister,

MR. BARLOW moved the adjournment of the House, to bring under notice the paragraph which had appeared in the newspapers to the effect that the Queensland Ambassador to the Court of St. James's—(laughter)—had resigned his position as a member of the Imperial Federation League, on the ground that that League was presided over by Lord Rosebery. He thought that the Agent-General had seriously compromised the Government he represented by mixing himself up with matters with which the Colony had no concern.

MR. PAUL thought it was very reprehensible for the hon. member thus to delay the House, when it was anxious to make headway with the tariff—(hear, hear)—for which the people of the Colony were anxiously waiting.

MR. DRAKE said that the matter was one of great consequence. The Agent-General of the Colony belonged to a League whose idea was to crush the freedom and independence of certain parts of the British Empire; and the reason why he had resigned seemed much worse—because this League was apparently not Imperialistic enough for him. It was desirable hon. members should express their opinions about this appointment of the National Government.

MR. O'SULLIVAN thought the matter was one of some importance, and that some information should be given on the subject by the Government, otherwise when the Agent-General's salary came on in the estimates, he would be happy to reduce it to 1d. (Laughter.)

The motion for adjournment was withdrawn, and the matter dropped.

From this discussion we rejoice to see one thing, that Sir Thomas McIlwraith—very sensibly as we think—not only doesn't know but doesn't care "one penny" what the views of Mr. Archer as a private citizen and a voter in the Dulwich division of the parish of Camberwell, may be on a matter of domestic British politics with which Queensland has nothing whatever to do. This should put an end to the statements that have been so widely credited here that Sir Thomas McIlwraith's objection to Sir Henry Blake's appointment has anything to do with his career in Ireland. It is really useless for us to waste words on Mr. Drake. He describes the League as a body whose idea is to crush the freedom and independence of certain parts of the British Empire. The best answer we can make is to say, in five lines, that Queensland is not independent; that, if it were, all the tall talk of every Nationalist in the Colony would not keep it free much longer from foreign invasion; and that the aim of the League is to secure its promotion from its present position of dependence to that of a partner on equal terms with the Mother Country.

THE discussion over Imperial Federation has been aroused again by the speech of Lord Rosebery calling upon England to allow the Colonies due influence in the promotion of foreign affairs. As a matter of fact, in thought and feeling there already exists a Federation of the nature named, and the question to be faced in this agitation is that of how best to conserve the interests of Great Britain and her Colonies so as to give all an equal representation, and to conduct the fight shoulder to shoulder without any jostling or irritation.—*Brantford Daily Courier*.



## NOTICES.

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# Imperial Federation.

DECEMBER 1, 1888.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

MR. DALLEY is not the only prominent supporter whose loss we have to deplore this month. The Hon. F. T. GREGORY, M. L. C. and ex-Postmaster-General of Queensland, a colonist of almost half a century's standing, and, to quote the *Times* obituary notice, "the younger of the brothers whose names are as familiar in Australia as household words," was an original member of the Executive of the League. The Committee unanimously passed a resolution of regret at their meeting on November 19th, a feeling that must be shared by members of the League all over the world.

We have had occasion of late to speak strongly in condemnation both of the actions and of the language of the present Prime Minister of Queensland. It is the more incumbent upon us therefore to do justice to the generous terms in which, on the lamentably sudden death of the Governor, he referred to the antagonist with whom he had been in hot conflict only a few weeks before. In announcing the sad event in the Legislative Assembly, SIR THOMAS said: "The sudden death of one who has always been so well liked and so well appreciated in this country must have caused a sensation of a most painful character. . . . Our last Governor enjoyed universal respect and I may say the love of the people of this Colony, and those who knew him best were those who loved him most. I think we should show as much respect as possible to the memory of the deceased gentleman, and we cannot do it better than by adjourning our business for to-day." Next day, SIR THOMAS McILWRAITH and SIR SAMUEL GRIFFITH walked side by side as pall-bearers in the funeral procession.

We ventured last month to assert that it was more probable that LORD HARTINGTON had used two words inaccurately than that he had made an onslaught upon Imperial Federation in "half-a-dozen lines interjected into the middle of a political speech." A contemporary was, thereupon, good enough to describe this journal as "really very funny," and "apparently ignorant of the meaning of the word 'Empire.'" This is a small matter. We have been called much worse names by the Editor of the *Sydney Bulletin*, to say nothing of MESSRS. MERCIER and

LABOUCHERE, and we have survived. But our contemporary went on to say that "Colonists have taken his lordship's remarks to apply to the Empire as a whole," and that they would continue to do so till there was an authoritative contradiction on the point. Of course we were anxious that the deservedly high authority of LORD HARTINGTON should not be quoted against us, and also it was impossible to insist too often that Home Rule for the United Kingdom was one thing, and Imperial Federation was quite another. So we applied to LORD HARTINGTON and invited him to interpret his own words.

It is with much satisfaction that we publish the reply that follows:—

DEVONSHIRE HOUSE, PICCADILLY, W.

November 21, 1888.

SIR,—In answer to your letter of the 20th inst., I am directed by the Marquis of Hartington to say that his remarks were intended to have reference only to the United Kingdom, and he was not referring to any scheme of Imperial Federation. I am also to say that the terms he used were certainly not quite accurate; and though the term Imperial Parliament is frequently used to distinguish the existing Parliament from a local National Parliament, he ought strictly to have used the word United Kingdom, instead of Empire.—I remain, your obedient servant,

CHARLES ADEANE.

THE Premier of Victoria has sent home a Memorandum in reference to the Emigration Clauses of the Local Government Act. In it he mentions that if by the term "paupers" is meant respectable able-bodied men without sufficient funds to enable them to emigrate, whom their friends desire to assist to proceed to the Colonies, no objection can be offered to any project for their embarkation. If, however, it is proposed to send out feeble or idle persons from the workhouses or almshouses, the Government desire to raise their voice against such a scheme. People of that class would not only be useless colonists, but would inevitably fall back on the State for support, or have to be placed in the charitable institutions of the Colony for maintenance. The Colonial Office will, we are glad to think, have had no difficulty in reassuring MR. GILLIES. Indeed, those who have practical knowledge of the working of assisted emigration on this side could testify that "paupers" are likely to be emigrants of a very superior class. The meshes of the net that is spread first by the guardians and then by the Local Government Board are so fine, that a man to get through them must have a quite unexceptionable character. The few ne'er-do-weels who are sent out—and they are very few, we believe—go either at the expense of relations who want to be rid of them, or of benevolent persons who, in the language of MR. FRANCIS PEEK, against which we cannot protest too often, "take up one thriftless family as a charge and assist its emigration."

THE process of what our correspondent last month described as "Conciliating the Colonies" continues in full blast. "Why, except for mere superfluity of naughtiness," it is asked on all sides, "should the Government and the Court of Chancery forbid trustees to invest in Colonial stocks?" To which the answer is, in the first place, that the Government and the Court of Chancery forbid nothing of the kind. Trustees may invest in Honduras bonds for the matter of that if the trust deed empowers them so to do. What the Government refuses to do is to place Colonial bonds in the list of those investments that trustees may in all cases avail themselves of in default, or even in spite, of express directions in the trust deed—a very different matter. But for all that there is no denying that it would be an advantage to Colonial finance that Colonial securities should be placed in the category of "Investments authorised by the Supreme Court." "Why then not put them there?" we are asked forthwith. "For two reasons," we reply, "the first of which is that there is a real risk. It is at least within the bounds of possibility that Queensland, for instance, will try to cut the painter. If she did, her stock





THE GREATEST JOKE OF THE SEASON.

(Reproduced from "Grip.")

would tumble to half its present value forthwith; if Queensland were annexed by Germany or France, or invaded by China, it would go still lower.

"BUT this is not all. Colonists cannot both eat their cake and have it. Let the Colonies definitely cast in their lot with the Empire, and then let them reap all the advantages of the connection in improved credit and everything else. But not till then. It is false policy for England to give away all the points in its favour one by one, and then expect from gratitude that which a more business-like policy might have claimed from reasonable and enlightened self-interest. If, as we are told, Canada is at liberty to join the United States any day she pleases, the jurisdiction of the Privy Council would, we presume, in that case be excluded. Why then should England concede to Canadian stocks a privilege that no one has ever dreamt of claiming for United States bonds?" If any of our readers—some of whom have, we are aware, taken the opposite line—can answer this argument, keeping in mind our Imperial Federation point of view, we shall be glad to hear from him.

HERE is a Colonist who wants a good deal of "Conciliation." "Why," asks an "Australian" in a letter to *Public Opinion*, "does England not give the Colonists an advantage of imposing a 15 per cent. or 20 per cent. duty on foreign cereals and meat of all descriptions, and leave it to the discretion of the Colonists what articles they would admit free of duty in return? Such a course taken by the Mother Country would be highly appreciated by the Colonists, who would be only too glad to fully recognise it." One can fancy an inhabitant of the United Kingdom replying: "The margin with us is much finer than with you, and the risk in our case much greater. Our trade supremacy, which depends mainly on cheap food, that is cheap producing power, is largely artificial; once lost or shaken we might never regain it. The Colonies occupy a much stronger natural position. Why does not Australia give the Mother Country an advantage by imposing a 15 or 20 per cent. duty on foreign manufactures, and leave it to the discretion of the Mother Country what articles she would admit free of duty in return? Such a course taken by the Colonies would be highly appreciated by the Mother Country, which would be only too glad fully to recognise it." For our own part we think that the Englishman who so spoke would be as unreasonable as "Australian," and that generosity, not to say

charity, is out of place in what ought to be a mutually advantageous trade contract.

As may be seen from the report of the proceedings of the Executive Committee, MR. O. V. MORGAN, M.P., has undertaken to supply a copy of the *Toronto Empire* to every free library in the United Kingdom at his own expense. How much his generosity will be appreciated may be judged by the extracts from librarians' letters which we publish in another column. Is it too much to hope that some other members of the League will be stirred up to emulation of so excellent an example? We can answer for it that there are not a few of the Australian papers that would be equally valuable in public libraries. Apart altogether from Imperial Federation, we all believe in the desirability of natural and voluntary flow of population from the old England to the new and more spacious Englands across the sea. And the best of all ways to promote this class of emigration is to see that Canada and Australia cease to be the *terra incognita* that they are at present to the ordinary working man and still more to the ordinary working man's wife.

WE desire to direct our readers' special attention to a very innocent-looking question that was asked in Parliament by MR. MUNRO FERGUSON on November 9th. Translated out of Parliamentary language, the question would run, we think, somewhat as follows:—"Why did SIR HERCULES ROBINSON induce Her Majesty's Government to stop the boundary of the Bechuanaland Protectorate short at the point where the Motloutse and the Shasha rivers fall into the Limpopo, instead of carrying it eastward right up to the Portuguese frontier? Was the alteration of boundary from that shown in maps published at Cape Town as recently as 1886 made in order to afford the Transvaal a chance of repeating in Matabeleland the history of Stellaland and Goshen? or in order to place a second barrier between the British possessions in the interior and the sea-coast to the eastward? And had GROBELAAR's attempt to throw his pont over the Limpopo at this very point any connection with this change?" If any honourable member will put MR. MUNRO FERGUSON's question in this new and revised form, we fancy it will be more likely to receive the attention of the English newspapers.



UNCLE SAM'S LITTLE GAME.

"The scheme is this: An offer of Reciprocity is to be made, which Canada will accept; Britain will refuse her consent; Canada will get mad and throw off the British yoke; Political Union will then be accomplished."—*American despatch boiled down.*

(Reproduced from "Grip.")



A WORKING MAN having complained in the columns of the *Glasgow Herald* that at our recent Glasgow meeting "not a single word was said to show that Imperial Federation would lighten by a feather's weight the heavy burden of our own toiling masses," a copy of his letter was sent to LORD ROSEBURY. Our President promptly replied:—"It seems to me that the writer is clearly on the side of Imperial Federation, and only wishes that the arguments which would appeal most to him should be more clearly developed. In any case, we should remember that no scheme of Imperial Federation can place greater liabilities on the population of the United Kingdom than exist at present. We now pay the military, naval, and diplomatic services of the Colonies without any contribution from them, as I do not think the arrangements for Australian subsidies are complete. It would, of course, not be practicable to have any federal arrangement by which the Colonies should control the Imperial policy without contributing on their part.—I remain, yours respectfully, ROSEBURY." MR. ANDERSON has not attempted to gainsay the argument, so we shall hope to hear of him shortly as a member of the Glasgow branch of the League.

ASSUMING that the Editor of *Macmillan's Magazine* looks upon a belief in Imperial Federation as a pestilent heresy—a point on which we have no information—we can congratulate him on having considerably strengthened and encouraged the opponents of the movement. MR. WISE has been quoted in Canada—erroneously, to some extent at least, we claim to have shown—as representing the average Australian opinion. And now MR. GOLDWIN SMITH is being quoted in Australia as representing Canadian opinion—a still more questionable assumption. It is rather hard on us, however, that not only are MR. GOLDWIN SMITH's opinions assumed to be typical, but actually his facts are taken as accurate. Here is an instance from the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*. "AS MR. GOLDWIN SMITH reminds us, not a single step has been yet taken towards the initiation of the scheme in any Colonial Legislature or in the British Parliament. 'Notice of a resolution was given in the Canadian Parliament last session by MR. DALTON MCCARTHY, the leading man of the party here, but the resolution was never brought forward.' Even this abortive attempt represents a stage in advance of anything likely to be ventured in any Australian Parliament. The probability indeed is that the scheme is perishing of inanition from want of intellectual sustenance, and that we have heard the last of it, except perhaps as the memory of a vanished dream." The facts, as our readers are aware, are as follows:—MR. MCCARTHY waived his own resolution in favour of a still more pronounced one moved by MR. MARSHALL, and supported this latter resolution in a long speech which was received—so our correspondent, who was present, wrote at the time—with "cheers and enthusiasm" and "marked interest." And this "abortive attempt" has already resulted in the determination of the Dominion Cabinet to invite Australia to send delegates to Ottawa to discuss the establishment of closer relations of trade and intercourse. If all our Imperial Federation dreams were made of equally solid stuff, we should have reason to be well content.

"THERE are those who are Home Rulers because they despair of the Empire. There are others who are Home Rulers because they see that Home Rule is the first step to that system of Federation without which our Empire will perish. 'You will have to federate or perish' was what SIR HERCULES ROBINSON said three years ago. We shall sweep the polls at the coming General Election with Home Rule as the first step to Federation, but we shall be beaten, and deservedly beaten, into smithereens if we hoist the flag of Home Rule as the first step to Disintegration." Such is a recent confession of faith of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. From our point of view the retort is obvious that to mix a non-party cause up with the fiercest fought question of party politics that this generation has known, a question moreover, with which the Colonies have nothing to do—unless, indeed, the maintenance or dissolution of the Canadian Dominion ought also to be considered an Imperial and not a domestic Canadian question—is hardly the best

or the simplest way to arrive at a harmonious solution. For all that, we welcome the declaration as one more proof that disintegration—the Germans would coin a word, and call it Little-Englanddom—is out of fashion. Even the *Star* has ceased of late to brandish its tomahawk over our prostrate bódies, and our only foes in the press of the United Kingdom seem to be *Truth* and the *Spectator*. Perhaps we ought not to be surprised at the combination. Great convulsions of nature, as we know, often force the most strangely-matched creatures to seek shelter together.

THE files of the *Pall Mall Gazette* are a valuable arsenal for friends of the Imperial Federation movement. In the subjoined note that journal has confronted MR. RUSSELL LOWELL much as a correspondent of ours has confronted SIR THOMAS MCILWRAITH with his own former utterance in the *Pall Mall Gazette* on the same subject. If we cannot pretend to think that MR. LOWELL has risen from his dead self to higher things, at least he has not fallen quite so far as SIR THOMAS MCILWRAITH. But, in view of recent occurrences at Washington, it provokes a smile that an ex-American Minister to this Court, after telling us truly enough that it was not for him to say a word on Imperial Federation, should promptly go on to say it, and that it should never occur to an English audience to take offence. But when MR. LOWELL talks of a good understanding among English-speaking people as something better and less difficult of attainment than Imperial Federation, we may be forgiven for hinting that, as it really is impossible for us to get on with American politicians, in the interests of the friendship of the two countries, it is high time for the American people to see if they cannot manage to get on without them.

MR. Russell Lowell said last night at Liverpool that "it was not for him to say a word about Imperial Federation. He was not sure it would be a good thing, or that, if it were a good thing, it was not a dream." For his part he looked forward to the time when a good understanding among all the English-speaking peoples would have great weight in deciding the destinies of mankind, which most people will be inclined to regard as being quite as much of a dream as that of Imperial Federation. But the phrase recalls a letter which MR. Lowell sent us nearly five years ago, in which, referring to an article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* on this very subject, he said:—"It is a beautiful dream, but it is none the worse on that account. Most of the best things in this world began by being dreams."

WE look upon the construction of a Pacific cable as assured, and shall venture to think that, as we said last month, the Eastern Company would be wiser to accept the inevitable than to waste time arguing that a cable in shallow water with numerous shore-ends is less liable to be cut by hostile cruisers than one laid in water so deep that it takes three hours for the sounding apparatus to reach the bottom. It may be that the Eastern shareholders are unfortunate, and that, like other tradesmen, when the rival shop is opened beside them, they will be much to be pitied. But after all, they must be taken to have known that telegraph shares are not Consols. It may be true, too, that the new line is not likely to pay. For that we care little. Australia, Canada, and Great Britain can afford to be £75,000 a year out of pocket among them, and we are very sure that, if the only result of the duplication of service and reduction of rates from 9s. 8d. to 4s. were to induce the great London papers to give a less unworthy report of Australian news, £75,000 a year would be well-spent money.

THE Parcel Post has just been extended to New Zealand, so that it is now in operation to almost every part of the Empire except Queensland. Let us hope this one gap will be filled ere long. *Apropos* of postal arrangements, we could wish that MR. HENNIKER HEATON, whose intentions are doubtless of the best, would be a little more careful of his facts or else a little more moderate in his language. No good is to be gained by accusing the POSTMASTER-GENERAL of a "breach of faith," as was prominently done in the columns of the *Times* the other day. It may be seen from our Parliamentary intelligence that MR. RAIKES had no difficulty in clearing himself from any such imputation. In fact, we



confess to thinking that "the member for Australia," as it has been the fashion sometimes to term the member for Canterbury, would be wiser not to claim quite so conspicuous a position in reference to Australian matters. We say this with the less hesitation as we observe that SIR HENRY PARKES was roundly taken to task in the Sydney Parliament a short time back for sending a dispatch for publication through the medium of this gentleman. The members for Australia at present, as we understand the British Constitution, are LORD KNUTSFORD and BARON HENRY DE WORMS. When Australia desires to send others properly accredited to a true Imperial Parliament, we of the League will be first and foremost to give them a hearty welcome.

WE greatly wish that our columns had been elastic enough to admit the eight-foot-long impeachment of Canadian Fisheries policy that MR. HURLBERT recently addressed to the *Times*, and the much more brief response of SIR GEORGE BADEN POWELL. Refutation more crushing it has seldom been the lot of man to meet. We could only wish that it had fallen not upon an opponent as moderate and courteous as MR. HURLBERT, but rather upon some politician of the CONGRESSMAN MCADOO class, and that the castigation had been administered not in an English but in an American newspaper. Let us take two instances:—MR. HURLBERT says, quoting from SENATOR HOAR: "If we were to treat 10 British ships in Boston as they have treated 100 American ships in Canada." SIR GEORGE replies: "There have only been thirty-seven American fishing vessels in all (out of a total exceeding 1,500) proceeded against by the Canadian authorities, and those in a majority of cases for a simple breach of customs or port regulations." "How," in another place queries MR. HURLBERT, "were the stipulations of 1818, to which Canada now so tenaciously clings, blown away, or suspended, abrogated or modified?" "They were modified," replied SIR GEORGE, "by subsequent treaties. . . . One was made in 1854, and put an end to by the United States in 1866. Another was made in 1873, and put an end to by the United States in 1885. A third was made in 1888, and to this one the United States finally refused to agree." SIR GEORGE'S letter was published on November 1. We have been looking anxiously for a reply, but hitherto we regret to say it has not come to hand.

IN his position as vicar of Holy Trinity, Chelsea, we have the utmost respect for PREBENDARY EYTON, but when he seizes the opportunity of a holiday run to Canada to assure the Canadians that "they would be very much better indeed without us," we cannot but feel a lively satisfaction that "a gentleman, to whom he spoke about it, did not agree with him, but was very conservative about it, and said that the best thing for Canada would be a system of Imperial Federation." We hope that PREBENDARY EYTON will return to Canada next summer. Perhaps he may then learn that the Canadian gentleman was not quite so ignorant of the best interests of his country as he at present supposes.

WE regret that the pressure on our space, which is somewhat worse than usual this month, has not only compelled us to postpone all our own correspondence and the reports of meetings usually included under the heading "Progress of the League," but has also made it impossible for us to deal with many meetings and speeches that we would gladly have noticed. The motion in favour of the Commercial Federation of the Empire made by MR. HOWARD VINCENT at Wolverhampton, LORD CARNARVON'S address at Newbury on the Australian Colonies, LORD BRASSEY'S speech at Liverpool, the meeting in the City in favour of the Pacific Cable scheme, are only a few of the matters that we are obliged to pass over. Next month, perhaps, we may be more fortunate. MR. HOWARD VINCENT'S subject, however, will be heard of again ere long from the Colonies, to whom, indeed, it more especially belongs to raise it. There has been something said on the matter in Canada already.

IF all our supporters were as energetic as some of our friends in Canada, it would not be long before the taunt

that Imperial Federation is only a dream would be finally silenced. We can hardly take up a Canadian paper in which MR. CASTELL HOPKINS is not to be found pleading our cause. His pen was active also a few weeks back in the *Colonies and India*. A few days since there was a letter of three columns and a half in *La Minerve*, pointing out to the French-Canadians what Imperial Federation really meant, and the falsehood of saying that they had any reason to dread it. It was signed "ARCHIBALD MCGOUN." Our own columns bear witness month by month to the care with which our Canadian correspondents keep us *au courant* with all Canadian news—a custom which we respectfully commend to members of the League in other parts of the Empire as worthy not only of commendation, but of imitation.

A CORRESPONDENT of a Canadian contemporary, the *Oshawa Vindicator*, has taken up our suggestion that Canada should make a bid for Maine, and improved considerably upon it. He would propose to offer to take over not only Maine, but the Michigan Peninsula, and also to rectify the boundary to the west of the Great Lakes. As he truly remarks, the inhabitants of the ceded districts would not only "escape the negro problem ominously looming up in the South," but also be free from a Presidential Election every four years. Who knows that the Imperial Federation League may not find themselves constrained before long by common gratitude to pass a vote of thanks to SENATOR SHERMAN and his supporters.

WE much regret that all our extracts from Canadian journals this month say the same thing. We would gladly have presented the other side, but have found it impossible, in spite of all our good intentions. Surely there must be one or two journals in Canada that sympathise with SENATOR SHERMAN. We trust that our Canadian readers, when they come across these black swans, will not fail to send us specimens of their plumage.

*Truth* writes: "LORD BRASSEY was introduced to a Scotch audience by LORD ROSEBURY in order to convey to them what was meant by Imperial Federation. It may be that Scotchmen can see through a stone wall, and understood what was meant. I, however, was as wise (or as foolish) after the speech of LORD BRASSEY as before." We are glad that MR. LABOUCHERE has at length discovered why it is that he opposes Imperial Federation. Some of us found out the reason a long while ago.

WE have to thank MR. WALERY, the photographer, of Regent Street, for an admirable likeness of LORD KNUTSFORD in the shape of a transparency for use as a magic lantern slide in connection with the lectures of the League. In reply to a question as to price MR. WALERY wrote: "In consideration of the purpose for which you require it, I shall be glad to make the transparency for you without any charge."

THERE is so very much in the Colonial papers at the present time of interest to members of the League, for which yet it is impossible to find room in our columns, that we beg again to call members' attention to the fact that many of the leading papers are filed at the office in Charles Street. The list includes, amongst others—daily papers: the *Empire*, the *Toronto Mail*, the *Montreal Gazette*, the *Sydney Morning Herald*; weekly or bi-weekly papers: the *Halifax Critic*, the *Queenslander*, the *Tasmanian*, the *Albany Mail*, the mail editions of the *Melbourne Argus* and the *South Australian Register*, the *Cape Times*, and the *Diamond Fields Advertiser*. There are many other papers received that can be filed if members express a wish to have them so made available.

THE comical part is nothing to those trained in the school of American politics. But the impertinence of the proposed interference in British and Canadian economy shows that the idea of international proprieties is very low in the circles of American public men. It is to be wished that the Presidential election was over so that we might hear no more of these verbose filibusters.—*Moniteur Acadien*.



## LEAGUE MEETING IN EDINBURGH.

## SPEECH BY LORD ROSEBURY.

A PUBLIC meeting, under the auspices of the Edinburgh Branch of the Imperial Federation League, was held in the Music Hall on October 31. There was a large attendance, the hall being crowded in every part—not only the area, but all the passages being filled. In particular there were present a considerable number of students from the various Colonial clubs in the University. The gallery was reserved for ladies. The Right Hon. the Earl of Rosebery occupied the chair, and among those accompanying his lordship to the platform were the Earl of Aberdeen, Lord Brassey, Principal Sir William Muir, the Dean of Faculty (Mr. William Mackintosh, Q.C.), Sir Charles Pearson, Mr. G. R. Parkin, of New Brunswick; the Rev. Dr. Macgregor, of St. Cuthbert's; Mr. James Tod, Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce; Mr. James Currie, of Leith; Mr. J. B. Balfour, Q.C., M.P.; Mr. Alexander Asher, Q.C., M.P.; Mr. Stewart Menzies, M.P.; Professor Blackie, Sheriff Comrie Thomson, Sheriff Jameson, Mr. John Wilson, ex-M.P.; Major-General Anderson, Professor Chiene, Professor Grainger Stewart, Professor Baldwin Brown, Professor Masson, Professor Wallace, Dr. Balfour, the Rev. Dr. Walter C. Smith, of the Free High Church; Mr. Todd, W.S.; Mr. R. R. Simpson, W.S.; Provost Aitken, Leith; Bailies Walcott and McDonald; Councillors Colston, MacLaren, Brown, James Robertson, Macdonald, and Gulland; Mr. R. A. Macfie, of Dregthorn; Dr. Clyde, the Rev. John Baird, Provost Brand, of Dunbar; Messrs. Taylor Innes, Shaw, G. W. Burnet, Charles Scott, and F. T. Cooper, Advocates; Mr. Ferguson, Jun., of Kinmudry; Mr. John Macpherson, W.S.; Mr. Holmes Ivory, W.S.; Mr. David Lewis; Mr. E. F. Dudgeon, of Gogarbank; the Rev. Robert Henderson; Mr. John Henry, S.S.C.; the Rev. A. B. Morris, Mr. Dalziel Pearson, W.S.; Mr. Hugh Rose, Jun., of Leith; the Rev. John Storie; Mr. Andrew Thomson, of Edinburgh; Mr. John Usher, of Norton; Mr. James Wallace, Advocate; Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G.; Mr. R. W. Fulton, Secretary, Australasian Club, Edinburgh; Mr. A. H. Loring, Mr. T. L. Gilmour, and Mr. John Bellingham. The Countess of Rosebery, and Maria, Marchioness of Ailesbury, also occupied seats on the platform.

The SECRETARY (Mr. James Simpson) intimated letters of apology for absence, and sympathy with the objects of the meeting, from the following:—

Marquis of Lothian, Marquis of Lorne, Earl of Camperdown, Earl of Stair, Earl of Eglinton, Earl of Glasgow, Earl of Hopetoun, Earl of Kintore, Earl of Lindsay, Lord Saltoun, Sir James Fergusson, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Mr. J. P. B. Robertson, Lord Advocate, Sir George Balfour, Sir Archibald Campbell, Sir George Campbell, Sir J. C. R. Colvill, Sir Donald Currie, Mr. R. Jardine, Messrs. H. T. Anstruther, J. G. A. Baird, J. A. Campbell, R. W. Duff, William M'Ewan, R. B. Cunningham Graham, J. Hozier, C. S. Parker, A. Craig Selar, W. Thorburn, and Robert Wallace, M.P.s; Sir Thomas Clark, Lord Provost of Edinburgh; Sir James King, Lord Provost of Glasgow; Dr. Cameron Lees, Dean Montgomery, Major-General Lyttelton-Annesley, Sir John Don Wauchope, Sir George Warrender, Sir James Marwick, Principal Geddes, of Aberdeen; Mr. John Harris, of Castle Menzies; Mr. J. Downes Carter, Professors Kirkpatrick, Campbell Fraser, Mackinnon, Fraser Tytler, Laurie, and Butcher, of Edinburgh; M'Kendrick and Moody Stuart, of Glasgow; Sheriffs Rutherford, of Edinburgh; A. T. G. Mackay, Brown, of Aberdeen; Dove Wilson, of Aberdeen.

LORD ROSEBURY, who was received with loud and prolonged cheers, said: Ladies and gentlemen, there is no meeting that could give me greater pleasure than this meeting to-night. In the first place, we are met to advocate a sublime and a patriotic cause—(cheers)—and, in the next place, it is so divested of party politics, so completely apart from all politics, that we are privileged to meet our political opponents to-night on a common platform in urging a great public object. (Cheers.) But among all those politicians from whom I am unfortunate enough to differ I would mention one. We had hoped till this morning to have had with us the Lord Advocate—(cheers)—who was to move the second resolution. But, at the last moment, business of professional importance has prevented him; and I regret it, for two reasons. In the first place, we should have been glad of his invaluable advocacy. And, in the second place, we should all, of all parties, have rejoiced to see him with those blooming honours fresh upon him which he has earned by talent so conspicuous, and at a time of life so comparatively early. (Cheers.) Now, gentlemen, when I come to speak of Imperial Federation I am at a considerable disadvantage, because I have so often spoken of it that I can hardly say anything without repeating myself; and, in the next place, the subject in itself is so vast that it is not very easy to choose which aspect you will present to your audience. As to repeating myself, I most humbly take it for granted that I need not repeat what I said at Leeds about three weeks ago. I do not suppose that anybody here present has read what I said at Leeds. (Laughter.) Still less do I suppose that, if they have read it, they remember it. (Laughter.) But a public speaker owes something to his oratorical conscience, and even to his internal organisation, that prevents his repeating with too shameless a rapidity the arguments that he has found it necessary to use but a short time ago. If I cannot repeat what I said at Leeds, I can at least supplement what I said at Leeds in the direction of endeavouring to meet some of the criticisms, the friendly criticisms, which that speech called forth, and filling up, if I may say so, some of the chinks, of the many chinks that I left open in that argument. Now, in the first place, everybody has to begin a speech on Imperial Federation with the

external action, and in defence. (Cheers.) Now, gentlemen, all that is very easy. You may say that those are charming phrases, but they will encounter great practical difficulties. Well, as to difficulties, I have never been fortunate enough to know any question that was entirely without difficulties. (Cheers.) I have never known a question of public life that was not full of very considerable difficulties. But what I will say about the question of Federation is this, that given goodwill on the part of the contracting parties, the difficulties that encompass Imperial Federation are relatively less than the difficulties which encompass any other political object. (Cheers.) Take the two great Federal States that have been last founded in the world—take the United States—I venture to say that the federation of the British Empire can be carried out with infinitely more ease, given goodwill on all sides, than the United States encountered in their formation. Take a much later federation, that great and powerful European federation which we call the German Empire. I venture to say that the formation of the federation of the British Empire would be child's play compared with the difficulties in connection with the formation of Germany. (Applause.) Gentlemen, there are difficulties, real difficulties; but there are other difficulties which are not real, and which have been suggested by some of my critics. One of the most learned of my critics, who represents, I presume,

## THE DYING DOCTRINES OF WHAT USED TO BE CALLED THE MANCHESTER SCHOOL,

but it has now no representation in Manchester that I know of—(laughter)—the dying doctrines of that school, says that there are two great difficulties. The first is that the Colonies would not stand interference with each other in their own conduct of affairs. That was to say, Canada would not like the interference of the Cape of Good Hope in her own affairs. Well, no one ever said she would. (Laughter.) No one supposes that we should like the interference of the Cape of Good Hope in our internal affairs. But, gentlemen, that is begging the question; that is setting up a scheme which is not our scheme, in order to throw stones at it. The very cardinal principle of Imperial Federation, as we understand it, is the most complete respect for the internal affairs of all self-governing communities under the British Crown. (Cheers.) Of course, if it were alleged that the mere representation of the Cape of Good Hope in the same Imperial Council in which Canada was also represented would imply the domination of Canada by the Cape of Good Hope, the whole theory of representative government comes to an end. You might as well say that Durham is controlled by Mid-Lothian, or that the city of Edinburgh imposes burdens on the city of Glasgow, because they are both of them represented in the House of Commons. There is another argument which was used by the same critic, which was equally fallacious. It says that no federation is possible except between equal powers. All the powers must be equal, and we must, therefore, wait for the time when Canada and Australia are equal in population and wealth with ourselves before we even imagine the idea of a federation! Now, gentlemen, I wonder who are the readers for which that passage is written. It must be that he presumed on the ignorance of those he was addressing. Why, federation does not exist between States exactly equal. It is almost impossible between States that are exactly equal. It is unknown among States that are exactly equal. Look at Austria-Hungary. That would be an example that would be given against that view. Austria-Hungary is not a federation, but is a dualism, a union of two States; and any attempt that is made by what is called the Federal Party in Austria-Hungary to make Austria-Hungary a federation is violently resisted by those who cling to the present state of things. Take another instance—the greatest federation in the world—the United States. Is that founded on equality? Why, gentlemen, there is nothing less than equality in the constitution of the United States; it is

## A CALCULATED INEQUALITY.

The whole assumption of the United States, as of every federation, is that a self-governing State entering upon a federation, enters it upon equal terms with those that are greater and more important than itself. Take the Senate of the United States, which is perhaps the supreme governing body of the United States. Every State sends two members to that body—neither more nor less. The State of Nevada with 62,000 inhabitants, the State of Delaware with 140,000 inhabitants, sends as many representatives to the Senate as the State of New York with over five millions of inhabitants. Suppose federation were calculated on the proportional basis which is assumed by my critic, I would ask you to compute for yourselves what would be the representation of New York in the Senate, giving a representation of two members to Nevada with 60,000 inhabitants. Gentlemen, I do not attach much importance to those phantasmal objections; but there are some that are more serious, and it has been urged against our project, and more especially against what I have urged in its favour, that it would be impossible to allow the Colonies—and I use the word "Colonies" to distinguish those commonwealths from the Mother Country—it is not a word I care about—it would be impossible to give those Colonies an interest in the direction of our foreign affairs, because we could not suffer that control. That would be an excellent argument if this very Colonial control did not happen to exist already. Why, it exists in the most obvious form. I cannot repeat what I said at Leeds on that subject, but everybody who studies the relations of foreign countries must see that the Colonies largely govern the direction of foreign affairs. I suppose that the argument, as drawn out by my critic, would be this plainly and nakedly stated, that as we pay for the army and for the navy—I am taking it for granted that the Australian transaction with regard to the navy is not yet complete—but taking it broadly, we pay for the army, for the navy, and for the diplomatic service, and therefore we have a perfect right to direct those services as we think fit. In its absolute naked form that statement is plausible; but it is not fair or true, because, even if we had right to control our policy from the payment of our services, we cannot control the liabilities to which we subject our Colonies in consequence of that

## A B C OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION

—which is, to meet the question of what you mean by Imperial Federation; and I will venture to repeat substantially the definition that I have given before. *The Federation we aim at is the closest possible union of the various self-governing States ruled by the British Crown, consistently with that free national development which is the birthright of British subjects all over the world—the closest union in sympathy, in*



policy. (Cheers.) If your declarations, if your policy only, bound yourselves, you would have a fair case in arguing in that way. But when you declare war, on whatever ground—it may be in a fit of anger under an idea of slighted honour—under any of these causes for which we have seen nations hurry rashly into war—whenever you declare war on any of these grounds

#### YOU DO NOT DECLARE WAR ALONE,

but Canada declares war, Australia declares war, every dependency in the Empire declares war—(cheers)—and they declare war without having an official voice in the control of our policy. (Cheers.) Remember this; you form a policy, and my critic says you demand that it shall be uncontrolled by your Colonies. But when your policy has begun to take effect, your Colonies may be invaded, they may be harassed, they may be burned, they may be plundered—all in consequence of the course of action, in which they have had no controlling voice. Now, that is not a dream, that is not an idea. It is an uncommonly concrete fact—both for our critics and for the Colonies. Now, gentlemen, it is rather remarkable that Mr. Bright, who is our most venerated opponent, once alluded to that argument this year, and took it as the text of a speech against our view. Mr. Bright said, speaking of Imperial Federation:—"Will the Colonists be willing to undertake the responsibility of entering into wars, the seat of which is ten thousand miles away, in which they cannot have the slightest interest, when they might not have been the least consulted as to the cause of the quarrel which this country was rushing into?" But, gentlemen, that is precisely their position now; and that is precisely what we wish to avert by Imperial Federation. (Cheers.) I have seen with my own eyes the fortifications that were put up in Australia when we were on the brink of war with Russia in 1878. It was well known—I speak what it is not indiscreet to say—but if it was not well known, it was very generally reported, that the first act of that war might have been a fleet directed by Russia against our Australian Colonies. The Australian Colonies would have had to bear, in the conditions of warfare as between Russia and ourselves—the Australian Colonies would almost have had

#### TO BEAR THE BRUNT OF THAT WAR,

a war in which they had neither voice nor part. On the other hand, while we may drag the Colonies into a war in which they have no voice, it is perfectly possible and conceivable that the Colonies may drag us into war without our having sufficient control over the matter. I will take the case of the Canadian fisheries. That is a great difficulty. I cannot believe that it is a difficulty which in this nineteenth century can lead to any serious trouble between our brethren in the United States and our brethren at home. But when we see a highly respected London newspaper, with, I daresay, the largest circulation in the world—because all newspapers have the largest circulation in the world—(great laughter)—when we see a highly respected London newspaper threaten the United States with a fleet of British ironclads under certain contingencies, we must admit that the smell of gunpowder is in the air. (Laughter.) It is conceivable that that controversy might provoke a collision between ourselves and the United States. Well, I think it was the *Spectator* that says "we will not go to war for Canadian cod." No one apprehended that the *Spectator* would go to war about anything. No one asked it to go to war for Canadian cod; but an absolute declaration of *non possumus* of that kind might lead to something like the disintegration of the Empire. Now, if in the course of this controversy the United States were so irritated by the leading articles in London newspapers as to consider it necessary to invade Canada, or supposing there was any collision of that kind, what would be the course, for instance, of the *Spectator* if it guided our policy? The *Spectator* would either have to say to Canada: "You are such a quarrelsome people that we cannot live with you any longer, and we are therefore going to turn our back, and to retire to our own European islands; or else the *Spectator* would have to stand by Canada, voluntarily or involuntarily, and would have to be drawn into a war for these Canadian Colonies, which the *Spectator* so deeply deprecates. I say this state of things, for both sides, is anomalous, and cannot continue. *On the one hand, you pay for everything, and that is a fool's bargain for you; and on the other hand, the Colonies may be dragged into a war without a voice in the matter, and that is a fool's bargain for them.* (Laughter.) Now, I believe when the Parliaments which exist—the numerous Parliaments which exist under the British Crown, when they come to see this question in all its bearings, will demand a substantial voice in the control of the British policy of the future. (Cheers.) And I desire to call your attention to the fact that such a claim upon their part, such a Federation as we desire, would be

#### ESSENTIALLY A PACIFIC FEDERATION.

(Hear, hear.) In the first place, any nation would think twice if it saw that this gigantic Empire was absolutely at one with itself, and that at whatever point it attacked it would find a defence, not merely an obligatory defence, but a ready defence by the whole forces of the Empire. (Applause.) Then when you consider the various interests that would have to be brought into play in a Council controlling our foreign policy, you would see how difficult it would be for any Minister, however rash, however powerful, to embark in an offensive war on behalf of this country. (Cheers.) But why, I can hear it said, why cannot you let well alone? Our exports are very good, our imports are very good, and what more do you want? Colonists are well received in England; Britons are well received in the Colonies. (Applause.) "God Save the Queen" is sung in the Colonies and at home. What more do you desire? Sentiment is beneficial. We are united by the strongest ties. Well, gentlemen, I will tell you why I am not quite content with that, because I must look a little further than the present moment for my own satisfaction. (Cheers.) Our principal critic, to whom I alluded just now, said that we were "fussy." I delight in the epithet of "fussy." (A laugh.) In the first place, if imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, irritation is the most certain sign of despair—(cheers)—and a person who shows irritation in argument is a person who is

conscious of an inherent weakness in his case. (Cheers.) But what is this fussiness? If foresight be fussiness, if prudence be fussiness, if wariness be fussiness, then

#### I AM A VERY FUSSY POLITICIAN.

I hope, gentlemen, that you are fussy politicians too. But, on the other hand, I quite understand that absence of fussiness is a very noble quality, but the absence of fussiness, if it implies the absence of those other wishes, may have every merit, but it does not preserve an Empire. If the Empire broke up owing to want of foresight, it might be some consolation to those non-fussy people to say, "Had we seen this a little earlier, we might have averted it." It would be no consolation to me. I suppose Mr. Pitt was called fussy when he said that a reform of Parliament was inevitable, and brought in a Reform Bill in his youth. I suppose Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden were fussy when they said that Free Trade was coming, and that they would have a hand in bringing it about as soon as possible. (Cheers.) I suppose that Sir Robert Peel was fussy when he made Parliament accept Free Trade, and so enabled us to ride safely through the revolution of '48. (Cheers.) On the other hand, just think what we have to thank that want of fussiness for—how it has helped us, and what a sublime policy it has been! It is the want of this fussiness that has led us into many imprudent wars, that led us into campaigns without any provision for our soldiers. (Cheers.) It was that want of fussiness that lost many thousands of lives in Walcheren and the Crimea. (Hear, hear.)

#### IT WAS WANT OF FUSSINESS THAT LOST US THE UNITED STATES.

It is a splendid quality, this want of fussiness; it is a chivalrous quality; it is a gentleman-like quality. But, for my part, I would rather be fussy with Bright, Cobden, and Peel—ay, I would rather be fussy with the geese that saved the Capitol—(cheers)—than abide by those splendid doctrines of negation that lead so surely to disaster. (Cheers.) I am not, happily, the only fussy politician. That is a consolation to me while I incur the rebukes of those who are not fussy. I will only call your attention to two statesmen, neither of them living in Great Britain, who have shown the same singular fault of fussiness that is displayed by our organisation. On the 7th of August, in the American Senate, Senator Sherman said—"I am anxious to bring about a public policy that will make more intimate our relations with the Dominion of Canada. Anything that will tend to the union of Canada with the United States will meet my most hearty support. I want Canada to be part of the United States. Within ten years from this time"—and I ask your particular attention to this—"within ten years from this time the Dominion of Canada will, in my judgment, be represented either in the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain or in the Congress of the United States. (Cheers.) On the 18th of October, Sir Henry Parkes, Prime Minister of New South Wales, made a speech to his constituents just before the opening of Parliament, and, proceeding to dwell upon the necessity and wisdom of effective defence works, he referred to the question of Australian Federation. He said that it would be best to do the fullest justice to their resources, so as to be prepared to take the highest ground when the time was ripe for union. The Premier maintained that the Imperial constitution must be re-cast to be permanent, and concluded as follows:—"In uniting the outlying Colonies to the Mother Country, England must present an object for love and loyalty, and for the young passion for national authority in Australia, which would be more attractive than any elsewhere to be found within the wide circle of the family of nations." These are the voices of statesmen. They speak to us across the oceans. Deep calls to deep.

#### DOES IT BEHOVE US TO BE DEAF?

I claim that these utterances are worthy of your attention. And I think that even in America I could ask for some adhesion to the cause of Imperial Federation. I believe that it would be of utility to the United States second only to the utility which it would be to ourselves. (Cheers.) In the first place, the United States is not prepared to absorb Canada, nor is Canada prepared to be absorbed by the United States. (Cheers.) In the next place, we should secure an enormous area throughout the world for peace and for commerce. In the next place, we should be a powerful friend to the United States, and not a mere collection of scattered relations. And, in the last place, it would forward the consolidation of the Anglo-Saxon race. (Cheers.) I turn from that, on which I have not time to enlarge this evening, for you have many interesting speakers to follow me. But I know that there is one question which is always asked immediately after the question—What do you mean by Imperial Federation? The second question that is always asked is this—What plan have you got for achieving Imperial Federation? I will tell you my plan without any reticence or any afterthought. My plan is this: *To endeavour so to influence public opinion at home and in the Colonies that there shall come an imperious demand from the people of this country, both at home and abroad, that this federation should be brought about.* That is the first great initial step, without which our cause is hopeless, and with which our cause is certain to succeed. Now, I do not mean by that that I refuse to others the privilege of turning over in their own minds the best plan by which we may effect our object. There are many such plans. There is the plan of delegation which prevails in Austria-Hungary, and which practically means a sort of Imperial Council. There is, again, the constitution of some form of Imperial Senate; and again, there is the reviving and the quickening of the Privy Council for purposes such as these. And there is another plan to which I must allude, because it has been fathered on myself. (A laugh.) I have been charged with thinking that Imperial Federation meant that a few Colonial Peers should be sent to sit in the House of Lords. Now, gentlemen, I do not think anything of the sort. (Cheers.) It is quite true that in bringing the question of the reform of the House of Lords before that Chamber, I did say that if any Colony thought it worth while to send an Agent or an Agent-General to sit in the House of Lords, and to make their opinions heard in Parliament in that way, we ought to be ready and glad to receive him. But that was only an instalment—that was



## ONLY A LITTLE IMPERIAL LEAVEN

infused into our Parliamentary system. It was to be better than nothing at all, and it is nothing at all that we have at present. (Applause.) No, gentlemen, in my judgment it is not for the Imperial Federation League to propose schemes of Imperial reconstitution. I will tell you why. What would be our position if we suggested a detailed scheme? What would the Parliaments and the Governments of the self-governing Colonies say when this scheme was laid before them? They would say, "Who are the Imperial Federation League—what business have they to come forward—an irresponsible society—and dictate to the various Legislatures of the Empire what they are to do on a particular occasion?" The Colonies would say, "We have our Parliaments—we have our Ministers. What are they for, if not to do this thing, if it is desired?" And if the thing is desirable it is the duty of those Parliaments and those Ministries, in connection with the Parliament and Ministry of Great Britain, to do it. (Cheers.) That is not for the League. My belief is that when the public demand becomes loud and clear, then we shall have from the Parliaments and the ministries of the Empire a clear and definite scheme which it will not be difficult for them to propound. (Cheers.) I think it is worth our while to ask the Colonists, to ask those Colonial statesmen, to ask those Colonial Parliaments, what are the terms on which they are prepared to federate, and if they desire to federate at all. (Cheers.) When we have that announced, when we have that declaration, it will be time for us to consider the best manner in which to effect it; but till then, it will be both premature and wrong in us to make any suggestion. I further think that our duty is a simple one, a difficult one, but an absolutely clear one—it is

## TO ROUSE PUBLIC OPINION ON THIS SUBJECT.

(Hear, hear.) When we obtain from the peoples of the Empire this demand, that they think that this thing ought to be done, when they make that declaration, when they signify their pleasure to that effect, then will be our time to retire into the background, and then will be the time for the statesmen to begin. (Cheers.) For my part, if the examination of this question be conducted in a spirit of sincerity and seriousness, I have no fear of the result. If the people can once be made to realise the splendour and utility of the Empire; if they can once appreciate the sacredness of the responsibility which that vast inheritance lays upon them, and the nature of the reproach to which they will be liable from their children and their children's children if it suffer detriment in their hands; if they once come to understand that Imperial Federation means for them trade, and space, and peace; if they once comprehend that the time before them is not long, and that the interval which separates union from dissolution of empire may be very narrow, I believe that they, with a giant's voice, will order that this thing be done. (Cheers.) And, gentlemen, we ask for your co-operation. You can aid us in many ways. You can aid us by your talent; you can aid us by your influence; you can aid us by moulding public opinion wherever you are in contact with it. Remember that if you do that efficiently you do us an inestimable service, and you do yourselves a service which I think is worth reckoning. You raise yourselves up an ideal which is ennobling in itself, and a faith which is high above the cries of party and the struggles of faction. If you and we succeed in our object, and if we can make the voice of Scotland heard in this matter with unmistakable sound, you do much to advance the completion of our scheme. For the voice of Scotland is heard not merely within our own limits. It is not heard only by England, or by Wales, or by Ireland. It sounds with a trumpet note through all those Colonial commonwealths in which her scattered sons have borne so conspicuous and so supreme a part. (Loud cheers.) I beg to move the following resolution:—

"That in order to secure the unity and defence of the Empire, some system of Imperial co-operation and federation is imperatively required." (Cheers.)

PRINCIPAL SIR WILLIAM MUIR (Chairman of the Edinburgh Branch of the League), in seconding the resolution, said the immense assemblage gathered there showed that the sentiment contained in the resolution had caught the public feeling and the public heart. The matter had been forced upon his mind by the large number of students they had in the University from all parts of the Colonies. (Cheers.) We had a common language with our Colonies, and were knit to them by ties of all kinds. Let them educate the public feeling to see the necessity of Federation, and then they would know what their duty was if any emergency should arise. (Cheers.)

LORD ROSEBURY then said: I have much pleasure in introducing Mr. Parkin, of New Brunswick, to you, and, from what I have heard and known of him before, I think I can promise that he will have something to say that will interest you.

MR. PARKIN spoke as follows: If anything could encourage me in rising as a Canadian to address this vast assembly in your modern Athens, it would be the gracious way in which our noble chairman has handed over to me, for a time, that ear of a Scottish audience which is always so entirely at his lordship's disposal that we are bound to admit, without question, his right to lend it to his friends. I can only regret that you have not here to-night, instead of myself, some one of those statesmen of clear mind and power of pregnant speech which the public life of the Colonies is drawing into the service of the Empire, who could represent Colonial views worthily. But one can only do his best in the place to which he is called. As I have been travelling lately through England and Scotland, and as I have listened to the speeches just made, I have been asking myself a question which I may, perhaps, be permitted to ask here aloud—What is the crowning greatness and the

## CROWNING GLORY OF THESE BRITISH ISLANDS?

Not, I venture to think, the long list of battles and victories with which our history is crowded; not the grandeur of an ancient monarchy which one sees so illustrated here in Edinburgh, or in the noble greatness of Windsor; not your castles and cathedrals; not even your great

academic institutions—such as Oxford or Cambridge or this ancient University; nor yet the overflowing wealth, the marvellous energy, and the victorious applications of power to be seen in your great manufacturing towns. Rather, I think, does it rest in the fact that in every quarter of the globe, under every sun and clime, there are thousands, nay, millions of men and women—under the shadow of the Himalayas, on the sheep-runs of Australia, the farms of New Zealand, among the kraals and diamond-fields of South Africa, on the prairies of Manitoba and the ranches of the Rocky Mountains—millions of men and women who not only speak but think of these islands under the tender name of home—(loud cheers)—who not only so speak and think of it themselves, but hand the name down to generation after generation of their children, with, it seems to me, a gathering strength of affectionate regard. This is your crowning greatness, and this is what makes me feel at home in addressing you. Again, when I let my mind run down the page of British history, and think how often the stern rush of Highland regiments has cleared the way to victory—how often the story told by that well-known picture has been true, the picture which shows how the hurricane of hostile force bursts in vain upon the "thin red line" and its Scottish steel; when to these recollections I add the feeling that Scotch governing power and shrewd business capacity have done so much to make the most of the Empire so won by arms, I cannot but feel that I shall have the sympathy of this audience in talking of matters which refer to the consolidation and maintenance of the Empire. And, once more—speaking more particularly as a Canadian—when I remember that Scotland has given to Canada two such statesmen as Sir John Macdonald and Alexander McKenzie to guide her destinies; that she has given to our country's service such men as George Brown, Alexander Galt; Oliver Mowat, President Daniel Wilson, and Sandford Fleming—names which must be known in Edinburgh almost as well as in Canada—I feel that we have many things in common in talking about such a subject as we have to discuss to-night. In some of the articles which leading papers have lately devoted to the criticism of our ideas as Federationists, I have noticed that our arguments are referred to as based more upon sentiment than upon facts. Now, while I am the last to object, in discussing this question, to descend into the arena, where the hard logic of facts alone counts in the contest, yet of deliberate preference I have chosen to put national sentiment in the very fore-front of my argument, because I believe that national sentiment, though silent and invisible in its operation, like the power of gravitation, is yet, like it, one of those tremendous forces with power to turn the current of affairs and give direction to national life. But, leaving sentiment, let us come to facts. What is the fact which brings this Federation problem before us? It is because the Anglo-Saxon idea of government is by representation, and because no man is a British subject in the fullest sense of the word who is not represented fully and equally, and has not a voice in every part of the government by which he is controlled. The great Colonies have perfect freedom of local self-government, but they have not the voice in controlling the foreign policy of the Empire which is, or soon will be, essential to national unity. Our critics ask us to show them some plan. My idea is that

## WE CAN LOGICALLY TURN THE TABLES UPON THEM ENTIRELY,

and defy them to give us an answer. Let them show us a plan by which they can control the vast Anglo-Saxon communities which are overspreading the world by a Government which is confined to this country. The thing is impossible, from the very instincts of our race. Long ago we should have had to face this problem if the relations of our old American Colonies had remained as friendly to Britain as are the relations of our present Colonies. It is impossible to imagine that sixty millions of people in America would have allowed themselves to be governed without a direct and acknowledged voice in foreign policy. The same will soon be true of England's great Colonies. The American Revolution was the most important event of modern history, but it was so because it taught England how to govern her Colonies so as to keep them in sympathy with her. Thus we have been brought face to face with this great problem—the greatest, perhaps, that the world has known. Lord Rosebery has dwelt with great distinctness upon the relation in which Canada stood to the question. What I would like to emphasise is this—that for us in Canada, and for you here, there was but one possible course. We must make up our minds about what we are going to do; we must make up our minds whether we are going apart or going together. It is a vital question for both of us. I undertake to say, turning to your point of view, that it can be proved to a demonstration that the day on which you voluntarily let either Canada or Australia go, you are

## SIGNING THE DEATH-WARRANT OF BRITAIN'S POSITION

as a great Imperial Power. This is a strong statement, yet the facts warrant it. On what does England's national position rest, as compared with other Powers? Unquestionably, on her naval supremacy. Her wealth is afloat constantly on every sea in the globe—more than a thousand millions afloat every year. Break down the adequate protection of that commerce, and you break down England's power and prestige. Naval supremacy depends on coaling-stations and naval depôts. As you stand now, on the next occasion of a great war with France or Germany, Canada's great naval stations in the Atlantic and Pacific are yours—you would have the exclusive advantage of them. (A Voice: "Speak slower.") Much laughter. My dear sir, if you only knew the hundreds of arguments I have in my mind to prove the necessity for Imperial Federation, and that I am on an allowance of twenty minutes to say what I have to say, you would understand and forgive my hurry. (Cheers and laughter.) To go on, let me point out that if Canada were independent of, or separated from, the British Empire, in such a contingency as that of which I have spoken Canadian ports would necessarily become neutral; Britain would lose her exclusive advantage, and other nations would be as free to use our ports as you would be. "But," you say, "Canada would be in alliance with us." Then you want us to accept all the dangers of alliance without the



advantage of belonging to a great Empire. It is perfectly clear that the closing or endangering of the great lines of traffic on the Atlantic Ocean is involved in such a state of things, and you all know what any interference with the food-supply of this greatly-overcrowded country would mean. In the same way, the only point Britain has to match the Russian depôt of Vladivostock is in the ports and coal-field of British Columbia. Thus the loss of Canada would endanger your command of the North Atlantic and the North Pacific, and I do not hesitate to say that the abandonment by Britain of her position in this way would involve an instant and immense loss of national prestige as well as national power. An intensely national feeling is growing up with the growth of Canada. You cannot now settle great questions which affect our interests without consulting us. You cannot settle the Canadian Fishery Question without regard to Canada's interests. Therefore, already you have to federate with us to the extent of consulting us on great questions of foreign policy. I believe, on the other hand, that we can prove to the Canadian people that Federation with a great Empire, and especially with a great naval Power, is the best thing for them. Under it our immense commercial interests can have the best protection. We want to feed you here in England, and we can do it; and we want the lines of food-traffic safe. We want to help our Canadian individuality as a people; and we can do it best in Federation. We do not want annexation to the United States. Goldwin Smith may say it is good for us, but the Canadian people do not say so. Touching on the Atlantic and Pacific, and therefore on the world's great waterways, we know that we cannot be isolated; that connection with a world-wide naval Power is best for us. If we turn to Australia, the argument is even more strong. That country cannot isolate herself from European interests even if she would.

SHE HAS FRANCE AND GERMANY CLOSE BESIDE HER.

She has a great Russian port within striking distance. Her immense sea-coast has to be strongly protected. Her immense commercial interests through the vast volume of her trade which passes through the Suez Canal, and her growing traffic in the Indian and China Seas and throughout Australasian waters, make her interest in the Eastern Question supreme; and around this all European diplomacy revolves. Her greatest future lies in close connection with a great naval Power. If some of our statesmen and some of our commercial men would but study their geography a little more, with a touch of the imagination which is given by life on new continents, they would understand that Imperial Federation, if it was a dream, was the most glorious dream that ever engaged the mind of man as a political organiser. The supreme interest in the future of our great Anglo-Saxon communities is not Free Trade—I object to this idea—it is safe trade. I would like to see the people of this country give up something of their insular self-confidence and self-satisfaction, and, instead of keeping their greatest statesmen, as they now seem to do, trying to patch up the old bottles of constitutional government, in the vain hope that they were going to hold a little longer the fervent wine of the new democracies growing up within and around you, let them turn to this grander sphere of labour and this nobler idea of Federation. One final argument should be stated, and it ought to make every Christian man in this country vote for and help forward this great idea of Imperial Federation. To the heathen races in every part of the world with which Britain now stands face to face her domination means everything from the Christian point of view—more than the domination of Rome meant in the days of St. Paul. A prevailing British flag alone can make the British missionary and British Christianity safe in doing their work. The great missionary enterprises of the English, Presbyterian, and other Churches, without this would risk their power to do good. Federation means the consolidation of those tremendous forces and energies which God has given us to do good to the world. Scotland gave Canada a great political leader in Sir John Macdonald to carry out the difficult task of Canadian Confederation. Now we want you to give us another statesman as a leader for a still greater task—for the task of combining together the magnificent parts of this great Empire. I believe that I shall carry with me the voice of an Edinburgh audience, and the voice of the Scottish people, when I say that you can, if you will, give us such a leader in the statesman who has conducted the foreign affairs of this country with the most distinguished success; a man who has almost unequalled capacities to act as a leader and guide for such an enterprise, from the breadth of his sympathies, and the greatness of his talent to deal with wide questions, and I trust that you will support Lord Rosebery with all the weight of Scotland's influence, not only as President of the Imperial Federation League, but as the man most likely of all to be the leader, the first Prime Minister or guiding spirit of that great federal Empire, towards the organisation of which our efforts are now being directed.

The resolution was put to the meeting, and declared unanimously carried.

SIR CHARLES PEARSON moved the second resolution, which was in the following terms:—

"That to carry such a scheme into effect it is necessary to form such a body of public opinion, both at home and in the Colonies, as will compel the serious attention of the various Governments interested; and that with this object the present meeting resolves to further the principle of Imperial Federation by every means in its power."

He said: I deeply regret the unavoidable absence of the Lord Advocate, who was to have moved this resolution. But I have some hope that it has already commanded your assent, and that in this meeting it does not stand in need of much advocacy. It seems to me to place the question on the right lines, and on the only possible practical basis; for it recognises that it is only through the careful formation of public opinion, both here and in the Colonies, that the question can be successfully pressed on the attention of the Governments. We hear it said that the Colonies should move first, and in a sense that is true. They would not be likely to accept, and would certainly regard with jealousy, a ready-made scheme sent out to them from the Mother

Land. Let them move first, by all means; but let us be ready for them when they move, by having the question thoroughly discussed in the meantime. One thing I notice as characteristic of nearly all the discussions that take place—that along with much divergence of view there is very nearly unanimity as to the necessity for doing something in the direction of Imperial Federation. The out-and-out opponents of the idea are either very few in number, or they have very little to say. They have not got much beyond the stage of epithet. I am sometimes tempted to wish that they were a little more active in their opposition, and that they would tell us a little more fully why they think a scheme to be impracticable which we regard as both possible and necessary. Your Lordship has already dwelt on the present relation between the Mother Country and her Colonies, and described it with great justice as a fool's bargain on both sides. Our wars are their wars; yet they have neither voice in our policy nor share in our expenditure. It is a survival from the period when this country regarded her Colonies as so many landed estates, out of which it was her business to make as large profits as she could. All this is now changed. We are getting accustomed to look to the common interests of the Empire as a whole; and we feel that those interests will be best served by some scheme which will secure that the State shall follow the Nationality, so as to become practically co-extensive with it. I believe that the question will be solved gradually, by public opinion operating along certain definite lines. The first and most obvious basis for co-operation is mutual defence. That question cannot be permanently solved without, at least, suggesting the ulterior question of a Federal Assembly; and I should expect that even the vexed question of tariffs will at least be successfully solved, and that it will not remain as the only problem which has proved too much for the Anglo-Saxon race. But public opinion, to be worth anything as a motive power, must be well informed and well guided. The guidance we must be content to leave mainly to statesmen. But it is for us to see to it that so far as lies in us, our own opinions and those of others on this great subject shall be intelligent and sound. I may be pardoned for mentioning just two publications which, without seeming to be invidious, I can commend as useful for this purpose. The one is the *Journal of the League* published monthly, under the title "Imperial Federation," and which you can get for a few shillings in the year. The other is Professor Seeley's most able and interesting book on "The Expansion of England." We Scotsmen can afford not to quarrel with the title of it; for while the title squares with his method of treating the subject, he shows that down to the last years of Queen Elizabeth England had no possessions beyond the bounds of Europe, and that it was not until the Union of the Crowns that the great Colonial expansion began, of the benefits of which Scotsmen have not been slow to claim their full share. In conclusion, let me bespeak for this vast subject the interest and the influence of the women of our country. It appeals strongly to them in every aspect of it. If you say they are imaginative, I know of no subject that appeals more vividly to the imagination than the subject we are discussing. If they are credited, as they may well be, with tact and business capacity, they will find in it full scope for these qualities in their highest form; if they are lovers of peace, no subject is likely to tend more directly to the maintenance of the peace of the world. But I appeal to them especially as being most potent factors in the formation of public opinion, and feeling sure that if they are with us, we shall not have long to wait for the accomplishment of the object set before us in this resolution.

The REV. DR. MACGREGOR, in seconding the resolution, said that the first and most sacred duty that devolved upon a nation was the defence of its property, and the defence of the lives of the citizens. There should not be the faintest shadow of a shade of suspicion about the adequacy of their home and foreign defence. The Empire was steadily extending. They had just added an immense slice of New Guinea to it. If Lord Rosebery had been at the head of affairs the whole of New Guinea would have been theirs. (Loud cheers.) Having alluded to the tours of Lord Rosebery and Lord Aberdeen, he pointed to the importance of leading men becoming acquainted with the various Colonies. It would not be a bad thing when some gentleman came wanting to represent them to say—"My good fellow, have you been in the Colonies?" "No." "Well, go and learn." (Laughter.) The distance between Separation and Federation was a very small distance, and, apart from any question of a defined scheme, the great thing was to be interested—in due time the scheme would come. They had enormous wealth, and they had enormous commerce. A very large part of the commerce was every day of the year floating on the waters of some ocean. Long immunity from attack was not absolute immunity from attack. It was the unexpected that happened. Let them conceive the ease with which one of their ocean-going steamers could in five minutes be sunk to the bottom by a few well-directed shots. There never was a nation on the face of the earth that had so much to keep, and so much to lose, as this tight little island of ours. (Cheers.) He did not see how there could be a more sacred, a more solemn, duty than trying on every suitable occasion to awaken public attention to those great questions which affected their home and their whole system of defence. (Cheers.) They must see, as a people, that their vast possessions at home and abroad should be as thoroughly safeguarded as it was possible to make them. (Cheers.)

MR. JAMES CURRIE, Leith, as in some sense a representative of commercial interests, supported the resolution. It was desirable, he said, that it should be seen that it was not merely professional men that took an interest in this great question, but that those who were interested in the commerce of the country perceived the advantages of Federation, and the dangers to which the Empire and its commerce were at present exposed. It was impossible for them to maintain the position they had won unless they maintained their commercial supremacy. (Cheers.)

LORD ROSEBERY then put the motion to the meeting, when it was carried unanimously.

LORD BRASSEY moved a vote of thanks to Lord Rosebery for presiding. He was sure they were all deeply impressed with the



importance of the subject which had been brought under their consideration, and being impressed with the importance of the subject, and with the necessity of public attention being given to its consideration, he was sure that they all felt deeply that Lord Rosebery had been doing and would continue to do the most valuable service to his country in assisting in the consideration of that matter, and bringing it before audiences with an ability and a public spirit and patriotic feeling which he had displayed that night. (Cheers.)

The motion was cordially adopted.

LORD ROSEBERY, on rising to reply, was again warmly received, but refused to detain his audience with a second speech.

As the audience rose to depart, there were loud calls for "Aberdeen," and Lord Rosebery said he believed he was interpreting the feeling of the meeting in calling on the Earl of Aberdeen. (Cheers.)

LORD ABERDEEN, coming forward amid loud cheers, said that after the manner in which the nail had been hit on the head that night, he would not attempt any further blows, which might not be so accurate or so emphatic as those that had been struck in regard to that great subject. He thought he might congratulate the meeting on what they had done for such a cause. He was convinced the meeting would form an epoch in the progress of that movement, which was based on wide and extensive foundations. (Cheers.) Unless they got the fervent co-operation and conviction of the mass of the people, they could not make progress. He believed that progress was now being commenced in earnest, and the result could not be doubtful.

### PROCEEDINGS OF THE LEAGUE IN CANADA.

AT a meeting of the Council of the Imperial Federation League in Canada, held on November 8th, 1888, it was proposed by Colonel G. F. Denison, and seconded by Mr. M. Walsh, and resolved: That having heard the statement just made by the President, and his suggestion for the holding of a Conference of Representatives of the Dominion and the self-governing Colonies, and of the British West India Islands, the Council hereby approves of the proposal, and appoints the President (D'Alton McCarthy, Esq., Q.C., M.P.), the Vice-President (R. McNeill, Esq., M.P.), R. C. Weldon, Esq., M.P., G. R. R. Cockburn, Esq., M.P., Colonel F. C. Denison, C.M.G., M.P., General Laurie, M.P., C. N. Skinner, Esq., M.P., James Marshall, Esq., M.P., Sandford Fleming, Esq., C.M.G., R. R. Dobell, Esq., J. Castell Hopkins, Esq., and the Hon. Secretaries, a Committee for the purpose of promoting a meeting of a Conference of the Representatives of the Colonies referred to, to consider the question of improving the means of intercommunication, of increasing the postal and telegraphic facilities, and of such a readjustment of their existing tariffs as may foster and develop inter-Colonial trade on terms mutually advantageous to Canada and her Sister Colonies.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION is a very noble ideal; but, somehow, its promoters seem to be "getting no forrarder" with it.—*St. James's Gazette*.

THE Imperial Unionists—by such title should the Federationists be known—make daily progress. They clasp hands across the chasm of domestic discontent; they are a noble party, of which any nation may be proud. Good days are coming.—*Land and Water*.

GENERAL LAURIE, a member of the League, has been re-elected member for Shelburne, Nova Scotia, in the Dominion House of Commons, by a majority of 33 votes. His opponent advocated unrestricted reciprocity with the United States.

CANADA has no desire to enter into closer political relations with the Republic. Her policy now should be to extend her relations with the Mother Country and develop her own resources, leaving her neighbours to "gang their ain gait," as our Scotch friends say.—*Montreal Star*.

A GREAT work is to be done in Matabeleland and Bechuanaland for civilisation and for commerce, and unless it is done under Imperial auspices it will either be utterly marred in the doing, or violently taken in hand by another European Power. We have entered into the labours of the Imperial pioneers on the whole Eastern side of the Colony. The land we hold there was won for us at an enormous expenditure of British money and blood. And it would be shame to the English Colonist to bear with patience the disloyal insolence which would bid the Imperial Government stay its northward advance and stand aside to make way for the enterprise of the freebooters.—*Cape Times*.

THE suggestions for Imperial Federation thrown out by Mr. Westgarth are worthy of serious reflection, as showing in what way it is thought that the difficulties can be overcome, although they can hardly yet be said to come within the domain of practical politics. They will help to serve, however, in dissipating the utterly absurd idea that some oblique attack is meditated by the Federation League upon the liberties of the Colonies. It may be laid down as an axiom that no such endeavour will ever be dreamt of, partly because the whole spirit of English policy is against it, and partly because it would be the surest method of defeating the very objects which Federation is intended to bring about. We inherit a system of political jealousies; our parliamentary institutions have grown out of jealousies—of jealousies between the town and country, and between the local government and the central authority; and the shortest way of preventing the unity which is every day becoming more desirable would be to provoke these feelings by any interference with provincial rights. Every word of Mr. Westgarth tends to show that Federation is only held to be possible by extending rather than by curtailing the powers of the Colonies. His speech is suggestive, moreover, in pointing out how much more is to be gained by union than by separation, both in wealth and influence, and, it may be added, in intellectual advancement and all that makes the greatness of a nation. Such thoughtful deliverances are calculated to correct that hasty impulse which is often dictated by consideration of only one side, and that the local and provincial side, of the question.—*Melbourne Argus*.

Members of the League and others are requested to send newspapers containing reports of meetings, summaries of lectures and addresses, and any other matter referring to Imperial Federation, to the Editor, "Imperial Federation," 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, W.

The attention of Branch Secretaries is especially called to this request. The Editor will be greatly obliged if correspondents will mark the passages to which they desire to call attention, and forward their communications as promptly as possible.

### PROCEEDINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

A MEETING of the Executive Committee of the Council was held at 30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, on the 19th November, at 1.45, the Earl of Rosebery, President of the League, in the Chair.

The Secretary read a report covering the period of the Recess, in which it was announced that arrangements were being made by the branches in Australia for a lecturer to proceed to those colonies. A favourable report was also made of the increasing circulation of the Journal, especially in Canada.

The following presentations to the League were reported:—

Mr. Boose: List of publications having reference to Imperial Federation, revised and completed to date.

Mr. S. O. Walery: Transparency of his portrait of Lord Knutsford, for use in the lecturer's lantern.

Mr. T. Bartholomew: Copies of his new map of the British Empire.

The Secretary reported that Mr. O. V. Morgan, M.P., a member of the Committee, had undertaken the expense of supplying a copy of the *Toronto Empire* to the Public Libraries of the United Kingdom, for which arrangements had consequently been made by the League.

The death of the Hon. F. T. Gregory, one of the original members of the Committee, having been reported, Mr. Herbert Gardner, M.P., a member of the Council, was proposed by Sir John Colomb, M.P., seconded by Mr. O. V. Morgan, M.P., and elected to fill the vacancy.

Upon the motion of Mr. William Mackinnon, seconded by Canon Dalton, the following gentlemen were added to the Council:—The Hon. Allnutt Brassey; Lieut.-Col. Alexander Man, Gordon Highlanders; D. Summerhayes.

The name of Mr. Freeman Murray, President of the Hammersmith branch, was ordered to be added to the Executive Committee, that gentleman having been elected by the branch to be its representative on the Committee.

It was moved by Lord Rosebery and seconded by Sir John Colomb "that a letter of regret and condolence be addressed by the Secretary of the League, on behalf of the Committee, to the relations of the late Right Hon. W. B. Dalley. This was unanimously agreed to.

The Committee then adjourned.

### IMPERIAL INTERESTS IN PARLIAMENT.

NOVEMBER 6TH.—24TH, 1888.

#### CHINESE IMMIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA.

November 8th.—In the House of Commons, MR. HENNIKER HEATON asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether any correspondence had passed between the Foreign Office and the Chinese Government on the question of Chinese immigration to Australia; if so, whether he was in a position to lay such correspondence upon the table.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: Such correspondence has been published by the Colonial Office in a Blue Book headed "Australasia." I do not think that the later correspondence is sufficiently advanced to render a further publication desirable.

#### QUEENSLAND.

November 9th.—In the House of Commons, MR. CHILDERS was understood to ask the Under-Secretary for the Colonies whether he had seen in the newspapers the statement that a despatch had been sent to the Agent-General for Queensland in London by Sir T. M'liwraith, Premier, to the effect that the news of Sir H. A. Blake's appointment to the Governorship of that Colony had been received there with general indignation and astonishment.

BARON H. DE WORMS said that the same despatch which appeared in the newspapers was received at the Colonial Office simultaneously, he believed, with its publication, and he had forwarded it to the Secretary of State, who was now at Balmoral.

#### POSTAGE TO AUSTRALIA.

In answer to the following question standing on the paper in the name of Mr. de Lisle—viz., whether the attention of the Postmaster-General had been called to a letter in the *Times* newspaper of October 25, purporting to be signed by the hon. member for Canterbury, and bearing the title "Cheap Postage to Australia—A Breach of Faith," stating that the writer had received a written assurance given by the Postmaster-General on January 31, 1886, that a 3d. rate for Australian letters would be conceded; and whether there was any foundation for the statements made in that letter—

MR. RAIKES said:—There has been no breach of faith whatever; and no such promise was made to the hon. member for Canterbury, inasmuch as I had only a voice in recommending whether the rate should be 3d. or 4d. I was decidedly in favour of the lower rate, and I so expressed myself in several official reports; but at a meeting held in Sydney in January, it was unanimously decided by the Colonial Governments to fix a 4d. rate, and her Majesty's Government did not think it desirable to defer a substantial reduction in Colonial postage by further controversy on this point. My letter to the hon. member for Canterbury simply stated that I had very little doubt that the rate



would be 3d. I gave no kind of assurance, and, indeed, I was not in a position to do so.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON said that, as this was a matter of not only personal, but of public interest, and as the House had always shown itself sympathetic to Australian interests, he begged their indulgence while he made his statement of the facts. On October 25th he wrote the following letter to the *Times* :—

"In May, 1887, I was able to announce in the *Times* that a 3d. rate for Australian letters would be conceded. I have since received (on January 31, 1888) a written assurance from the Postmaster-General on the subject, and the Postmaster-General of New South Wales and several Agents-General also promised their support or openly favoured the scheme. This morning I am informed that the postage will be 4d., instead of 3d., for the ocean-borne letters to Australia. I strongly denounce this charge as being most unsatisfactory to the public. Three-pence is a convenient charge in itself. The man with many letters to write, or few sixpences to spend, being able to send two letters to Australia for 6d. instead of one, would not be likely to forget the boon. The three-penny-bit, too, still circulates, and the fourpenny is doomed. The 3d. rate would be accepted as a real instalment by myself and others. But Mr. Raikes should clearly understand that we would prefer to wait rather than accept the 4d. rate. It may be said that at a Conference in Sydney the 4d. rate was decided on. In reply to this I beg to say that a majority of the members of the Conference were in favour of the 3d. rate, but the officials were too strong. England was not represented at this Conference, and you have already pointed out that it is the duty of England, with a three million Post Office surplus, to take the lead in these reductions."

Well, his foundation for that statement was numerous interviews with the Postmaster-General, who, on every occasion, expressed himself strongly in favour of the 3d. rate; and the following note, which, from a member of the Government, he (Mr. Heaton) regarded as quite as satisfactory as a promise :—

"GENERAL POST OFFICE, Jan. 31, 1888.

"DEAR MR. HENNIKER HEATON,—I am much obliged for your letter of yesterday. . . I think there is very little reason to doubt that the 3d. rate will be adopted.—Yours very truly,

"HENRY CECIL RAIKES."

He regretted the circumstance, but he still maintained he was right in the language used in the letter to the *Times*. He again thanked the House for their courtesy.

#### BECHUANALAND.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies by what authority was the eastern boundary of the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland of 1885 placed at the 30th degree of longitude in the map contained in Blue Book C.5,488, and when was that map prepared; and was it the case that the eastern boundary of the British Protectorate, recently declared over the native tribes south of the Zambesi, had been defined as represented in the map contained in Blue Book C.5,488.

BARON H. DE WORMS: The eastern boundary of the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland was fixed by her Majesty's Government in August, 1887, after consultation with Sir Hercules Robinson. The map, as the Blue Book quoted shows, was prepared and sent home by Sir H. Robinson in June, 1888. It was necessary to define the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and its boundaries do not affect the separate question of the sphere of British influence south of the Zambesi, which, in a paper already laid before Parliament, and shortly about to be distributed, is declared to extend over "the territories north of the South African Republic and the Bechuanaland Protectorate, south of the Zambesi, east of the 20th degree of east longitude, and west of the Portuguese Province of Sofala."

#### THE GOVERNORSHIP OF QUEENSLAND.

November 12th.—In the House of Commons.

MR. CHILDERS: I rise to ask the Under-Secretary for the Colonies a question of which I have given him private notice. I may, perhaps, say that on Friday, without previous notice, I asked the hon. gentleman whether the Colonial Office had received a telegram from the Prime Minister of Queensland and the leader of the Opposition there about the appointment of a successor to Governor Musgrave. The hon. gentleman at once replied that the telegram, a copy of which appeared in the newspapers, had been received and forwarded to the Secretary of State. I now wish to ask him whether he is yet able to inform the House what answer has been or will be sent to this message.

BARON H. DE WORMS: Her Majesty's Government have considered this question, and have decided that the Colonial Ministers should be called upon to state their objection to the appointment of Sir H. Blake. I cannot do better than read to the House the telegram which has been despatched to the Colony :—

"Inform your Ministers that Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to take any action upon the telegram communicated by the Agent-General, and previously made public respecting the Governor. They prefer that any communication on so serious a subject should be made in the usual formal manner to the officer administering the Government. Request your Ministers to state to you the specific reasons for which they object to the appointment of a gentleman of high character (laughter from the Irish Home Rule members), who has administered responsible government with great discretion and success."

As the telegram published in the Press referred to the letter addressed to the Agent-General in reply to the request that the Colonial Ministers might be consulted as to the new Governor, it seems desirable to read that letter to the House. It was in the following terms :—

"DOWNING STREET, Oct. 19, 1888.

"SIR,—I am directed by Lord Knutsford to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th inst. respecting the telegram which you had received from the Government of Queensland, desiring that the

name of the proposed Governor should be submitted to them before a definite decision was arrived at. In reply, I am desired to acquaint you that this is a request which, in previous cases, it has been decided that Her Majesty's Government cannot comply with. It is obvious that the officer charged with the duty of conducting the foreign relations of the Crown, and of advising the Crown when any question of Imperial, as distinct from Colonial, interests arises, must be selected by the Secretary of State for the Queen's approval, and must owe his appointment and be responsible to the Crown alone. It is not possible, therefore, for the responsible Ministers of the Colony to share the responsibility of nominating the Governor or to have a veto on the selection. Lord Knutsford trusts, nevertheless, that the Colonial Ministers will understand that he has been deeply sensible of the importance of selecting a gentleman of high education and proved capacity for the very important post of Governor of Queensland, and trust very confidently that when he is in a position to make known the name of the person selected it will be acknowledged that a satisfactory appointment has been made.—I am, &c., "R. G. W. HERBERT.

"The Agent-General for Queensland."

MR. HENNIKER HEATON: Would the hon. gentleman give us the exact words of the Prime Minister of Queensland's telegram—whether the demand was that we should "submit" the name of the Governor to them, or whether the suggestion was that it would be expedient "to communicate the name of the new Governor before his actual appointment?"

BARON H. DE WORMS: I read the words to the House, but I do not see that they make much difference.

#### STATE COLONISATION.

In reply to MR. KIMBER,

MR. W. H. SMITH said: The appointment of a Committee to inquire into State Colonisation will be moved for as soon as possible.

#### THE GOVERNORSHIP OF QUEENSLAND.

November 14th.—In the House of Commons, MR. HENNIKER HEATON asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies what were the exact words of the telegram from the Prime Minister of Queensland asking to be informed of the name of the proposed Governor before the actual appointment; and whether the Government of South Australia had communicated a similar request to the British Government regarding the new Governor of South Australia, and, if so, what reply had been sent by the Secretary of State.

SIR J. GORST: In the absence of my hon. friend, I have been asked to read his answer to this question. The following is the telegram referred to, which was received on the 18th of October :—

"Urge that I may be informed confidentially of name of proposed Governor of Queensland before the Secretary of State for the Colonies decides definitely upon the matter."

The letter addressed to the Agent-General for Queensland in acknowledgment of this telegram was read to the House on Monday last. I take this opportunity of also reading the telegram received from the Government of Queensland on the 8th inst., the reply to which has been given to the House. The telegram from the Chief Secretary, Brisbane, to the Agent-General for Queensland, London, was as follows :—

"Referring to your telegram of the 19th of October, inform the Secretary of State for the Colonies that Sir Henry Blake's appointment is not acknowledged to be satisfactory; its announcement has been received with general astonishment and indignation. His career should not have marked him out as fit for governing a Colony possessing responsible Government. A more unfortunate appointment could not have been made. Sir Samuel Griffith authorises me to join his protest with mine. Thus all sides in politics are represented."

A letter was received yesterday afternoon from the Agent-General for South Australia to the effect mentioned in the second question. Her Majesty's Government has not yet had time to consider the reply to it.

#### THE GOVERNORSHIP OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

November 15th.—In the House of Commons.

MR. CHILDERS: I wish to ask the Under-Secretary for the Colonies a question of which I have given him private notice. It is whether he can state to the House what answer has been given by the Secretary of State to the Agent-General for South Australia with reference to the request of the Government of that Colony that it may be consulted, or confidentially communicated with, before the appointment of a Governor. Perhaps I may say, in putting this question, that I never for an instant contemplated moving the adjournment of the House to-day on the subject of the answer about the Government of Queensland, given to me on Monday last, which was perfectly clear and precise. (Cheers.)

BARON H. DE WORMS.—In reply to the right hon. gentleman, I will read to the House the following letter addressed by the Colonial Office to Sir A. Blyth :—

DOWNING STREET, Nov. 15, 1888.

"Sir,—I am directed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th inst., conveying the renewed request of your Government that they may have an opportunity before any appointment is made of expressing an opinion with regard to the person whom it may be proposed to appoint as Governor of South Australia. Lord Knutsford regrets that he is not able to give to this request any other answer than that returned to the Government of Queensland last month in the letter which was read in the House of Commons by the Under-Secretary of State on Monday last. It would be a great satisfaction and assistance to the Secretary of State in the performance of a very responsible duty if it were possible in some manner to ascertain, before the Queen's pleasure is taken, that the gentleman whom he thinks suitable is also acceptable to the Government and the people of the Colony in which he is to represent Her Majesty for several years, and Lord Knutsford trusts it will be understood that the inability of Her Majesty's



Government to comply with the wish of your Ministers in this matter is in no way connected with any indisposition to consult their views in other cases whenever practicable. As Lord Knutsford stated to the Agent-General for Queensland, Her Majesty's Government feel precluded by the conditions of the Governor's office from having recourse to the advice of the Colonial Ministry in regard to the selection of a Governor. There are certain extra Colonial functions, in the discharge of which the Governor must be responsible to the Crown alone, and his action in regard to which does not interfere with or affect the full responsibility of the Ministers in the internal affairs of the Colony. But independently of his more strictly Imperial duties, the Governor occupies a position in regard to political matters which appears to preclude the local Ministry from taking any part in his selection. The antagonism between parties in the Colonial Parliaments has frequently been very strong, and on the retirement of the Ministry which had virtually controlled the selection of the Governor the succeeding Ministry might not improbably feel doubt as to his impartiality. For example, in dealing with the question, often one of much difficulty, whether a dissolution of Parliament ought to be granted or withheld, if the Governor should, however *bona fide*, act in accordance with the political interests of the party which had approved his appointment, his fairness might not improbably be called in question by the other side. Indeed, it seems obvious that in this and similar cases the relations of the Governor to the Colonists, as well as to the Crown, might be gravely embarrassed. I am further to point out that a public man of high standing could not well be asked to undertake an office subject to the approval of others at a distance, who may have little information as to his fitness, but, beyond such personal considerations, the constitutional obstacle which has been referred to appears to Lord Knutsford to be insurmountable."

#### THE GOVERNOR OF QUEENSLAND.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether it was true, as stated in the public press, that he had cancelled the appointment of Sir Henry Blake as Governor of Queensland; and, if not, whether he had received a reply to the message telegraphed to the Acting Governor of Queensland on Monday last.

BARON H. DE WORMS: The answer to both of these questions of the hon. member is in the negative. I may add that, as the House is aware, the Colonial Ministers have been desired to state the reasons of their opposition to Sir Henry Blake's appointment, and no communication in reply has yet been received.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he would give him an opportunity of discussing the appointment of the Governor of Queensland at an early day.

BARON H. DE WORMS: The hon. gentleman must ask the Leader of the House.

SIR J. GOLDSMID: Is there any similar case of a Colony acting as Queensland has done in regard to the appointment of a Governor?

MR. LABOUCHERE: Is it true that the Colony votes the salary of the Governor?

BARON H. DE WORMS: Yes, of course.

#### THE GOVERNOR OF QUEENSLAND.

November 16th.—In the House of Commons, MR. HENNIKER HEATON asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he was in a position to inform the House of the nature of the reply received from the Acting Governor of Queensland to the telegram despatched on Monday last relative to the appointment of Sir Henry Blake.

SIR J. GORST (for BARON H. DE WORMS).—The reply was received last night, and is as follows:—

"The Officer Administering the Government of Queensland to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, received 15th November, 1888, 6.45 p.m.—Referring to your telegram 12th November, my Ministers consider—(1) That Sir Henry Blake is not known in Australia as a gentleman who has administered responsible government with discretion and success; (2) that the importance of the Colony entitles it to a Governor of proved ability and discretion in the administration of responsible government; (3) that his experience in responsible government is considered to be one year's service in Newfoundland; (4) that his previous experience is, in their opinion, a disqualification for the office of Governor of Queensland; (5) that the expressed disapproval of his appointment, when announced, was spontaneous, immediate, and general; (6) that this disapproval was more strongly accentuated because the appointment followed closely upon a constitutional crisis, where the rigid adherence to the exercise of prerogative came in direct antagonism with responsible government, when the former had to give way; (7) that it is impossible to make the appointment from an Imperial point of view alone. A gentleman appointed simply as the conservator of Imperial interests can in no adequate sense be called a Governor. The Governor of a colony with responsible government must work heartily and loyally for the interests of the Colony. When Imperial and Colonial interests clash, the Governor's Ministers have always sought out and advised a course that would harmonise both. (8) The Colonial Legislature votes, and the Colony pays the Governor's salary. The amount voted, and the fact of payment, imply approval of the occupant of the office. My Ministers desire me also to point out that their being asked now to give specific reasons against the appointment shows that they were reasonable or right in seeking to express an opinion before the appointment was made.—A. H. PALMER." The answer to this telegram will be communicated to the House as soon as there has been time for its consideration. Perhaps I may be allowed to add, with reference to an answer given last night by the Under-Secretary for the Colonies to the hon. member for Northampton, that what my hon. friend intended to convey was that the Governor's salary is "provided" not "voted" by the Colony, as it is secured by a permanent law, and is not subject to an annual vote.

MR. DILLON: I should like to ask the hon. gentleman whether we

are to understand that the "previous experience" alluded to by the Ministers of Queensland was that of an Irish resident magistrate. (Home Rule Cheers.)

SIR J. GORST: I cannot tell. I have only read what the Colonial Ministers say, and the hon. member is just as well able to interpret it as I am.

SIR G. CAMPBELL: Is the hon. gentleman aware that the communication appeared in the newspapers before he read it, and can he say whether it was sent by a member of Her Majesty's Government, or by a representative of the Colonial Government in this country?

SIR J. GORST: I must have notice of this question.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON: Is it not the fact that the Colonial Government vote the money necessary for the Governor's residence in addition to the sum provided by the Act of Parliament for his salary?

SIR J. GORST: I am not answering for my own department, and I must ask the hon. gentleman to give me notice of a question of that kind.

#### DINIZULU.

In reply to Mr. G. O. MORGAN,

SIR J. GORST said:—We have to-day received the following telegram from Sir A. E. Havelock:—"November 15. Dinizulu has come to Natal; has been apprehended to-day; he is in custody of Natal police force. Tchingana has been apprehended in Zululand. Special Commission has been commenced to-day at Ekowe."

#### QUEENSLAND.

November 19th, in the House of Commons.

MR. PRITCHARD-MORGAN asked the First Lord of the Treasury, in view of the strained relations between the Government of Queensland and the British Government, whether he would appoint a special day for the purpose of giving the House an opportunity of expressing its opinion on that important subject.

MR. W. H. SMITH: The Government do not consider it desirable to appoint a day for the discussion of the relations between this country and Queensland, as such discussion in their view would be premature and injurious to the public interests. (Hear, hear.) The acting Governor has been informed by telegraph that the subject is receiving the serious consideration of the Government; and I am confident a solution of the difficulty will be arrived at by the exercise of moderation and good sense on the part of the authorities at home and in the Colony. (Cheers.)

#### COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH COLONIES.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government had been directed to the movement in America to establish Commercial Union with Canada, and to the debate last April in the Dominion Parliament in favour rather of Commercial Union with the Mother Country; and whether it was in contemplation to seek more definitely the feelings of the Colonies upon the effect an Imperial Commercial understanding might have on their development if the foreign treaties now prohibiting it were modified.

MR. W. H. SMITH: Her Majesty's Government are, of course, aware of the circumstances stated in the first part of the question, but they do not consider that any useful ends would be attained under present circumstances by the adoption of the course suggested by my hon. friend.

#### THE GOVERNOR OF QUEENSLAND.

November 20th.—In the House of Lords, the EARL OF DUNRAVEN rose to put to the Secretary of State for the Colonies a question of which he had given him private notice—namely, whether he could communicate to the House the reply sent by Her Majesty's Government to the telegraphic dispatch received from the Acting Governor of Queensland in reference to the appointment to the Governorship of that Colony. The difficulties which appeared to have arisen respecting the appointment of Sir Henry Blake to the Governorship of Queensland were of a two-fold nature. There was first the question of how far that particular appointment was a suitable or an unsuitable one, and there was also the question which had been raised as to what was the right, if any, which a Colony possessed of selecting or of being consulted as to the appointment of a Governor. As to the first point, he desired to say very little. If the Secretary of State thought it advisable to enter into that part of the subject and to give his reasons to the House for the appointment, their lordships would, no doubt, be glad to have his explanations; but he felt that, under the circumstances, that might not be desirable, and as far as he was concerned he would not press for any information on that point. But what appeared to him to be a matter of much greater importance was the question whether a self-governing Colony had any kind of right of selection in the appointment of Governors. It seemed to him that a very grave and serious constitutional question was raised in connection with that matter. The Governor of a Colony was not merely sent out by his Sovereign to exercise certain functions. He was the direct representative of the Sovereign; he was even more than a mere representative of the Sovereign, but in many respects it might almost be said that he actually was the Sovereign. That was to say, he not only exercised the functions delegated to him by the Sovereign, but he represented absolutely the person of the Sovereign in the Colony to which he was appointed. Therefore, for a Colony to set up a claim to have any right to select a Governor appeared to him to be not only unconstitutional, but of necessity to bring about, or be the first step towards bringing about, that which they would all deeply deplore—viz., a tendency to Separation, and to break up the British Empire. It was scarcely an exaggeration to say that if a Colony had a right to select a Governor, it had an equal right to choose the Sovereign; and if it had no right to select the Sovereign, he held that, constitutionally, it could not have any right to select the Governor who was to represent the Sovereign. He therefore could not but think that, if in the Colony they had reflected on the grave constitutional



questions which they had raised, they would not have entertained the views that were attributed to them. He admitted that he thought in some cases the greater self-governing Colonies might reasonably expect that the Governors sent out to them should be of a certain *status* and position. The great Colonies in Australia had developed in a comparatively short time into large and important communities. At the same time the position of Governor had very much changed—in some respects it had diminished, in others increased in importance. It was obvious that, with telegraphic communication and self-government, the Governors of self-governing Colonies had not that importance and power in some respects which they formerly enjoyed. Administrative ability, although of the utmost importance, was not the *sine qua non* which it was at one time. But if the *status* of a Governor had deteriorated in that respect, it had increased in what might be called its social aspect, and it therefore became of more importance that a Governor should be able adequately to represent the Sovereign in that point of view. He thought also that every legitimate means should be taken to ascertain that the appointment to be made would be one that was suitable, and not only so, but acceptable likewise. Further than that he would not go.

LORD KNUTSFORD.—In reply to the question which my noble friend has put to me whether Her Majesty's Government have returned an answer to the reasons for the opposition on the part of the Queensland Government to Sir H. Blake—reasons which Her Majesty's Government thought fit to call for—I have only to state that those reasons are still under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. As regards the production of papers, it would not be for the public interest to produce them at the present moment; but I see no reason why they should not be hereafter laid on the table. I regret that I am unable to deal with many matters which have been brought to your lordships' attention by the noble earl. I shall content myself with expressing a general concurrence with what has fallen from him, but I think your lordships will agree with me that the discussion on the general subject just now would serve no good end. It would be premature, it would not advance the public interest, and it might tend to impede a satisfactory solution of the important questions that are now under consideration. I would also add that, as regards one very important part of this case to which the noble earl has referred, the opinion of Her Majesty's Government has, in fact, been expressed very clearly and very fully in a letter which was addressed to the Agent-General of South Australia on November 15th, and which has been read in the other House. I am sure your lordships will agree that this is not the fitting occasion for discussing the particular appointment in question and the merits or demerits of Sir Henry Blake. I desire to assure your lordships that in making the selection I was not unmindful of the great responsibility which attaches to every Secretary of State in selecting a governor, whether for a Crown Colony or for one under responsible Government. (Hear, hear.)

The subject then dropped.

#### BERMUDA AND HALIFAX CABLE.

November 22nd.—In the House of Commons COLONEL EYRE asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer when the laying of the cable from Halifax to Bermuda would be commenced, tenders for which had been called for and received by Her Majesty's Government on or before the 20th of April last.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—There were circumstances connected with these tenders which made a somewhat prolonged investigation necessary, but I have every hope that it may be possible to come to a decision in a short time.

#### APPOINTMENT OF COLONIAL GOVERNORS.

BARON H. DE WORMS.—The Government of South Australia having expressed a wish that, as the letter addressed to them by the Colonial Office was communicated to the House, their answer should also be read, I will ask the House to allow me to read it:—

"Sir W. C. F. Robinson (South Australia) to Lord Knutsford.

"(Received, Colonial Office, 21st of November, 1888).

"Following telegram received from my Ministers:—

"Respectfully acknowledge the receipt from Governor of copy of telegram from Secretary of State for the Colonies relating to the appointment of Colonial Governors. In reply, Ministers desire respectfully to remark that the objections which are urged to course they have ventured to suggest appear to be untenable. Even if control over selection of Governor were conceded to Local Government, as it has been suggested that they desire, they contend this would not warrant a suspicion of impartiality of gentlemen appointed. An argument to the contrary carried to its logical conclusion would justify doubts as to integrity of highest judicial officer whenever dealing with question affecting interests of Government by which he was appointed; but, as a matter of fact, Ministers have no desire that Local Government should have power of controlling election Governor, or that any gentleman should be asked to undertake office subject to approval of Local Government. (Hear.) They only seek opportunity to state for favourable consideration of Imperial Government in such a manner as may be most convenient to Colonial Office any reasons which may occur to them why any contemplated appointment appears to be undesirable to them. (Hear.) If this opportunity is not to be afforded there is, without doubt, possibility of objection being overlooked or not fully considered, which, if noted or fully considered prior to appointment, would prevent it from being made. It would then become duty of ministers to call attention to objection in question, and this would, without doubt, lead to much more undesirable position than if course ministers have suggested were adopted. (Hear.) If, after full consideration of objection, the appointment were cancelled, it would involve no small annoyance to gentleman principally interested; and if, on the other hand, appointment were persisted in, it would be certainly much more reasonable to expect prejudice on part of Governor against Ministry raising objection than it would be to suspect bias on part of Governor in favour of Government

for the simple reason that they could see no cause to protest against his appointment. Ministers most respectfully assure your Excellency that they have not slightest desire to encroach on constitutional rights of Imperial Government with reference to Viceregal office (hear, hear); they are, however, convinced that probability of satisfactory appointment thus strengthening the bonds of union between Great Britain and Colony will be increased by course suggested. (Hear.) If South Australia were conceded privilege of stating objections to a proposed appointment, the power would be exercised with due regard to its importance, and no objection would be likely made. Furthermore, should there be difficulty arising from scarcity of information in Colony regarding fitness of gentleman suggested, it might be obviated by selection only men well-known reputation, and who might possibly be found among those who have exhibited an interest in Colonial affairs. The dignity and importance of office would, without doubt, justify such a choice. Indeed, if so desired by Secretary of State for Colonies, ministers would be possibly able to suggest for Imperial consideration names gentlemen whose appointment would be acceptable to Colony. Ministers are encouraged to respectfully venture this last suggestion in view of expression of Secretary of State of great satisfaction and assistance which he would derive in selection, on account of knowledge of views of Colony on subject.

"PLAYFORD (Premier)."

#### IMPERIAL INTERESTS IN COLONIAL PARLIAMENTS.

November 16.—In the Victorian Assembly, a discussion arose on the subject of the abstract right of the Colonies to a voice in the nomination of Colonial Governors.

The Hon. Duncan Gillies, the Premier, without discussing the merits of the Queensland protest, pointed out that under the terms of the Constitution the Queen alone could appoint Governors, by the advice of her Ministers, who were responsible to the Imperial Parliament. He dwelt upon the inconvenience which would be likely to arise if the Imperial Ministers declined to enforce the Colonial selection for the post. A deadlock would in that case ensue, and he was confident that the less a Colony insisted upon the power to appoint or nominate its Governor the better. Victoria, added Mr. Gillies, had no such desire, and was perfectly satisfied that the appointments made would be such as the Colony could approve. Other members spoke in a similar vein.

The Premier's remarks were received with much cheering, the House evidently concurring in the views which he expressed.

November 22.—In the New South Wales Legislative Assembly last night, Sir Henry Parkes moved an address to the Queen on the subject of the appointment of Colonial Governors, expressing the opinion that they should be selected from that class of public men who would be called upon to assist in the government of the Empire, and urging that a Colonial Government should be informed of any such intended appointment before it is actually made.

The Premier said that he did not take this step with any desire of disturbing, and still less of weakening, the relations between the Colonies and the Mother Country, but in the interest of the Empire. The address would, he submitted, tend to increase the dignity of the office of Governor, would strengthen the claims of the Colonies, and would only be consistent with the developments in the national life which every one must see in the Colonies. It was of the highest importance, viewing it steadily, and in the light of their connection with the Mother Country, that the Queen's Imperial advisers should be fully informed of the increased responsibility falling upon them in appointing gentlemen to the high office of Governor of a colony possessing self-Government. While speaking without disrespect or discourtesy, he maintained that the time had come when precisely the same qualities which pointed out a man to be selected to assist in the administration of the Empire, should be the qualities which should designate him as a fit person to be appointed Governor of a Colony. It would be ungracious not to say that with the present selection in New South Wales the people were perfectly satisfied, and it would, indeed, be wrong to pass this over lest it should be thought that some latent dissatisfaction existed. The address, proceeded the Premier, pointed out that future Governors should be confined to persons who had served in some high office, or in the Imperial Parliament. What it meant was that they should be limited to that class of public men who had indicated that they possessed qualifications fitting them to assist in the government of the Empire. No man ought to be appointed merely for the sake of the salary attached to the office. The position ought to be the object of the same kind of ambition as to serve the State as a Cabinet Minister. Sir Henry admitted that the appointment lay with the Imperial advisers of the Queen, but at the same time, he asked what he termed a very reasonable and just thing, in the highest sense desirable, and strictly in accord with the spirit of their free institutions, namely, that the Colonies should be informed whom it was intended to appoint, before an unalterable step was taken. It was far better, if occasion arose for representations, that they should be made at a time when a good opportunity presented itself, instead of when it was too late. Above all things, the communication of the new Governor's name appeared to him to be a concession to the authority of the Parliament and the Government of the Colony to which its growth and national attributes fairly entitled it. New South Wales could not, if it would, abstain from joining her sister Colonies in a matter of this kind. The Premier, in conclusion, asked the House to take no rash or unnecessary step, nor strain any principle, but to be consistent, and to take cognisance of the feeling which must be alive among the people and of that principle of self-government which lived in all their institutions. The address which the House was asked to adopt was strictly consistent with those conditions, and with the Colony's national life.

After a lengthy and almost unanimous debate, the address was agreed to without a division, the result being received with cheers.



# Imperial Federation League.

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## NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

At a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

- That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."  
That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.  
That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.  
That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.  
That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.  
That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.  
That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.  
That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.











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